



## Importation as innovation: transposing managerial practices across fields

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### Abstract

This article examines transposition as a source of innovation. Transposition is the act of applying a practice from one social context to another. We trace how and why three individuals transposed the American practice of diversity management into Denmark in 2002. The analysis outlines how they came up with the idea to transpose diversity management to Denmark and what motivated them to do so. Based on our analysis, we propose an institutionalist account of innovation in which transposition across fields characterized by different dominant institutional logics plays a prominent role. We identify a number of facilitating conditions for such transposition to occur and we explain how it can subsequently lead to innovation.

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**Key words** • diversity management • importation of management practices • innovation • institutional entrepreneurship • institutional logics

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How do new managerial practices emerge? In particular, how do new managerial practices come into existence if firms simply copy one another (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983)? In this article we examine one type of innovation: the importation of foreign managerial practices. This form of innovation reflects a current interest in how managerial practices spread across, rather than within, social contexts. A number of empirical studies show that when actors import a foreign managerial practice, they adapt it to the new social context, which sometimes results in innovation (Djelic, 1998; Lippi, 2000; Djelic and Quack, 2003). However, other empirical studies show that it is almost impossible to import managerial practices from very different social settings (Westney, 1987; Guillén, 1994; Orrú et al., 1997; Biggart and Guillén, 1999). We explore conditions that facilitate the importation of foreign managerial practices and the relationship to innovation.

Importation involves three related processes: transposition, translation and theorization. Transposition is the process through which actors select and transport managerial practices across institutional fields and national boundaries (Sewell, 1992; Schneiberg, 2002). Translation occurs when actors adapt a foreign practice to their own institutional context, modifying it or combining it with local practices (Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996; Sahlin-Anderson, 1996; Hargadon and Douglas, 2001; Campbell, 2004). Theorization is the act of generalizing a translation so that it can diffuse within the organizational field (Strang and Meyer, 1994; Greenwood et al., 2002). These three processes are interrelated, but not necessarily in a step-wise fashion. We suggest that they collectively comprise one form of innovation that merits further empirical study.

Both translation and theorization have already received some attention in the literature. A number of empirical studies have generated important insights into the reasons why translation is required (Soysal, 1994; Djelic, 1998; Zeitlin, 2000). Researchers have also identified facilitating conditions for translation and mechanisms through which it occurs (Swidler, 1986; Pieterse, 1994; Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996; Sahlin-Anderson, 1996, 2001; Campbell, 2004). Similarly, the different processes involved in theorization have been studied (Strang and Meyer, 1994; Greenwood et al., 2002).

In contrast, strikingly little effort is devoted to the analysis of transposition. Part of the explanation for this may lie in the tendency to neglect the individual level of analysis in macro-level studies. A classic assumption is that practices spread automatically across the globe: they diffuse, as does gas, towards a vacuum (Meyer et al., 1997). Empirical research fails to support this assumption: managerial practices are more present in some fields than they are in others (Kostova and Roth, 2002). An alternative take is to assign agency to managerial practices, suggesting that they travel, as do people, going where they want (Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996). This assumption also resonates poorly with empirical observations: practices have little say over their own movement in time. Currently, the tendency is to believe that people and texts carry managerial practices across the globe (Sewell, 1992, Schneiberg, 2002; Scott, 2003). While this account is indeed plausible, it does not, in and of itself, explain how individuals are enabled to import a new managerial practice despite institutional resistance in the receiving field, and why they would do so. We examine these questions empirically in an effort to illuminate the innovative dimension of transposition. Transposition can be a source of innovation in the receiving field where it introduces a new practice, but it may also be a source of innovation in an absolute sense, that is, across fields, by participating in the transformation of the transposed practice. Translation and theorization also play a key role in such transformation whenever it occurs; yet always in combination with the transposition that initiates such transformation, a fact that is often neglected.

Empirical studies on the innovative dimension of transposition are few and far apart. This is probably because innovation is notoriously difficult to study.

Archival data and retrospective interviews are inadequate data sources because individuals tend to forget, and organizations rarely record, the details of past interactions and formation of ideas (Barley, 1986; Biggart and Beamish, 2003). Real-time data are needed to minimize post-rationalized or incomplete accounts, yet real-time data require researchers to gain access to a relevant research site where innovation is just about to occur, before it actually occurs. Significant intuition or luck is required here (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). While the methodological challenges may be daunting, they should not prevent research that may generate potentially important insights for future research.

This article presents the results of a real-time case study on the transposition of a managerial practice called diversity management, a strategic human resource management practice that emerged in the mid-1990s as an extension of employment equity and affirmative action legislation introduced in the United States in 1964 (Kelly and Dobbin, 1998). Diversity management consists of hiring and managing employees in a way that brings out their individual strengths and undeveloped potential and fosters synergy with that of other employees. The main idea behind diversity management is that managers, through differentiated treatment of the individual employees, can increase employees' satisfaction, organizational productivity and financial performance. We trace the decision to import diversity management into Denmark where, in 2002, a group of business actors launched it as an innovative approach to the integration of immigrants into the workforce. We will examine how they came up with the idea to import diversity management to Denmark and presented it as a novel solution to the workforce integration of immigrants. This idea was novel to the field, yet it was also an innovation in the more absolute sense of the term, since diversity management had not previously been applied to the integration of immigrants. We use a case study design to explore the transposition process since it permits detailed examination of facilitating conditions and of their dynamic interaction across various levels of analysis.

Our findings show a number of conditions that enabled the importation of this foreign managerial practice. These conditions pertained to the field level, organizational level and individual levels of analysis, and they were present simultaneously in our case study. This finding suggests that the transposition of foreign managerial practices may require the simultaneous presence of facilitating conditions at multiple levels of analysis. The insights generated from this case study hold promise for a comprehensive account of the emergence and global spread of managerial practices.

The article is structured as follows. We first present the existing literature on transposition. We then outline the methods that we used to analyze the transposition of the managerial practice of diversity management to Denmark and present our findings. In the last part of the article, we discuss the innovative dimension of transposition, consider the implications for the emergence and spread of managerial practices and propose avenues for future research.

## The innovative potential in transposition

Transposition is the act of applying a practice from one social context to another (Sewell, 1992). Transposition occurs because practices 'can be applied to a wide and not fully predictable range of cases outside the contexts in which they are initially learned' (Sewell, 1992: 17). The act of transposition is one of diffusing a managerial practice to another organizational field. The transposed practice will be novel in the receiving organizational field and may therefore be considered innovative. However, it is not an innovation in the absolute sense. To become an innovation, a transposed managerial practice needs to be translated into a truly new form. While translation is important, transposition remains the actual source of innovation.

