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Frame Restructuration: The Making of an Alternative Business Incubator amid Detroit's Crisis

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Abstract

Adaptive responses to crisis rely on effective cognitive frames: understanding what is going on amid unfolding crisis and what should be done to address it. Research has shown that failing to drop a routine cognitive frame exacerbates crises, while nimbly adopting a novel frame enhances resilience. This suggests that actors in crisis have an urgent dual mission: to simultaneously destroy and construct frames. Existing research offers little guidance on how actors can accomplish this in the midst of their struggles to survive threatening and disruptive circumstances. I address this shortcoming by drawing from a 22-month ethnography of a Detroit business incubator, analyzing how it gradually developed a novel diagnostic and prognostic frame of the city's unfolding crisis. I propose and show that actors amid crisis construct a novel frame—while dismantling an old one—through a process of frame restructuration: the novel frame emerges from and co-evolves with unconventional actions that pragmatically address the exigencies of the crisis. Mutual constitution between pragmatic actions and the emergent frame can be critically propelled by the use of metaphor, which helps actors instantly reframe the context.

Keywords: business incubators, alternative creation, frame, crisis

The largest municipal bankruptcy in U.S. history occurred in July 2013 when the city of Detroit, Michigan filed for Chapter 9 bankruptcy. This was the culmination of a deep-seated crisis that was decades in the making, caused by overreliance on a single industry, racial tensions, and incompetent leadership (Padnani, 2013). Since the 1950s, Detroit had undergone a gradual and painful decline. The number of manufacturing jobs plummeted, the city lost some 60 percent of its population, and it was hit particularly hard by the 2008 global financial crisis during which two of the Big Three automotive companies barely avoided bankruptcy through government bailouts and aggressive restructuring. Around the time the city declared bankruptcy, the official unemployment rate

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reached 29 percent, while the unofficial rate was estimated to be as high as 50 percent (Solomon, 2013). Nearly 40 percent of the city's residents lived below the poverty line—more than twice the national average. One in three Detroit households relied on food stamps, and more than a quarter of the city's residential properties were abandoned.

As Detroit faced bankruptcy, a local business incubator, GREEN, was founded to revitalize the city by nurturing entrepreneurship.[1] Its response to the crisis defied the typical syntax of entrepreneurship. While other local business incubators and accelerators focused on raising investment and launching quickly growing ventures, this organization discouraged founders from fundraising and instead guided them toward organic growth. While an influx of young entrepreneurs sought a total makeover of the city, treating it as a blank slate, GREEN aimed to grow new businesses grounded in impoverished Detroit communities and their founders' personal identities. This approach was clearly at odds with conventional wisdom, but it successfully nurtured local businesses that generated longstanding local jobs and addressed locally specific needs, contributing to the city's gradual turnaround.

This case is puzzling because a business incubator successfully got off the ground amid the extraordinarily adverse context of the city's crisis, and it did so by defying the tried-and-true Silicon Valley approach. I closely trace how GREEN's unconventional approach emerged over time and reveal that the organization effectively reconstructed a sense of what was going on and what should be done—the cognitive frame of the crisis.

Cognitive frames are schemas of interpretation through which people understand their context. Without frames, people see things but do not know what they mean and therefore cannot form ''conjectures as to what occurred before and expectations as to what is likely to happen now'' (Goffman, 1974: 38). The importance of frames becomes amplified in a time of crisis. At the onset of a crisis, emergent cues suddenly violate normal expectations, and daily routines are severely disrupted, leading to deep confusion as the surrounding world is no longer orderly and comprehensible (Weick, 1993; Quinn and Worline, 2008). In response, situated actors scramble to ''recover or regain sense by shifting to an alternative framing'' (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014: 189). Research on crisis and resilience has shown that framing is imperative for enabling adaptive and innovative responses to crisis (Williams et al., 2017). For example, those who failed to quickly drop an old frame and update to a new one exacerbated the crisis in the Mann Gulch wildfire (Weick, 1993), the Stockton shooting (Cornelissen, Mantere, and Vaara, 2014), the Occupy London movement (Reinecke and Ansari, 2020), and the 2008 global financial crisis (Fligstein, Stuart Brundage, and Schultz, 2017). In contrast, nimbly adopting a novel frame alleviated the pain of the European migrant crisis (Klein and Amis, 2020), prevented catastrophic disasters during the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Quinn and Worline, 2008), facilitated strategic decisions amid industrial upheaval (Kaplan, 2008), and enabled entrepreneurial resilience in the face of regional decline (Powell and Baker, 2014). These findings make it clear that actors amid crisis are tasked with an urgent dual mission: to destroy an old frame and simultaneously construct a new one (Weick, 1993).

[1] I use pseudonyms for all the actors and organizations in the article.

