Interactional Fields: Social Kinds in Processes of Development and Change

ABSTRACT

IMP interest in interaction stems form an underlying interest in how things happen. This represents a move from a classical perspective focusing on discrete exchange to the links, actions, and bonds – the actions, processes and location of change and development in interconnected relationships and business networks or markets. This requires a processual or relational approach to understanding in contrast to a substantialist or variables-based approach. The paper suggests that one way of advancing our understanding of interaction is to consider the site of interaction. That is the interactional field where actors act and interact with other actors and entities as well as the broader environment; where resources are exchanged, imported or exported; where change is instigated and transferred across time and space. We suggest an interactional field is the site of plasticity where change actually takes place. To understand the causal structure, the common traits of the actors and entities that interact and processes taking place in the interactional field we draw on the concept of *natural and social kinds*. We discuss how interactional fields are located in time and space, which influence and are influenced by the trajectories of change and development.

Keywords: interaction, change process, mechanism, social kinds

INTRODUCTION

IMP researchers see business as a process of interaction between interdependent organisations, where businesses are not islands within some abstract concept of a market (Gummesson and Polese 2009). This represents a move from a classical perspective focusing on discrete exchange to the links, actions, and bonds that form interconnected relationships and business networks or markets. Here the actions and decisions of one firm influence and are influenced by the strategic actions and interactions of others (Andersson and Mattsson 2006; Wilkinson 2008). These interdependent relationships change over time as relationships are made and broken and markets evolve. Indeed the language of IMP with concepts such interaction, exchange, relational, network development and evolution, network change, denote temporality (Hedaa and Törnroos 2008). To understand interaction then is about understanding change and changing and how decisions are contingent on their spatiotemporal location. This presents epistemological challenges for researchers. One way forward is to draw on current processual thinking and the identification and individuation of mechanisms. Mechanism provide explanatory accounts of how change happens, but it is in the detail of how the 'parts' of the mechanism acquire their capacity to act and interact and bring about change and influence the path of development. Understanding of mechanisms has been most prominent in the Philosophy of Science (Machamer, Darden et al. 2000; Craver 2001; Craver 2009), and in disciplines where time and history matter, such as sociology (Hedström and Swedberg 1998; Abbott 2001), and political science (Mahoney 2003; Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003; George and Bennett 2005; Gerring 2006). Understanding of mechanisms in business research has been developing with a focus on processual research (Poole and Van de Ven 2004), organisational mechanisms (Pajunen 2004) and marketing (Buttriss, Wilkinson et al. 2005; Buttriss and Wilkinson 2006; Held, Marks et al. 2010)

Change takes place over time involving many processes, and the path of development is ongoing and multifaceted, influenced by different actors and factors in various ways. These shape the trajectory and account for differing patterns of development, and how different factors appear more important at various stages. What seems like a static background against which processes play out instead is a seething mass of events and processes. Understanding change should uncover the necessary causal processes (Goertz and Starr 2002) and the different influences within this seething mass, that interact to influence the trajectory of change from its initiation and emergence, to perhaps its decline, transformation, termination or outcome (Van de Ven and Poole 1995). Yet these questions remain largely unanswered, as much research on change is comparative static in nature dominated by assumptions that privilege stability over dynamics, and incremental change over discontinuous change (Van de Ven and Huber 1990; Meyer, Gaba et al. 2005).

Interaction is time and space contingent "[for] every social fact is situated, surrounded by other contextual facts and brought into being by the processes relating it to its past context" (Abbott 1997: p1152). Ford and Håkansson (2006) suggest we haven't come far in our understanding of interaction. This paper seeks to make a contribution to that discussion, by suggesting that to understand the nature of interaction we need to go to the site of interaction or interactional field (Abbott 1997; Pettigrew, Woodman et al. 2001). This is the site of plasticity, where constellations of forces are manifest that shape the trajectory of business processes. An interactional field we may think of as time-space loci populated by a cluster of actors and entities that are spatially structured; these actors and entities have capacities to act and interact that are the result of; proximal etiological inputs such as the exchange of resources from within the cluster; the spatial landscape; less proximal developmental

mechanisms importing and exporting resources to and from the environment; and by more distant evolutionary mechanisms that formed the cluster initially (Machamer, Darden et al. 2000; Craver 2001; Craver 2009). A focus on the interactional field shifts our focus away from variables acting to actions and interactions, that is to the constellations of actions that shape the character of change rather than "fixed entities with variable qualities" (Abbott 2001; p40)