The transposition of practices across fields does not occur automatically, especially when fields are construed as dissimilar to one another (Strang and Meyer, 1994). One way in which fields can be dissimilar is when their dominant institutional logic differs. To illuminate the innovative dimension of transposition, we need to understand what enables and drives individuals to transpose practices across very dissimilar fields.

### Institutional logics and field frames

Institutional logics are assumed social prescriptions that guide action in an organizational field. They refer to the predominant belief systems and related practices that shape individual and organizational actions (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Scott, 2001). Before they manifest in action, institutional logics are cognitive templates of a highly abstract nature. They are causal relationships, collective means–ends frames, that designate which goals to pursue and how to pursue them (Scott, 1987, 1994; Dobbin, 1994). To qualify as an institutional logic, a means–ends frame must be considered tacitly true and morally imperative, and it must implicitly shape the action of field members. An institutional logic contains a cognitive component (it is held to be objectively true), a normative component (it is considered a legitimate means to a valuable end) and a regulative component (it is reflected in legal measures). In practice, institutional logics shape the various means that people can envision when trying to solve a problem (Dobbin, 1994: 230). Exactly because they are implicit, institutional logics are not available for conscious manipulation and choice. They set the agenda and largely determine which projects and which actors will be favored in resource allocation (Lukes, 1974).

A field that contains multiple institutional logics is a heterogeneous field (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Schneiberg, 2002; Seo and Creed, 2002). Though most fields are heterogeneous, usually one institutional logic holds a dominant position in a field (Dobbin, 1994; Schneiberg, 2002; Reay and Hinings, 2005). This position may shift over time, a slow process that can stretch for decades (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). Fields are thus

no longer perceived as functionalist systems, but more as political arenas (Brint and Karabel, 1991) in which multiple institutional logics compete for field dominance. Stability is the result of a temporary truce, one that may be unsettled if there is a shift in the power balance between logics. There is also growing recognition that organizational fields overlap (Morrill, forthcoming) and that they may form at multiple levels of analysis, including industrial, national or transnational levels.

Whenever a practice is transposed from a field that is dominated by a different institutional logic, this foreign practice is likely to break with the field frame that informs current practices. A field frame is the underlying principle of institutionalized practices in a certain practice domain (Lounsbury et al., 2003). It corresponds to the application of an institutional logic to a specific practice domain. Actors generally perceive field frames to be obviously true and appropriate for guiding behavior in a given practice domain. They are specific manifestations of an institutional logic, and can also take the form of collective means–ends frames.

Because of the powerful grip that a dominant institutional logic holds on actors' cognition in a field, it is legitimate to wonder how some actors can transpose practices that break with this dominant logic. This question, which has to do with the paradox of embedded agency (Holm, 1995; Seo and Creed, 2002), has been addressed in the literature. It appears that multiple embeddedness allows actors to make such a transposition.

### **Multiple embeddedness and transposition**

All individuals transpose practices and beliefs across social contexts. The more contexts individuals are embedded in, the more options they have available for transposing practices. Multiple embeddedness refers to the ability of individuals to become socialized into many groups (Berger and Luckman, 1967; Sewell, 1992). Socialization occurs when individuals internalize the practices and beliefs of a social group, thereby gaining membership in it. One can distinguish two forms of socialization. Individuals first internalize practices and beliefs of the social group in which they grow up. This is the process of primary socialization. While primary socialization is unavoidable, secondary socialization is a more elective undertaking: it consists of internalizing the beliefs and practices of another social group (Berger and Luckmann, 1967: 138–46). Secondary socialization may contradict the primary socialization by exposing individuals to contradictory values and beliefs. A contradiction can be defined as a pair of features that together produce an unstable tension in a given system (Blackburn, 1994). This tension may deter individuals from socializing into groups that have opposing values and beliefs. It may deter them because it requires alternation, which is the internal process of organizing contradictory beliefs and practices in relation to each other (Berger and Luckman, 1967: 157–63).

Since alternation is demanding, we can expect individuals to be disinclined to pursue embeddedness in an organizational field that is dominated by a different institutional logic from their primary field. It is thus unclear what drives individuals to become embedded in such a field, and once they are embedded in multiple fields, it is equally unclear what motivates them to transpose a practice across fields that are dominated by different institutional logics. We need to understand this motivation since the purposes for which they want to use the practice in the receiving field may contribute to the transformation of the practice, thereby initiating the development and the diffusion of a new practice.

## Methods

We use a case study design to illuminate how three individuals, referred to as the initiators, transposed the managerial practice of diversity management from the United States to Denmark in 2002. The initiators were three Danish women in mid-career who had attended university together on the verge of the women's movement in the early 1970s. All three subsequently pursued careers in gender equality, and have since collaborated occasionally on research, European Union (EU) projects and consultancy tasks related to gender equality. At the time of the transposition, one was working in human resource management for a large Danish firm in the service industry (referred to as initiator B in the case study) and the other two were external consultants in human resource management (referred to as initiators A and C in the case study).

## Data sources

We used multi-level data from both the field and individual levels of analysis to trace the transposition process. Individual-level data consist of semi-structured interviews with the three initiators. For verification and elaboration purposes, we observed meetings among these three initiators and seven other individuals, all of whom were working with the initiators and who were actively involved in the transposition process. We also conducted interviews with these other seven individuals. The interviews lasted for one hour on average and enquired about the individual's professional path, motivation, ideas and aspirations related to the transposition of diversity management. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Field-level data consist of ethnographic non-participant observations in 2001–2. We originally identified key concepts during parallel observations of group meetings in early 2002. These concepts were then explored in more detail through ethnographic field observations and keyword searches in a newspaper database (InfoMedia) and online government archives. This procedure generated a number of relevant public policies, law proposals, parliamentary debates, ministerial speeches, task force reports and newspaper articles,

which were then subjected to textual analysis in the same way as the interview transcripts.

### **Analytical constructs**

To analyze transposition, we operationalized the key constructs of institutional logic and field frame. Both are means–ends frames that a group of people in a field consider a legitimate means to a valuable end, that is, an objectively true and morally acceptable causal relation. An institutional logic is a general means–ends frame that can be applied to a multitude of different practice domains and organizational fields. The concrete means may vary according to the context of application. A field frame is a means–ends frame applied to a specific practice domain. It guides behavior in a certain area of practice and is informed by at least one institutional logic. It is also institutionalized, meaning that the frame is widely accepted and used within a field.