The current literature offers little guidance on how to accomplish this critical mission. It is unclear how the actors living through a crisis can quickly repeal the frames that have shaped their perception of the world around them. Although prior research describes a seemingly frictionless transition from an old to a new frame, an old frame is difficult to shed because frames are deeply entangled with personal identities and political interests (Weick, 1993; Kaplan, 2008), cues inconsistent with frames are easily ignored and hardly processed (Cornelissen, Mantere, and Vaara, 2014; Fligstein, Stuart Brundage, and Schultz, 2017), and under the extreme pressure of a crisis, people tend to resort to their most habitual responses (Staw, Sandelands, and Dutton, 1981). Therefore, repealing an existing frame requires deliberate work and moral courage (Quinn and Worline, 2008), a laborious undertaking that warrants further investigation (Garfinkel, 1967).

For those who experience confusion and anxiety due to the increasing malfunctions of an existing frame, it can be even less clear how to form a new frame. Prior research has offered some insight into how actors transition from an old to a new frame (Litrico and David, 2017; Klein and Amis, 2020) and how actors realign new frames by reassembling meaning elements from a frame repertoire (Kaplan, 2008; Lee, Ramus, and Vaccaro, 2018), but little is known about how a new, alternative frame emerges in the first place. For actors confronting a dynamically unfolding crisis, the vision for a new frame is unclear, and a well-defined repertoire of meaning elements is rarely accessible. Yet they must somehow build a novel view of what is going on and what should be done—diagnostic and prognostic aspects of a frame (Benford and Snow, 2000). How they accomplish this task through their everyday struggle amid crisis remains largely unknown.

To address this shortcoming in our knowledge, I build theory around frame reconstruction amid crisis, drawing on a 22-month ethnography of GREEN's journey to create an alternative approach to business incubation. Adopting a microsociological lens and a strong processual focus (Garfinkel, 1967; Barley, 2008; Langley and Tsoukas, 2010), I analyze how GREEN's novel frame gradually emerged from its everyday work to redress the unfolding devastation in Detroit. This analysis reveals that improvisational actions that pragmatically address the exigencies of crisis precede framing and subsequently mold a new frame, consistent with the notion of enactment (Weick, 1988). Then this action-induced frame evolves (and the existing frame dismantles) over time through mutual constitution with pragmatic actions (Giddens, 1984). I find that the use of metaphor plays a key role in this process (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Coulson, 2001; Cornelissen, 2005) by enabling instant reframing of the interaction context. Putting these insights together, I propose a model of ''frame restructuration'': a process of structuration (Giddens, 1984) that accomplishes reconstruction of an interrupted context (Joas, 1996) through ongoing iteration between pragmatic responses to a crisis situation and an emergent frame of the crisis.

This study contributes to research on framing in crisis by explaining how the framing imperative can be accomplished by actors situated in the midst of the crisis (Barley, 2008). I find that the destruction and construction of frames unfold simultaneously through actions. Novel frames gradually emerge as actors take unconventional but pragmatic actions and make sense of them, and the existing frame simultaneously dissipates as actors repeatedly overcome

convention-based challenges to their pragmatic actions. This account of the framing process deepens integration of the framing literature with practice theory (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011; Nicolini, 2012), whereby framing is not conceived as a purely cognitive process but a process that is experientially grounded in practical actions (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014).

By proposing the model of restructuration, this study also extends the core mechanism of structuration theory—the mutual constitution of action and structure—to extraordinary circumstances emerging from crisis. I propose that when habitually enacting an existing structure can deeply threaten actors' survivability (Shilling, 2008), a different mode of structuration is required. In this mode, it is not routine enactment of structure but pragmatic problem solving that takes center stage (Dewey, 1922; Joas, 1996; Farjoun, Ansell, and Boin, 2015), and the existing structure is not modified to preserve a sense of normalcy but openly subverted to create a new sense of normalcy. This study thus illuminates that the duality of action and structure not only undergirds the maintenance of everyday lives but also potently shapes the restoration of interrupted lives amid crisis.