An interactional field is not made up of any grouping of entities; instead they have a coherence that is maintained by some common underlying mechanism. An interactional field is not unlike the concept of a *kind* (Keil 1992) including *human or social kinds*. Entities in kinds share some common essence, and therefore reference to kinds is about understanding mechanisms, the causal nature of interaction within and between kinds (Gelman and Wellman 1991). Kinds are an entry point to thinking about development and change and the role the site of plasticity plays. They help identify the causal powers of entities, what they have the capacity to do or not do and how these came about. They may also help to make inductive predictions about what will happen in the future, and identify veto points at which to intervene to make things happen (Craver 2009). In business, human or social kinds may be likened to focal nets of interacting actors and entities, parts of relationships, channels, networks and markets.

We discuss kinds and how they act as a metaphor for understanding interactional fields and the operation of relational, environmental and cognitive mechanisms and how these influence the trajectory of change and development. We begin by discussing the nature of change and how calls for processual accounts of change have lead to a focus on mechanisms.

THE NATURE OF CHANGE

Equilibrium models have been useful in providing 'snapshots' of change by offering insight into different parts of the process and the important factors influencing the change at different points in time. However, they are silent on the processes of moving towards equilibrium; how plans are translated into action or how these were modified, adapted and changed; how fast or slow adjustment takes; and whether equilibrium is ever reached, especially if change is ongoing. Whole processes get reduced to some disconnected concept or variable (Mintzberg 1992; Van de Ven and Poole 2005), and temporal and spatial factors that shaped these 'snapshots' are ignored (Pettigrew, Woodman et al. 2001).

Cross-sectional models treat process as important but ultimately reducible to actions of things (Abbott 2001). As a consequence change is viewed as a *fait accompli* of purposeful action. Actions are seen as ordered and sequenced in order to achieve rationally declared ends and actors behave mechanistically and altruistically in the pursuit of organisational goals. But this misses the dynamic, unfolding and emergent quality of change (Pettigrew 1992; Tsoukas and Chia 2002). While change may be planned and purposeful, the consequence of deliberate managerial action and the result of individuals accommodating new experiences and realising new possibilities thrown up by chance random events (Langley 2007). Change may also emerge both endogenously and exogenously from interaction of unfolding processes located within different systems (Meyer, Gaba et al. 2005). For instance, an organization may respond to external influences such as competition, regulatory change, or technological change, and therefore have to change. However, how it responds is endogenously conditioned by the actions and decisions of others with whom the organisation is directly or indirectly

connected in the industry or market (Andersson and Mattsson 2006). Change is therefore complex, multi-layered and evolving rather than simple fixed and episodic. As a result change may be incremental and gradual, or dramatic and radical, and finally it may be recurrent or unprecedented (Poole and Van de Ven 2004).

If change is viewed in juxtaposition to stability we loose the deeper changes that sustain stability or are the location of changes that corrodes stability. If viewed as the exception, merely an occasional episode in organisational life, we underestimate the 'fluidity, pervasiveness and indivisibility of change' (Tsoukas and Chia 2002; p570). The task is therefore to explore the complex, haphazard and often contradictory ways that change emerges and to construct models that allow for an appreciation of conflicting rationalities, objectives and behaviours (Meyer, Gaba et al. 2005). Change is always potentially there operating against the background of time (McKelvey 1997; Aldrich 1999; Weick and Quinn 1999).

Attempts to incorporate time into our models through time series while useful for analysis of trends and periodicity, are appropriate only for single variable linear processes. However, organizational change is likely to involve a large number of variables and it is actors that act not variables (Abbott 2001). Viewing change as an accomplished event through synoptic accounts arbitrarily transforms change into a series of static positions, often illustrated as a series of stages or phases (Tsoukas and Chia 2002). This satisfies our desire to categorise phenomena, but such linear sequential models of development are typically inadequate to deal with the complexities of development. They fail to account for the 'getting from' stage-to-stage and assume invariance between and within categories in following a prescribed order of development (Tsoukas and Chia 2002; p.571).