We define organizational fields as ‘communities of organizations that participate in the same meaning systems, are defined by similar symbolic processes, and are subject to common regulatory processes’ (Scott, 1994: 71). While fields may form at industrial, national and international levels, we operationalized the field that we studied as one composed of nationally oriented firms in Denmark. In this field, we examined the practice area of human resource management. An organizational field may contain multiple institutional logics, some more dominant than others (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Seo and Creed, 2002). Likewise, a practice area may contain multiple field frames. In most fields, one institutional logic holds a dominant position for long periods of time (Dobbin, 1994; Schneiberg, 2002). When occasional replacements do occur, they manifest as radical shifts in organizational policy, practice and structure (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). One way such shifts may be initiated is when individuals transpose a field frame from another field. It is this source of innovation that we examine in our analysis.

### **Data analysis**

Using the software program Atlas.ti to assist in data analysis, we first mapped means and ends that appeared to be causally related in the interview material. From these means–ends relations, we generated some preliminary field frames that we then refined by comparing them with field-level data. We subsequently made an interpretation as to the institutional logic(s) that informed each field frame. This interpretation represents one of those uncodifiable steps in data analysis that relies on the insight of the researcher and that escapes any deliberate sense-making strategy (Mintzberg, 1989; Weick, 1989; Langley, 1999). We identified three institutional logics and then compared them with field-level data to identify their relative dominance in the field and the practice area. Finally, we traced the order of events that led the three initiators, from their own

**Table 1** Content analysis of the 10 interviews showing the number of times that selected words appeared in each transcript as well as the analytical interpretation of the findings

Theoretical concept	Field frame	Field problem	Foreign managerial practice	Professional interest	Social movement	Total no. of words in interview transcript
Empirical manifestation	Corporate social responsibility	Workforce integration of immigrants	Diversity management	Equal opportunity in work setting	The women's movement	
Analytical indicator (Danish word)	Social(t/e) ansvar	Etnisk, indvandrer	Mangfoldighedsledelse, diversity management	Ligestilling, ligestilling	Køn	
[English equivalent]	[Social responsibility]	[Ethnic, immigrant]	[Diversity management]	[Equal opportunity]	[Gender]	
Initiator A	27	15	22	31	27	8,383
Initiator B	45	34	11	19	27	14,576
Initiator C	11	17	4	13	38	12,568
Participant	29	5	2	5	0	7,276
Participant	19	15	3	2	0	8,338
Participant	12	17	3	3	0	13,700
Participant	11	12	0	4	0	3,956
Participant	14	7	1	0	3	11,037
Participant	24	25	6	0	0	6,776
Foreign consultant	6	8	2	1	2	7,945
<b>Interpretation of highlighted findings</b>	Field frame was widespread	Field problem was widely acknowledged	Primary importers were Initiator A and Initiator B	Initiators shared a professional interest	Initiators took part in the women's movement	



perspective, to transpose a field frame from an organizational field that is characterized by a different institutional logic from the receiving field. To validate this qualitative analysis, we conducted a content analysis of all 10 interviews. The results of this analysis are summarized in Table 1. The table shows the elements that differentiated the three initiators from the other participants as well as the elements that were common to them all and widespread in the field.

### **Internal validity**

The fact that the data were collected in real time increases their internal validity. Real-time data are crucial for interviews because retrospective accounts increase the risk of post-rationalization. Post-rationalization occurs because interviewees do not recall, at the time of the interview, the details of their past interactions and thought processes (Barley, 1986). In addition, interviewees generally seek to give the interviewer a positive image of themselves. Combined, these factors make interviewees likely to adjust their responses to the knowledge available at the time of the interview. They may inflate the level of intentionality or minimize the efforts they put into a project, both of which affect the validity of data. To minimize this risk, we conducted real-time interviews during the transposition phase, that is, before the outcome of their efforts was known.

One limitation is the common biases of self-reporting, such as the level of self-awareness, the willingness to be open and the judgement of what is relevant information. To minimize these risks, good rapport was established with interviewees during non-participant observation of group meetings, and confidentiality measures were employed to protect against sensitive political issues. A high level of reflexivity, openness and articulation on the part of interviewees also enhanced the quality of the data. Another limitation is the researcher's influence on the responses and behavior of informants. This unavoidable limitation was minimized as much as possible.

### **Findings**

This section examines how three individuals, the initiators, came to transpose the managerial practice of diversity management from the United States to Denmark. First, we introduce the American practice of diversity management and the two institutional logics that underpin this practice. Next, we outline the context in Denmark at the time of transposition: the existence of a central problem in the field, the field frame in use at that time that failed to provide a solution and the institutional logic that informed this field frame. Then, we trace how the three initiators came to propose diversity management as an alternative, novel solution to this problem. We examine the source of their idea, their motivation to transpose and their decision to actually do so. These findings, we contend, illustrate one way in which individuals may transpose a

managerial practice across fields characterized by different dominant institutional logics.

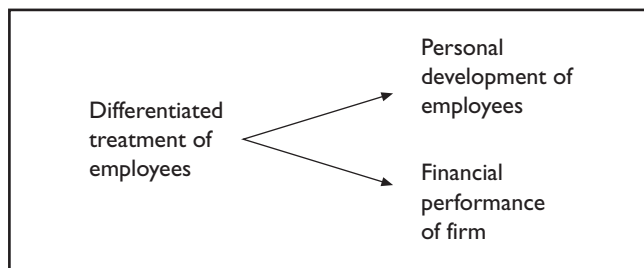
### The transposed practice of diversity management

The practice of diversity management emerged in the United States in the mid-1990s as a strategic form of human resource management. In 1996, the *Harvard Business Review* reported the following on diversity management:

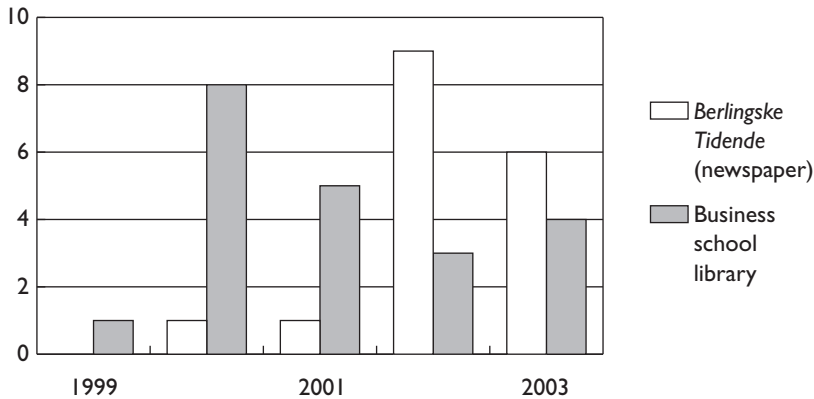
A more diverse workforce ... will increase organizational effectiveness. It will lift morale, bring greater access to new segments of the marketplace, and enhance productivity ... It is our belief that there is a distinct way to unleash the powerful benefits of a diverse workforce. Although these benefits include increased profitability, they go beyond financial measures to encompass learning, creativity, flexibility, organizational and individual growth, and the ability of a company to adjust rapidly and successfully to market changes. (Thomas and Ely, 1996: 79)

The idea is to draw out the individual strengths and capacities of employees, and create synergies between them, thereby both increasing the financial performance of firms and the professional satisfaction of employees. Figure 1 presents the field frame of diversity management.