Finally, this study enhances a processual understanding of how actors adaptively respond to a crisis. I identify three important junctures in the process of innovation amid crisis that drive actors in a similar crisis to accomplish vastly different responses: what situational needs they initially face, what metaphors they employ to make sense of their responses, and what convention-based challenges they deal with. By illuminating these processual details, this study offers guidance to those who undergo unprecedented crises. In times of crisis, adaptive responses do not linearly flow from a fully established understanding of the situation; instead, an incomplete but generative understanding of the situation emerges in tandem with not-fully-informed but pragmatic actions to sort out the crisis.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Framing in Crisis

With the increasing probability and scale of crises (e.g., natural disasters, pandemics, political unrest, recessions) and the persistent grand challenges our society is facing (e.g., poverty, societal inequality, climate change), the context of crisis and the ensuing adversities are gaining increasing significance in organization studies (van der Vegt, 2015; George et al., 2016; Williams et al., 2017). A crisis is defined as ''a process of weakening or degeneration that can culminate in a disruption event to the actor's (i.e., individual, organization, and/or community) normal functioning'' (Williams et al., 2017: 739). It can unfold at various spatiotemporal scales (Bansal, Kim, and Wood, 2018). Some crises are acute local incidents like wildfires (Weick, 1993; Shepherd and Williams, 2014) or aircraft hijackings (Quinn and Worline, 2008), while others are far-ranging and persistent challenges such as climate change (Wright and Nyberg, 2017), financial crises (Fligstein, Stuart Brundage, and Schultz, 2017), and the devastating decline of post-industrial cities like Detroit.

Facing such challenges, organizations remain resilient by spontaneously engaging in adaptive and innovative responses (Stacey, 1995; Shepherd and Williams, 2014). Resilience is defined as ''the process by which an actor

(i.e., individual, organization, or community) builds and uses its capability endowments to interact with the environment in a way that positively adjusts and maintains functioning prior to, during, and following adversity'' (Williams et al., 2017: 742). The positive adjustment is often achieved by ''new procedures'' and ''new ways of cooperation'' (van der Vegt et al., 2015: 973) because the unpredictable nature of crises prevents full ex ante development of readily available responses. Prior studies of crisis and resilience have suggested that cognitive frames and framing processes play a key role in enabling adaptive responses in the face of crisis (Williams et al., 2017).

The context of crisis places strong demands on framing because a crisis often manifests in incomprehensible situations that urge actors to quickly figure out what is going on (Quinn and Worline, 2008). Frames are schemas of interpretation ''which govern the subjective meanings we assign to social events'' (Goffman, 1974: 11) and thereby allow their users ''to locate, perceive, identify, and label'' meaningful aspects of their environment (Goffman, 1974: 21). Frames guide attention (Kaplan, 2008), interpretations (Benner and Tripsas, 2012), and assumptions about what is unobserved (Weick, 1995), and thus they enable actions. People act as ''a result of how they define the situation in which they are called on to act'' (Blumer, 1969: 19), and therefore the action cannot be considered separately from the actors' understanding of their context (Goffman, 1974). Frames guide actions by providing both diagnosis (identifying problems and making attributions) and prognosis (proposing solutions and action plans) (Benford and Snow, 2000).

In the face of crisis, routinized everyday life becomes disrupted, and emergent cues violate the expectations based on a routine frame, giving rise to ''a meaning void'' wherein ''the basic meaning of the situation is up for grabs'' (Kaplan, 2008: 729). In response, actors scramble in search of a coherent and overarching understanding of the situation, i.e., a new frame. Studies on crisis have shown that failures in this reframing process can significantly exacerbate the crisis. In the Mann Gulch wildfire, firefighters clung to their initial frame of a ''10am fire''—an ordinary fire that would be put out by 10:00 the next morning; as a result, they failed to process the cues of imminent disaster and ultimately faced fatal consequences (Weick, 1993). Similarly, inaccurate framing that quickly escalated through unclear communications, emotional contagion, and material anchoring resulted in the Stockton shooting, where an innocent citizen was misidentified as a terrorist and killed (Cornelissen, Mantere, and Vaara, 2014). Clinging to routine but inadequate frames also contributes to larger-scale crises. Increasingly committed to a contentious frame, the Occupy London activists engaged in escalating conflicts with a potential ally and lost focus on the movement's original target (Reinecke and Ansari, 2020). In 2008, a rigid frame built upon macroeconomic principles defined the U.S. Federal Reserve's perception of the national economy, blinding it to the obvious precursors of the financial crisis (Fligstein, Stuart Brundage, and Schultz, 2017). Also, the contagion frame that attributed the so-called Spanish Flu to other members of the community undermined the local organizing capabilities of Norwegian communities for decades (Rao and Greve, 2018).

Research also provides evidence that updating to a new frame can lead to successful responses to crisis. In the civil aviation industry, the industry-wide consensus on how to address environmental crises was achieved only after the primary actors (e.g., airlines and airports) changed from a buffering frame

(resisting change) to an integrating frame (embracing change) (Litrico and David, 2017). Changes in the way the media framed the migrant crisis in Europe, ignited by a shocking photograph of a young refugee who drowned in 2015, led to more compassionate action to alleviate the crisis (Klein and Amis, 2020). Reframing has also been crucial in responses to smaller-scale, fast-moving crises. Entrepreneurs facing the decline of their regional industry successfully redefined the situation and founded transformational ventures that turned the threat of extinction into an opportunity for growth (Powell and Baker, 2014). Executives facing an industry upheaval reached strategic decisions by going through frame contests in which holders of different frames engaged in contentious negotiations to arrive at a novel view of the industry's future (Kaplan, 2008). During the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the hijacked passengers on United Airlines Flight 93 quickly developed a suicide mission frame (as opposed to a hostage situation frame) and performed courageous actions that prevented further disaster (Quinn and Worline, 2008).