Variance based researchers nominate independent variables as explanation of change. Most of these variables tend to be plausible candidates for explanation because they display striking patterns of covariance with the dependent variable (Emirbayer 1997). Change is a continuous process, therefore the focus should be on "changing rather than change" (Pettigrew, Woodman et al. 2001; p698), and the ongoing processes and their interconnections over time, which mobilise, and are mobilised by actors or constrain development (Tsoukas and Chia 2002). We need to see change as an ongoing process, a stream of interaction, and a flow of situated initiatives as opposed to a set of episodic events such a unfreezing, change, refreeze (Lewin 1952), that underlies many models of change.

In order to discriminate among explanations one has to draw on more suitable ontological considerations about the conceptualisation of causality when faced with the theoretical problems of explaining change.

PROCESS THINKING AND MECHANISMS

Process thinking involves considering phenomena dynamically in terms of movement, activity and temporal evolution. It involves consideration of how and why things such as people, organizations, strategies and environments change, act, and evolve over time (Langley 2007). That is, catching "reality in flight" (Pettigrew 1992; p11).

Van de Ven (1992) suggests that process has been considered from three perspectives; (1) as a logic used to explain a causal relationship in variance theory; (2) as a category of concepts

that refer to activities of individuals and organizations; and (3) as a sequence of events that describes how things change over time.

It is this third approach that treats process as 'a sequence of individual and collective events, actions and activities unfolding over time in context' (Pettigrew 1997; p338), that provides a dynamic account of organisational becoming, emerging, developing, transforming and decaying. That is, a process-orientated account, focusing on the actions and interactions unfolding provides a 'moving pictures' explanation of change. A process approach (Rescher, 1996) appropriately highlights the active types of changing.

An important consideration of research is parsimony and avoiding the inclusion of all possible routes to an end point. This requires employing a theoretical lens through which to identify those processes that can plausibly be attributed to the achievement of the outcome under study and not consider all the possible processes that may be operating. That is, the necessary processes that explain the outcome (Goertz and Starr 2002). Such processes are attributed generative power by the researcher and referred to as mechanisms (George and Bennett 2005; Mahoney 2010).

The idea of 'mechanism' has been defined in a variety of manners. It has been referred to as a 'causal mechanism' (Mahoney 2001), as a 'causal process' (George and Bennett 2005) and as a 'social mechanism' (Mahoney 2001). The term also appears without a preceding adjective, rendering it merely a 'mechanism' (McAdam, Tarrow et al. 2001; Lichbach 2008). A mechanism can be understood as a "class of events that alter relations among specified sets of entities in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations" (McAdam, Tarrow et al. 2001). A mechanism is therefore a process to which explanatory power can be attributed.

Bunge (1997; p. 414), sees mechanisms "as a real process in a concrete system, such that it is capable of bringing about, or preventing, some change in the system as a whole", and that mechanisms are activated by events of a certain kind (p. 438), and that "all mechanisms are system specific" (p. 450). Also that, "mechanism is to system as motion is to body" and "thinking is to brain", "social mechanisms reside neither in persons nor in their environment – they are part of the processes that unfold in, and among social systems (Bunge, 1999; p. 57-59). Mechanisms, 'comprise entities, with their properties, and activities. Activities are the producers of change, entities are the things that engage in activities' (Machamer et al., 2000, P.3). It is the configuration of these entities and their actions and interactions that give mechanisms their causal power and capability to bring about or prevent change (Bunge, 1997).

Lichbach (2008) suggests that there are several components of a mechanism. First, a mechanism requires a localised and bounded spatial frame, in particular time and place. It also requires a system, operating within a specific set of elements, such as an organisational system, an environmental system or a social system. It requires both start-up and terminal conditions, which explain how the mechanism began to operate and how it transformed at a specified end point. It also requires a series of events, which are constituent parts of mechanism, transforming it from its start point to its termination. Finally, a mechanism must be seen to evolve historically through an ongoing series of interactional fields.

McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) classify mechanisms as environmental, relational and cognitive. Environmental mechanisms are those that externally impact on the interactional

field. Such mechanisms may include macro-level considerations (such as the impact on consumers of the global financial crisis, increased concerns about climate change, or the role played by competitors in the decision making processes of an organisation). Environmental mechanisms may also include adaptation to structural impositions, such as market boundaries and resource allocation within an organisation. Each entity within an interactional field has the capacity to act or interact, the result of prior interactional fields, giving rise to relational mechanisms. For instance prior learning may provide the knowledge and therefore the capability for a firm to cooperate in a value chain; or the acquisition of technology may facilitate integration in a buyer-seller relationship. These alter the nature of interactions and connections amongst individuals and environments, and how these may change and alter the outcome of a given phenomenon. Linking activities undertaken by an intermediary are an example of a relational mechanism (McAdam, Tarrow et al. 2001). Cognitive mechanisms, such as learning, knowledge building or sensemaking are individualist mechanisms and refer to a change in an individual entity's perception or interpretation of a given action, event or process and how this may impact on the decision to take further or modified action (Weick 1995).

Understanding how the mechanism operates and brings about change requires identifying the entities that engage in the activities and the capacities or properties that give them the capacity to act. The capacity to act is a product of an entity's structure, which is the outcome of prior activities. This is a substantivist way of expressing that entities have properties that give them a capacity at a "particular time, in a particular place, or occurrence to engage in activities" (Craver, 2001; footnote 4), over time as different interactional fields are navigated.

We need to better understand the loci of interaction where environmental, relational and cognitive mechanism operate and drive spatial relations; how entities achieve their capacities to interact; and how interactional fields evolve over time.

INTERACTIONAL FIELDS, KINDS AND SOCIAL KINDS

An interactional field is a cluster of entities spatially configured; a set of temporal stabilities in a process of flux. The entities mutually determine each other through the rules, stratagems, the tricks, the by-plays of interaction (Abbott 1997; Pettigrew, Woodman et al. 2001). Spatial and temporal processes influence the structure and nature of interaction and shape the interactional field. Entities may be participants in a number of processes within different disciplinary or functional systems, such as political, social, technical and environmental processes. It is through memberships in other process that changes in other systems, are transmitted into a focal interactional field from time-to-time. An interactional field then is the ecological back drop that carries the explanatory burden of how something comes about –the locus of plasticity (Keil and Wilson 2000).

For epistemological reasons a way to understand the nature and putative explanatory role of what entities coexist in coherent extended sequences of interaction is to think of an interactional field as a natural or human (social) kind. A *kind* is a concept within a physical, biological, psychological (Keil 1992) or social (Haslam 1998; Thomasson 2003) world, comprising a group or cluster of entities that share some common abstract essence. *Kinds* have their foundation in *biological* or *natural* kinds, such as plants and animals – tigers are a *kind*, as are lemons, parrots, etc. *Kinds* may also be *physical* or *material* – stone, bronze, etc; and *non-natural* kinds such as *artefacts* that have been brought into being by intentions of a

purposeful social actor (Gopnik and Nazzi 2003), including machinery, vehicles, clothing etc. While natural *kinds* exist independent of human beliefs *social kinds* are analytical constructs of a bounded class of people, their behaviour, condition, actions, tendencies and experiences (Hacking 1996). Importantly, reference to *kinds* is about making causal claims about the relationship of entities within the *kind*; entities have an internal structure, influenced in part by the intentions of the entities themselves, but understanding is not limited to structure at the cost of process for they share a common history and underlying relational mechanism as well as ongoing mechanisms of growth and inheritance (Gelman and Wellman 1991).

Identification of members of a kind may be through inductive reasoning of identification of characteristic patterns among properties of the entities and their structural configurations. This structure may be unified by a coherent set of beliefs about the relation among the members of cluster (Craver 2009). The coherence of the cluster of entities is maintained through the operation of some homeostatic mechanism only changing when a single or multiple entities capacity to act is changed through interaction. This may be through the export, import or dissipation of resources between the cluster of entities or with the environment. Equivalent organisational or business kinds may be supply or value chains, inter-organisational relationships and networks, industries or markets. Their coherence or membership of a *kind* may be due to underlying common mechanisms such as shared resources, technology, social networks, organisational ties (Håkansson and Snehota 1995), or shared schema (Welch and Wilkinson 2002).