The managerial practice of diversity management draws on two institutional logics: the market logic and the psychology logic. The essence of the market logic is to generate more resources, for instance by increasing profits or market shares. Marketing practices constitute an obvious example of practices informed by the market logic. The psychology logic entails increasing individual awareness and skills. Practices that pursue human development as an end in itself are informed by the psychology logic. Examples include career counseling and some forms of human resource management. These two rationales are both essential to diversity management: it is in the individualized treatment of employees for the double purpose of generating profit and increasing individual development that diversity management takes on its distinction as a practice.



**Figure 1** Field frame of diversity management

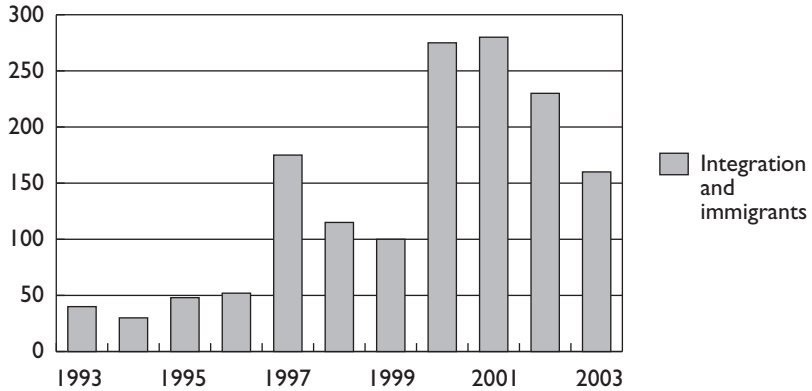


**Figure 2** Danish keyword search on 'mangfoldighedsledelse' [diversity management] in the national daily newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* and in the library of Copenhagen Business School

Diversity management was an unfamiliar practice in the organizational field of Denmark when the three initiators transposed it in 2002. Figure 2 shows that the term 'diversity management', *mangfoldighedsledelse* in Danish, made its first appearance in a major Danish newspaper in 2000, shortly after its first entry in the library of the Copenhagen Business School, where early references would most likely be found. The government requested a literature review on diversity management in 2001 (Kamp and Rasmussen, 2002), and some multinational firms in Denmark began working with the concept in 2002 (interview data). The transposition of diversity management to Danish firms in 2002 is to our knowledge the first attempt.

### The field problem at the time of transposition

In 2001, the workforce integration of immigrants was recognized as an acute problem in Denmark. The government acknowledged that 'the unemployment rate of ethnic minorities is almost 17% as opposed to 5.6% in the remaining population, a problem that both the government and labor market partners consider very important to address' (Ministry of Employment, 2000: 4). In 2000 and 2001, national newspapers published almost one article a day on the integration of immigrants, a figure up dramatically from previous years (see Figure 3). In response, the Danish government created a special taskforce to analyze the problem and generate solutions. It was an unfortunate situation for immigrants wanting to enter the Danish workforce. It was equally unfortunate for society at large since high unemployment drains financial resources from the welfare state. If immigrants were not integrated in the workforce, their children were likely to become poorly integrated as well, making the problem grow larger in the future. Demographic predictions about the future of the Danish welfare system

Keyword search in national newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende*, 1993–2003

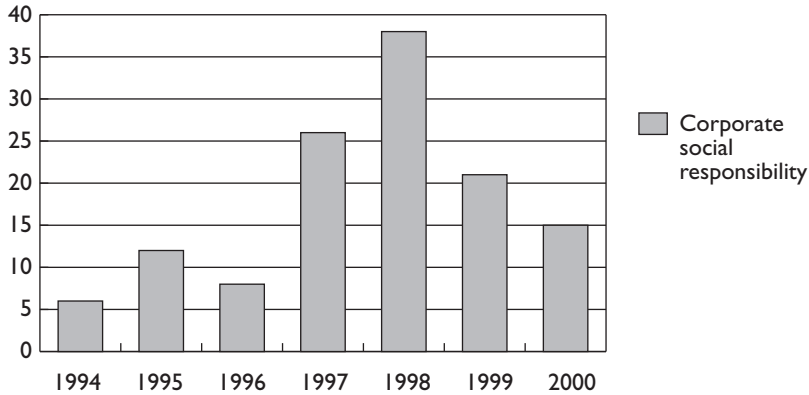
**Figure 3** Keyword search on 'integration and immigrants' in the Danish daily newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende*

were fairly pessimistic (Ministry of Labour et al., 2001). The problem of integration not only threatened the Danish welfare state but also the national pride in living in an egalitarian, social democratic society, both aspects serving to amplify the problem, making it urgent to find a solution.

### The traditional solution

In 1994, the Social Democratic government had launched a campaign on corporate social responsibility (CSR) in collaboration with its labor market partners. Corporate social responsibility referred to the integration of socially excluded individuals in the workforce (external CSR) and the retention of employees at risk of prematurely leaving the workforce (internal CSR). One target group was unemployed immigrants, but this group was by no means the main focus of the campaign in the initial years. The CSR campaign sought to mobilize Danish firms to show social responsibility by hiring, integrating and retaining various target groups in the workforce. Firms would thereby demonstrate their commitment to social cohesion, to the tradition of social democracy and to the high level of social welfare that characterize Danish society and presumably protect it against the social problems characterizing, for example, American society. During the late 1990s, the CSR campaign flourished in the field. CSR became the focus of growing attention in the Danish media (see Figure 4). It also informed a number of governmental policies and laws, stimulated much public debate and generated new human resource practices in Danish firms.

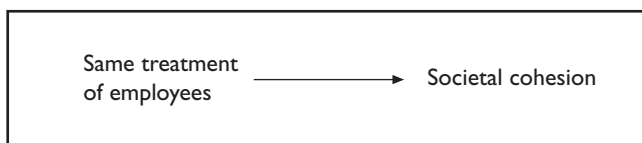
By 2001, CSR had become a field frame in the practice area of human resource management in Danish firms. It was perhaps most dominant in firms that had a strong national orientation, in terms of either historical roots or

Articles on corporate social responsibility in *Berlingske Tidende*, 1994–2000**Figure 4** Keyword search on 'corporate social responsibility' in *Berlingske Tidende*

current market shares. The field frame of corporate social responsibility, portrayed in Figure 5, stipulates that equal treatment of employees leads to societal cohesion. The pursuit of societal cohesion carried deep symbolic significance in the field. It was a core feature of the Danish welfare state and an important source of national pride and identity. It was natural, therefore, to apply the frame of CSR to the integration of immigrants as did this initiator:

Danish society will become increasingly multiethnic with time. If we cannot get people who are different from one another to work together in the workplace, there is not much hope of creating cohesion in society as a whole. If that is the case there will be greater and greater polarization between people, and this will lead to a lack of social cohesion. Not a very nice society to be living in! (Initiator B)

While the CSR campaign proved successful in general (Kruhøfer and Høgelund, 2001), firms were still reluctant to hire immigrants. They were adopting the policy, but were not implementing it fully in practice. The government and its labor market partners had vigorously promoted CSR and made sincere efforts to implement it, yet they did not achieve the goal of better integrating immigrants into the Danish workforce. This failure made the

**Figure 5** Field frame of corporate social responsibility

government single out the integration of immigrants as an urgent issue at the turn of the millennium.

The frame of CSR is informed by the institutional logic of social democracy. All practices that are intended to increase or maintain social democracy fall within this category. An example is democratic decision-making practices in firms. The social democracy logic informed not only the CSR campaign, but also other governmental efforts to regulate firms' behavior, including public policies, legal measures and administrative interfaces with the public sector (Ministry of Labour et al., 2001; Ministry of Employment, 2002). For instance, the Liberal Party proposed repeatedly between 1999 and 2001, when in opposition, that employers be allowed to give differential benefits to their employees. The majority of parliament firmly opposed differentiation with reference to the social democracy logic:

Given that this proposal is intended as an improvement to the general welfare, it is important to emphasize that concrete manifestations of this arrangement must build fundamentally on the same principles as the current welfare system. This means that the principle of equality is absolutely essential. Employers cannot divide their employees into Team A and Team B so that only selected employees benefit from the arrangement. The arrangement must, in a given work setting, cover all employees or none at all. (Danish Parliament (Folketinget), 3 October 2001)

The law was eventually adopted in 2002 under a Liberal government, but the social democracy principle was kept intact, probably to mobilize enough support in parliament to adopt the law (Danish Parliament (Folketinget), 17 May 2002, article 30, section 2). Differential treatment of employees apparently violated norms in the field even after the election of a government with a different ideology. This suggests that the social democracy logic held a dominant position in the field. It constituted a rational principle of social organization at a broader societal scale, in the public sector as well as in firms:

I can feel that Danish managers prefer social responsibility [democracy logic] over the bottom line [market logic]. In Denmark, we don't like this concept of the bottom line, of making money. We have a society that pulls the bottom up, and the top down. It is extremely equalizing ... It is difficult for poor people to see others with more money, so we don't speak too much about it. (Initiator A)

This initiator suggested that the social democratic logic held a dominant position in the field, a suggestion that aligns with ethnographic observations and textual analysis.

The market logic was perceived to threaten the social democracy logic. The threat was that the pursuit of profit might divert firms' attention from social democracy and thus undermine the Danish welfare state. This threat was conveyed in the rationale for the field frame: 'Firms must act in the collective inter-

ests of the nation, not expecting to derive financial benefits from every act of inclusion and social responsibility' (Ministry of Labour et al., 2001: 21). Such normative pressure may have generated little more than polite smiles in fields dominated by the market logic. Not so in Denmark. Acting responsibly in this way to the collective good made firms legitimate players in the Danish economy. Yet the government vigorously implemented and diffused the CSR policy to ensure that firms were putting this practice into action. The government designed and implemented financial incentives such as flex jobs, which are shared public–private financing of salaries (Kruhøffer and Høgelund, 2001), and The Social Index, which is a benchmarking tool. 'The Social Index is first and foremost an internal process tool that enterprises can use internally for a structured way of working with social responsibility' (Secretariat of The Social Index, 2005). It also designed and implemented social partnerships, which are administrative interfaces between the government and its labor market partners. It removed administrative or legal constraints that created barriers to policy implementation, and it monitored implementation through yearly surveys on the behavior and perception of Danish employers and employees (Kruhøffer and Høgelund, 2001). The intention was for the logic of social democracy to carry more weight than the market logic as a guiding framework for firms' behavior.

It became apparent over time that the logic of social democracy and its associated field frame of CSR did not produce the desired effect on the workforce integration of immigrants. The problem moved to the top of the political agenda and hostility increased:

I got a shock when I returned to Denmark in 2000 [after five years in United States] because the debate on immigrants and refugees had become quite ugly and hateful. In the US it is common to work with turning these sentiments of aggression and anger into something constructive. It wasn't very pleasant to return to this narrow-minded, condescending debate in Denmark. (Initiator A)

No easy solutions were available in the field to resolve this field-level problem. The low integration of immigrants in the workforce was all the more problematic as there was a poorer integration of immigrants in the Danish workforce than in comparable nation-states (Ministry of Employment, 2000). Through comparing the local situation with that of other countries (Sahlin-Anderson, 1996: 70), it became clear that the problem was socially constructed. It was this context of no apparent solution to a socially constructed problem in the field that stimulated the initiators to propose an alternative solution.

### **The ability to transpose**

The three initiators who transposed diversity management to Denmark as a new solution were already familiar with this managerial practice. One was writing a book about it at the time, another was trying to introduce the practice in the human resource management department she worked for, and a third had just

returned from a professional assignment as manager of the diversity management program in the World Bank (US). How did these individuals become familiar with a practice that most field members had never heard of before? One of them explained her exposure this way:

In 1994, I was headhunted to the World Bank because of my extensive experience with women and equality. My role was to continue their program on gender equality. Then there was a shift from a single focus on gender issues to a focus on racial issues as well. Some people thought that the World Bank – which has workers from all over the world – was having problems recruiting blacks. They hired a senior advisor on racial equality and decided to create a new umbrella, called ‘diversity management’. In ‘98, they asked me to manage the implementation of these diversity management programs, which I continued to do until 2000 when I left the World Bank. (Initiator A)

Thus this initiator became familiar with diversity management when it was introduced in the World Bank in 1998. Her professional experience may explain why she, and not others, took notice of a newspaper article that drew attention to diversity management in Denmark.