An interactional field has two features. Firstly the interacting entities overlap spatiotemporally. Secondly the interacting entities change each other mutually either; sequentially or non co-occurrently, such as a chain reaction or realized by entangled feedback loops; or alternatively simultaneous affecting both interactants amounting to change in both entities (Seibt 2009).

Accounts of the common structures, processes and rules and theories that characterise a kind may be represented by a causal map – ‘an abstract, coherent, learned representation of the causal relationships among kinds and events’ (Gopnik and Nazzi 2003; p.307). Figure 1 (adapted from Craver, 2009), below illustrates various ways entities (property clusters) participate within an interactional field. The nature of interaction may be the result in part of an underlying mechanism (b). However other patterns of action and interaction are possible including sequential and simultaneous interaction.

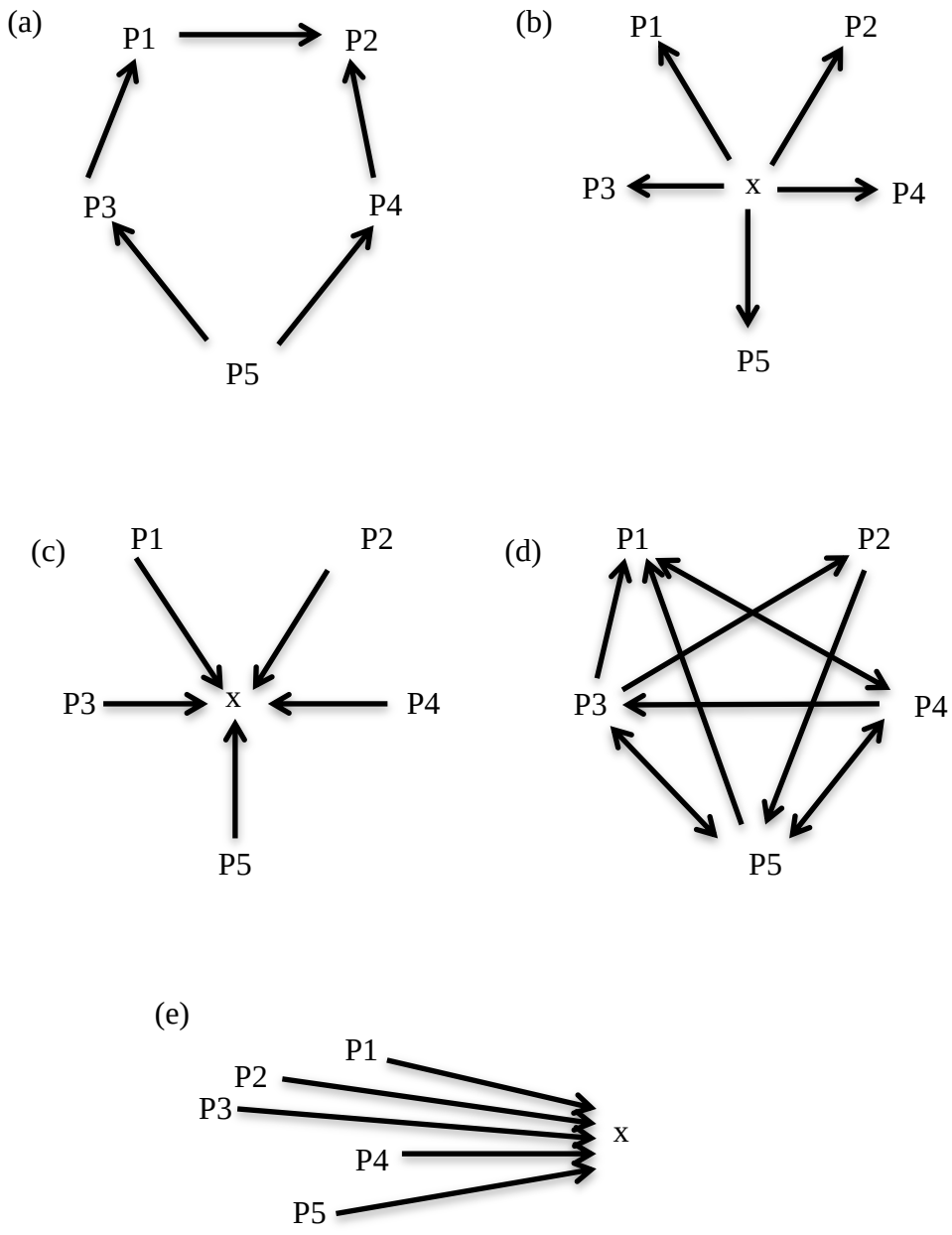

Figure 1. Property clusters in interactional fields and mechanisms (Adapted from (Keil 2003)in Craver, 2009)