What I remember best from the summer I returned [2000] is a newspaper article by Hans Skov Christensen from Danish Industry who suggested that we work more with a diversity perspective. (Initiator A)

She perceived diversity management, presumably among other objectively available proposals, as a possible solution to the problem. There were other propositions in the debate that summer, including legislation that would curtail immigration, obligatory Danish courses for immigrants, more internships, lower welfare and other options that relied on the same field frame and its institutional logic of social democracy. Another initiator also mentioned international exposure as the source of her familiarity with diversity management:

I worked for OECD in Paris for a year, and then returned to Denmark to work for UNICEF for three years. It was a multicultural environment with 40 nationalities among 200 employees, so it was not a question of integrating ethnic minorities – they were simply there – but about getting the best out of the situation. This experience obviously changed my perception on many things. I became attuned to cultural differences, which added to the interest I already had in gender differences. I simply brought this experience with me into the purely Danish company I now work in. This company is really very white and homogeneous relative to the one I came from. The challenge is what to do with the inspiration and knowledge you have once you return to a Danish setting. (Initiator B)

This initiator had also been exposed to managerial practices in a multicultural work setting abroad. The World Bank, OECD and UNICEF, where two initiators were employed for a number of years, are large international organizations that employ workers from all over the world. The multicultural



composition of these international organizations contrasted with the cultural homogeneity that characterizes most Danish firms. This contrast exposed the initiators to new ideas and practices in human resource management that aligned with their interest in gender equality. As they became embedded in the foreign organizational settings, they internalized the practice of diversity management. They were subsequently able to retrieve this practice as a possible solution to the integration of immigrants when that problem became apparent in Denmark in 2001.

### **The source of multiple embeddedness**

The question poses itself: what made these three individuals internalize diversity management while they were initially embedded in the field of Denmark whose dominant institutional logic, that is, the logic of social democracy, was in contradiction with the institutional logic underlying diversity management? Both organizational and individual characteristics facilitated their exposure to and internalization of diversity management. The international organizations for which the initiators worked were high-status organizations that were regarded as very legitimate. For this reason, the initiators were also more likely to regard the management practices used by those organizations as legitimate and to internalize them.

Apart from this organizational factor, at least two individual characteristics exposed them to diversity management and facilitated their internalization of this foreign practice: their former engagement in the women's movement in the early 1970s and their related professional interest in gender equality. According to all three of them, the women's movement in the early 1970s was a key factor in determining their professional career path. This social movement occurred at a time when their professional identity and career path were taking form. One individual had this story:

I started working professionally with gender issues in the early 1970s at the time that the women's movement was coming to Denmark. I enrolled in university at a time (1968) when many interesting things were happening. I started in religious studies, but soon discovered that it was boring. It simply was not as exciting as it could have been back then. It was all about studying Greek and Latin and the New Testament, so I switched to Danish literature. Here I met a lot of people who were becoming interested in gender – a subject that had not at all interested me before. (Initiator B)

Another initiator presented a very similar situation, in which the onset of the women's movement affected her decisions at university. It subsequently positioned her as one of the few qualified candidates for new job openings that flowed from the same social movement:

I enrolled in university in 1967 to study French and Latin. I had studied these languages in high school and wanted to become a French and Latin high-school

teacher. But then 1968 set in and there was a major shift in what was considered fun and interesting in this world. I shifted into Danish literature and took courses with Pil Dahlerup [a famous Danish feminist] on the history of women in literature. It was the early seventies, and the history of women was becoming a very popular topic. It was not about gender equality at first, but about discovering women's role in literature, in language, in art, in history, in the right to vote and all that. You might say that I ended up belonging to the generation of students who initiated women studies. (Initiator A)

The third initiator had in many ways a similar story:

I joined the women's movement in '71 or '72. It was an eye-opener for me, an awakening of sorts. I was 19 or 20 at the time, and entered the movement from the angle of female body awareness. I actually participated in writing the book *Woman, know your body* [a classic]. Then the field expanded for me, and I became active in left-wing politics. At some point I started studying cultural sociology. I completed my studies in '78 and got involved in research on women, women in the workplace, and women's role in politics. (Initiator C)

These stories suggest that their engagement in the women's social movement early in their career shaped their professional path. They changed university studies and earned superior qualifications for new jobs opening up in the 1980s. They became national experts on gender equality during the 1980s and were subsequently exposed to the international elite in this area during the 1990s. This exposure brought them into contact with diversity management in the late 1990s. Their professional interest in gender equality made them more receptive to new managerial practices that valued workforce diversity, including gender diversity. In addition, their previous experience with social movements gave them insight into resource mobilization and frame alignment. They knew how to proceed to mobilize resources and to change ideas on a larger social scale. As a result, they were more likely to take up the challenge of introducing the managerial practice of diversity management in Denmark.

### **The motivation to transpose**

For the three initiators, the initial motivation to transpose diversity management to Denmark was to solve the socially constructed problem of immigrants' integration into the Danish workforce. They wanted to prevent demographic trends from undermining the economic foundation of the Danish welfare state:

There is a significant risk that Denmark will end up in a situation where young, bright people with different ethnic backgrounds won't feel accepted here, and will go abroad to get good jobs. We aren't attracting people with good brains to come here because why would they go to Denmark to be shouted at in the bus if they can go elsewhere? Our equalizing approach may, in fact, undermine our own best interests if you see our best interests as being economic interests. (Initiator B)

This framing of the problem resonated with North America's immigration policies, where immigrants are partially selected on their ability to contribute to the economy. In suggesting that Denmark repelled the most capable immigrants, retaining instead those immigrants who are not able to contribute much to the economy, she proposed that North American immigration policy might be transposed to Denmark in order to solve the problem. She simultaneously made the interesting observation that the equalized treatment of individuals may be an obstacle to solving the problem. Equalization was generally seen to protect, not to undermine, the Danish welfare state. In perceiving equalization as a problem, she broke with the field frame.

All three initiators perceived diversity management as more efficacious than CSR for solving the tenacious problem of immigrants' integration into the Danish workforce. However, they had some doubts about the applicability of diversity management to Denmark. One initiator, just returned from a five-year assignment in the World Bank in the United States, was familiar with efforts to integrate immigrants into the United States and Canada:

In 2000, I came home to a country that had not at all worked with the problem of integrating immigrants, and I came with the knowledge that it is feasible to do it differently elsewhere. I have seen it done in the United States, and I also know that it is possible to integrate immigrants in Canada, a country similar to Denmark in many ways. (Initiator A)

Here she presented Canada as a country that is sufficiently similar to Denmark to make it feasible that a North American solution might work in Denmark. In contrast, field members tended to perceive US society as very different from Danish society. Thus, the superior efficacy of the North American solution made it attractive for transposition, and Canada, 'being similar to Denmark in many ways,' made it feasible to transpose it to Denmark.

### **The decision to transpose**

In the spring of 2001, the EU was announcing new funding to promote equality and diversity in the workplace. Two of the initiators attended an information session about this European program, one of whom had a very broad and open motivation to attend:

Why did I attend this information session? You get so many invitations to the strangest things all the time, so why did I go to this one? Honestly, I do not recall any reason in particular, except being interested generally in collaboration and networks. I attend different meetings with an open spirit. I was responsible for the area in the company that had to do with equality and social responsibility, and did not have a very clear idea about what exactly we needed to initiate in the company. I attended the session, I think, mostly to find opportunities for collaboration outside

the firm. Then, you know, some ideas begin to form, you elaborate on them, and suddenly you realize that something interesting can come of it. (Initiator B)

This quote illustrates that her main motivation for attending the information session was a professional interest in the topic and in collaboration, just as it was for Initiator C:

I saw the posting on the information session and immediately thought of a firm I worked for some years back. I still had contact with a woman working there. She had just read a book on the subject and showed some interest. We met and discussed their potential interest in trying a real diversity management project with all kinds of differences, including ethnic differences. Initiator A and I wanted to try an experiment with what we call 'broad strategic diversity management'. They were open to it and thought we should proceed. Then the ball started rolling. (Initiator C)

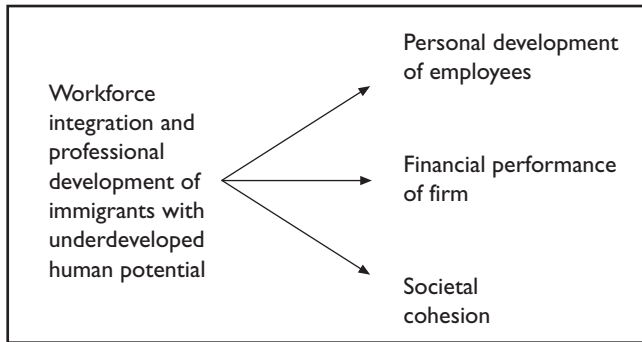
These two quotes suggest that a funding opportunity triggered their professional interest in the topic so much so that they decided to transpose diversity management to Denmark. Initiator C was clearly interested in transposition, though perhaps in combination with pragmatic concerns:

Initiator C was in a different situation as she was an independent consultant. For her, the information session may have been a way to look for business as well, in the sense of: 'is there an opportunity here for me to do something interesting that also generates business?' (Initiator B)

While a number of factors may have influenced their decision to transpose diversity management, professional interest was definitely an important one.

### **Diversity management as an emerging solution**

In connection to the transposition of diversity management, the three initiators mobilized collaboration with managers in two large Danish firms, formed a project group and applied for funding from the EU to implement the practice in the two collaborating firms. After the initiators transposed diversity management to Denmark, the project group translated it in a way that allowed them to implement it in the two Danish firms. The project group was eventually granted funding from the EU on a 50/50 cost-sharing agreement with the participating firms for a three-year period, and began implementation and theorization in the fall of 2002. They worked with managers at all levels of the two participating firms to implement the new practice, which they referred to as Danish diversity management. In an effort to theorize the practice, they also shared their ideas and initiatives with other firms in the field and with public agencies responsible for gender equality, workforce integration of immigrants and CSR.



**Figure 6** Novel frame for the workforce integration of immigrants

Because our article focuses on transposition, we do not go into the details of the translation and theorization stages (see Boxenbaum, forthcoming, for their translation process), though we want to provide a brief overview of the novel solution that the group generated for the problem of integrating immigrants in the Danish workforce. This was a combination of the diversity management field frame and the CSR field frame. The novel frame, portrayed in Figure 6, combined the means and maintained all three ends from the two original field frames. This recombined frame represents the innovation that flowed from the transposition and was later diffused within the field.

## Discussion

This real-time case study illustrated how and why three initiators transposed the foreign managerial practice of diversity management to the organizational field of Denmark. This transposition process is interesting because it illuminates a source of innovation, namely transposition across fields characterized by different logics, that has received limited attention in the literature. Such transpositions are either considered almost impossible (Westney, 1987; Guillén, 1994; Orrú et al., 1997; Biggart and Guillén, 1999) or, in contrast, very common (Latour, 1987; Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996; Sahlin-Anderson, 1996). The former argument is one in which ‘even countries wishing to adopt the practices presumed to be most efficient or effective can incorporate only those that “make sense” to the actors being organized’ (Biggart and Guillén, 1999: 726). If they do not make sense to actors, foreign practices risk being considered immoral or irrational (Biggart and Beamish, 2003: 448). The latter argument asserts that practices are always adapted when implemented in other social or organizational settings, no matter how different these practices are. As a result, ‘the creation of new forms and innovative elements are part of the imitation process since there are no ready-made models which remain unchanged as they spread’

(Sahlin-Anderson, 1996: 81). Though some transpositions may require more work than others, no transpositions are considered a priori off limits. This line of enquiry regards transposition as being unproblematic and concentrates instead on the analysis of translation processes.

Our research findings suggest that transposition is possible across fields that are dominated by different institutional logics, but that it is not an automatic process. The transposition process unfolded in the context of facilitating conditions at the field level, the organizational level and the individual level. Among the facilitating conditions at the field level, the most important one was the presence of a major problem in the field. Previous empirical research on cross-national transposition already highlighted 'an acute sense of crisis and a questioning of the legitimacy of preexisting institutional and structural arrangements' as key factors in triggering such transposition (Djelic, 1998: 280). We find support for acute field problems and partial deinstitutionalization as important facilitating factors for transposition.

Although certain field conditions are likely to facilitate transposition, all individuals are not equally likely to transpose practices from one field to another, even when they are embedded in the same field (Clemens and Cook, 1999). The likelihood of them making such a transposition is a function of both their ability and their motivation. Our findings show that both organizational and individual characteristics are likely to influence individuals' ability and motivation to transpose.

The type of organizational context in which individuals evolve may enable them to transpose foreign practices. When individuals are exposed to organizational contexts that are strikingly different from their familiar organizational settings, they are likely to encounter very different managerial practices. When they internalize these foreign practices, they become enabled to transpose them to familiar organizational settings. Two of the initiators worked for international organizations whose practices in the area of human resource management diverged significantly from those that were common in Danish firms. The initiators may have internalized these foreign practices in part because the international organizations for which they worked were regarded as highly legitimate.

At the individual level, our findings support the proposition that individuals' multiple embeddedness is an enabling condition for transposition (Sewell, 1992; Djelic, 1998). Individuals who are, or have been, embedded in multiple fields have been exposed to different frames and logics. Since they know about other models of action and organization, they are less likely to take the prevailing institutional arrangements in a field for granted (Sewell, 1992; Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; Seo and Creed, 2002). This awareness enables them to transpose practices from one field to another. This does not mean that all individuals who are embedded in multiple institutional contexts necessarily transpose practices from one context to another. Our findings show that other individual characteristics affect individuals' ability to transpose.