A kind or interactional field is located in time-space recognizing that any event or process is environed both by its spatial location and its place within a sequence of occurrences. We need therefore to examine how time and space influence interaction within and between interactional fields.

SPATIAL INFLUENCE ON INTERACTIONAL FIELDS

Attention to spatial influences on an interactional field highlights the mechanisms that reproduce spatial patterns and offers a better understanding of why change occurs differently in different regions and how often these have historical origins.

Interactional fields may be contained within compartmental boundaries, which may be physical or conceptual where they lack stable spatial relations (Craver 2009). Physical boundaries include the underlying geography – the natural or structural features, such as national borders, spatial patterns of production, distance from key economic centres, resource endowments even climate and topography. These tend to cluster firms and shape interaction effecting inter-organisational coordination; the scope of specific organizations and organizational autonomy. These may be sectorial clusters such as industry or commercial sectors (Porter 1998). They may be also be horizontally structured and shaped like Silicon Valley (Seely Brown and Duguid 2000), or vertically structured such as supply or value chains.

Secondly, geopolitical boundaries created and maintained by political, economic and cultural actors can create powerful boundaries that transcend geographical space. These work through the creation of particular organisational arrangements, institutional regimes, and economic and political cooperation. Membership of the EU for instance brings certain opportunities and constraints. New geopolitical patterns emerging in other regions may interact in powerful ways with domestic transformations, by shaping the expectations and strategic choices of key actors as well as creating, critical junctures, turning points and discontinuities in unfolding processes of change in particular regions (Ekiert and Hanson 2003).

Thirdly, space may be conceived as a level of interaction. At a macro-level, network and markets mechanisms generate 'contagion' enabling the transfer of ideas, behavioural patterns and cultural practices as well as mimicry and imitation in organisational arrangements and strategies (Hannan and Freeman 1989). Therefore outcomes may emerge that are dependent on underlying structural conditions. Diffusion is mediated by network structures that differ across space and is predicated on the existence of extensive system of weak ties to other spatially removed entities. An understanding of the pathways through which diffusion takes place, the types of entities and networks that facilitate the process and the role of proximity (Granovetter 1973), are integral to the understanding the interactional field. Space may also be determined by the intensity of interaction among the component entities with interaction stronger within the boundary then between the interactional field and the environment (Simon 1969).

TEMPORAL INFLUENCE ON INTERACTIONAL FIELDS

The study of temporal processes is important for understanding diverging paths of development and how seemingly random events at an earlier time may generate legacies that can be seen in the present (David 1985).These earlier events and choices, even apparently minor ones, can constrain and affect an entities capacity to act or not along with subsequent events and choices, such that particular evolutionary paths are followed rather than others (Gladwell 2000). For example, early entry into a new market may facilitate the entry of complementary organizations, each enhancing the value of the other and providing positive feedback. Once a particular path of evolution is established, the strategic vision and options of a firm are constrained, which reinforces the existing pattern of interaction and therefore

development. This makes changes of direction and reversals very difficult. Such self-reinforcing processes underlie organisational inertia and account for particular organisational arrangements and enduring interactional fields in the face of changing environmental conditions (Poole and Van de Ven 2004). An example of this is asset specificity – the extent to which the value of assets are specific to a particular setting or use and cannot easily be re-allocated to other activities. Examples include local market learning and the development of mutual trust in a relationship with a particular counterpart. This reinforces commitment to existing interactional patterns.

Starting conditions, including the prior experience and histories of those involved, are special cases of path dependence and are important in explaining the pattern of interaction. Early developments, such as experience in the first foreign market entered for internationalising firms, can become deeply embedded, affecting the resource mix, vision and incentive structures of a firm and hence the behaviour of the other entities involved. This in turn affects their awareness and responsiveness to unfolding events or to processes occurring later. First mover advantage derives in part from this type of effect, as those moving first into a market may be in a position to set in place a sequence of events or rules of conduct that prevent or hinder those that follow thus maintaining the integrity of the international field. Conversely early movers may be vulnerable to downstream challenges, such as free riding on an early entrants opening up of a foreign market.