The initiators' engagement in the women's social movement in the 1970s and their related professional interest in gender equality were key factors in their motivation and decision to transpose diversity management to Denmark. First, their engagement in this social movement shaped their professional interests in diversity management. Second, their experience as active members in a social movement probably influenced their decision to transpose diversity management to Denmark. Because they already acted as social rebels, they knew how to proceed to challenge cherished ideas and to mobilize resources. Experience with frame alignment and resource mobilization may have facilitated their decision to transpose, in so far as individuals seldom make decisions without considering their access to resources (Stevenson and Greenberg, 2000). Hence, previous engagement in social movements may predispose individuals to transpose practices across fields. These findings support the proposition that individuals' motivation plays a key role in the decision to act as change agents in a field (DiMaggio, 1988; Lawrence, 1999).

Our case study thus illuminated a number of facilitating conditions for transposition that were present simultaneously at the field level, organizational level and individual level. It is possible that it was the simultaneous presence of an acute field problem and of enabled and motivated individuals that made transposition possible across fields characterized by different dominant logics. While such simultaneous conditions are probably fairly uncommon, they may well be an important source of innovation once they do occur.

In our case study, transposition occurred in the context of an acute field problem that could not be solved by means of existing practices and models. The very transposition of a practice from a field characterized by a different dominant logic may certainly lead to relative innovation, but it does not necessarily change the practice itself. One way in which the practice may change is when it is applied to solve a problem to which it was not previously applied. The three initiators in the case study introduced diversity management as a new practice in the field of Denmark, where it was considered innovative simply because field members were previously unfamiliar with it. The practice of diversity management changed when the initiators applied it as a solution to the integration of immigrants into the workforce. Change came about when they retrofitted the practice to make it a solution to a new problem.

The retrofitting involved some translation activity. To be attractive for potential adopters, a transposition must be translated in a way that makes it familiar and perceived to be superior (Djelic, 1998: 280; Hargadon and Douglas, 2001). Most importantly, the initiators made a bricolage between the transposed practice and the local practice of CSR in order to present diversity management as a superior solution to the field problem (see Campbell, 2004 for an overview of bricolage and translation). While translation and bricolage are integral to the innovative process we outline here, they are not the source of it. The source of innovation is the act of transposition across fields characterized by different institutional logics.

Our case study findings constitute a first step in the elaboration of transposition as a source of innovation. This topic merits more attention in future research. Our proposition on how transposition leads to innovation has been generated from a single case study. While single case studies have many limitations, including poor generalizability, such a research design allowed for real-time data and multi-level analysis. Real-time data ensure sufficiently high internal validity, particularly of individual-level data, and multi-level analysis illuminates the interaction between individual and field levels in the transposition process. These design dimensions are essential in the study of transposition as innovation. Many institutionalist studies rely on archival and historical data, which tend to overemphasize structural determinism and portray individuals as 'social dopes who mechanically follow social structure cues' (Biggart and Beamish, 2003: 449). Much strategy literature does exactly the opposite when adopting methodological individualism, which assumes individuals to be autonomous from social structures. More multi-level research is needed to illustrate how individuals interact with social structures when they innovate. One promising avenue for future research is to conduct more empirical studies in real time and across levels of analysis to consolidate or improve our account of transposition as innovation. Multiple cases and the use of mixed methods may add insights. For example, multiple cases will help to identify other potential facilitating conditions for transposition. It may be that among all the facilitating conditions that we identified only some of them are necessary conditions for transposition to occur.

Another avenue for future research is to further examine our analytical focus on the process of transposition as distinguished from the processes of translation and theorization. We emphasized transposition as central to innovation, but recognize that translation and theorization play a key role in innovation as well. Future research may elaborate the dynamic interaction among transposition, translation and theorization.

## Conclusion

The argument we have presented in this article is one in which transposition can be a source not only of relative innovation in a field, but also of absolute innovation by initiating the transformation of the transposed practice. We traced how and why three individuals transposed the managerial practice of diversity management to Denmark to solve the local problem of immigrants' integration into the workforce. By doing so, they initiated the process of translation of diversity management into a new managerial practice because it had never been used before to address this type of problem. The real-time case study that we conducted enabled us to show that, under certain specific conditions, individuals can strategically transpose a foreign managerial practice to deal with a local problem.



Our main contribution consists in illuminating facilitating conditions that were present simultaneously at individual, organizational and field levels during the act of importing a managerial practice from a foreign social setting. One condition was a socially constructed field problem, construed as acute in the local setting and not easily resolved by means of existing practices. Another condition was individuals who were enabled and motivated to import a foreign managerial practice as an alternative solution to the field problem. In our case study, the individuals became enabled through exposure to organizational settings that were radically different from familiar ones. They internalized foreign practices and became embedded in another field, which enabled them to later transpose these practices to a familiar organizational setting. An important motivation to transpose came from professional interest in the problem to be solved. This motivation was reinforced by previous experiences with resource mobilization and frame alignment in the context of active participation in a social movement. Subsequent research may build on these case-study findings to examine other instances of transposition and perhaps identify other facilitating conditions for transposition.

Our research findings are promising for the development of a coherent, multi-level account of management practices' emergence and spread. Based on our findings, we propose that these two processes are closely related: similar processes, namely diffusion processes, lead to both innovation and stabilization. The main difference between these two outcomes appears to be related to the conditions under which diffusion processes unfold. We identified some conditions that facilitated innovation at the field level, organizational level and individual level; future research may identify others. More research across levels of analysis may allow for a better integration of insights generated within separate, yet complimentary, research traditions. These insights pertain not only to the importation of foreign managerial practices, but also to the role of embedded agency in innovation. Clearly, an account that resorts to methodological individualism to explain innovation does not recognize that human agency is embedded to varying degrees in one or more institutional contexts (Jepperson, 1991). What both researchers and managers may benefit from is a coherent, multi-level account of how individuals, embedded in multiple institutional settings, innovate and spread managerial practices across social boundaries in the global economy.

## Acknowledgements

John Campbell, Thomas D'Aunno, Frank Dobbin, Susse Georg, Mattia Gilmartin, Royston Greenwood, Kristian Kreiner, Marc Schneiberg and three anonymous reviewers provided helpful comments on earlier versions of this article. The first author received financial support from Copenhagen Business School, Kai Houmann Nielsen's Fund and the Danish Social Science Research Council to conduct this research project.

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