The second way in which temporal processes are important is in terms of the temporal order or sequence of interactional fields transversed, in shaping the patterns of interaction. The order as well as the mix of entities therefore matters in shaping interaction. In any situation particular actions and responses are more or less likely and, as a result, some sequences and combinations of entities will appear more frequently while others rarely. Part of the problem of explaining change is to identify these patterns and the structural features that encourage the appearance of some sequences and rule out others (Abbott 1990). By identifying the likely path of change and the role and importance of key entities and events, we may be able to identify 'windows of opportunity', 'veto points' and/or the potential consequences of different types of intervention strategies (Poole and Van de Ven 2004)

The third type of impact of temporal processes is in terms of tempo or pace of change. Some things change more slowly than others and more rapidly changing processes have to adapt to them (McGrath 1988). The impact of slower processes is only revealed after extended periods of time, when some critical mass or threshold level is reached that triggers change (Ball 2005). It takes time and experience for firms to develop knowledge and trust to have the capacity to work cooperatively in an interdependent relationship. Long term, slow moving processes taking place across the broader landscape may open up gaps between the strategy of the individual entities and the broader environment (Pierson 2001). For example, the globalisation of economies has opened up markets and communication possibilities leading to borne global firms, as well as SMEs entering international markets more easily because they are both easier to find and because they can find international buyers or sellers more easily. But globalisation affects firms and industries unevenly leading to different speeds and patterns of internationalisation and various kinds of learning mechanisms are involved. If the tempo of environmental change is faster than organisational adaptation plays out, due to learning or competition, then problems will arise (Hannan and Freeman 1989).

Another dimension of tempo is that entities - people, firms and networks are involved in various types of temporal cycles and routines that influence the timing of decisions, actions,

reactions and other events such as the emergence of opportunities and problems. The timing of these are in turn influenced by planning cycles as well as daily, seasonal and longer term patterns of action (McGrath and Tschan 2004).

CONCLUSION

Substantialist approaches continue to unpack the black-box of covariation in explaining factors influencing changing-things, such as organisations, relationships, value-chains, and network and markets. Relational approaches too illustrate in ever more detail the causal complexity of how things come about (Keil 2003). Recent work on mechanisms – processes that bring about change, is coalescing around a common language for identifying and individuating mechanisms and how entities gain their capacity to act and interact and therefore brings about change (Machamer, Darden et al. 2000; Craver 2001; Machamer 2002; Machamer 2004; Craver 2009). However much of this work is in the biological or physical sciences. Understanding social mechanisms present their own challenges (Hedström and Swedberg 1998; McAdam, Tarrow et al. 2001; Tilly 2001). Much of the work to date explains mechanisms at a high level of abstraction. Individuating mechanisms, that is explaining how change actually takes place, has largely been conceptual.

It is human action that brings about outcomes even though broader socio-economic, institutional and cognitive processes influence the choice set from which individuals select their course of action. Particular social context constrains and enables actors and indeed shape these actors very understanding of who they are and what they want to do (Pierson 2004). An interactional field captures the influence of history, the importance of space and the capacity of actors to strategize as well as the limits of their ability to do so.

However it is not any actor or entity that interacts. Organizations, channels, relationships, networks and markets etc, share some common homeostatic mechanisms that maintain a coherent structure of interaction, until disrupted through interaction with entities outside the field. Better understanding of *social kinds* in business will help understand these common mechanisms that bond actors together, how common traits or capabilities influence actors and entities capacities to exchange resources, and in doing so bring about change and influence the path of development.

Actors within social systems are able to pick up causal patterns and diagnose important causal features and initiating factors, in part the result learning from past encounters with other *artifacts* and *kinds* as well as experience in participation in *kinds*. Understanding the causal structure of interaction therefore helps us develop our narratives and apply our intuitive theories of the world around us and provide clues as to what works or doesn't, in trying to influence desired outcomes (Tilly 2008; Craver 2009).

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