Collectively, these studies highlight that amid an unfolding crisis, effective framing matters for resilience. When actors face disruptions, holding onto the existing frame is not only inadequate but also harmful, and successful adaptations originate from flexibly shifting to a novel and generative understanding of the situation (Raffaelli, Glynn, and Tushman, 2019). Therefore, actors in crisis are tasked with a critical dual mission of framing—they must dismantle an existing frame while simultaneously building a new one (Weick, 1993). But the existing literature offers little guidance on how this critical task can be accomplished, especially from the perspective of situated actors (Barley, 2008). Specifically, we lack understanding of how actors living through a crisis can achieve radical reframing through their day-to-day struggles to deal with the extraordinary circumstances suddenly imposed upon them.

First, there is a limited understanding of how actors amid crisis can dismantle an existing frame. Most prior research on successful reframing has focused on transitions from an old to a new frame rather than on the process in between. Although existing research has highlighted the effective configuration of new frames (Kaplan, 2008; Lee, Ramus, and Vaccaro, 2018) and the forces facilitating the transition to a new frame (Powell and Baker, 2014; Klein and Amis, 2020), it tells us little about *how* actors can break out of a frame that has shaped their perception of the world. Studies on failed reframing vividly demonstrate how hard it is to displace existing frames. A frame is often deeply intertwined with one's identity and is therefore difficult to swiftly relinquish. For example, despite the mounting clues that disconfirmed their initial frame, the firefighters in Mann Gulch could not simply drop their tools and outrun an exploding fire, because doing so would have repudiated their identity as firefighters (Weick, 1996). Furthermore, frames tend to be self-reinforcing, as information that does not make sense under the current frame is often ignored and not processed at all (Cornelissen, Mantere, and Vaara, 2014; Fligstein, Stuart Brundage, and Schultz, 2017). And most critically, extreme situational pressures make people demonstrate cognitive rigidity and ''regress to their most habituated ways of responding'' (Staw, Sandelands, and Dutton, 1981; Weick, 1993: 639).

These findings emphasize that for the actors who lived through an unfolding crisis, what retrospectively seems like a smooth transition was not really smooth. Situational cues that disconfirm the existing frame are hard to detect

and difficult to process, and dismantling what one had firmly believed to be a defining framework of the world requires deliberate work and moral courage. Even when someone in a crisis situation develops a novel frame that would eventually turn out to be adequate, it tends to invite challenges and resistance at the moment from those who struggle to drop the conventional frame (Quinn and Worline, 2008). Therefore, from the situated actors' perspective, repealing the existing frame is a significant practical accomplishment (Garfinkel, 1967; Barley and Kunda, 2001), but the current literature provides little explanation of how it is achieved.

An even bigger challenge in an unfolding crisis may be building a new frame out of the disruption and confusion left by the increasing malfunction of an existing frame. In previous studies, new frames have often been presented in a fully developed form and portrayed as finely crafted by particularly skillful actors (Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991; Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). For example, business founders facing regional decline effectively redefined the situation by utilizing the discrepancy between their social and role identities (Powell and Baker, 2014), and one of the UA93 passengers correctly inferred the suicide mission frame through his access to relevant information on the ground (Quinn and Worline, 2008). In these examples, the origins of new frames are explained, but the interim struggles in the making of new frames are left unexplained. More recent studies on frame dynamics have captured how existing frames change but not how new frames emerge. Although Litrico and David's (2017) analysis showed how actors transition from one frame to the next, the frames in their analysis are derived from the literature, and therefore little is said about how the new frames are initially built. Klein and Amis (2020) delineated how the contents of already established frames (i.e., migrant and refugee frames) change over time but not how a new frame grows out of the demise of an old one. While Kaplan's (2008) frame contest does illuminate the processual view of how a new frame is crafted, the process relies heavily on reassembling existing meaning elements available in the frame repertoires, leaving unknown how the repertoires initially come into being. Therefore, while effectively capturing the dynamic process of frame *change*, prior research has revealed relatively little about the process of frame *emergence*.

Emergence is a process whereby an inchoate novel form grows to fully constitute a new entity (Seidel and Greve, 2017), so the frame emergence process involves the growth of a frame, which is distinguished from changes in existing frames. The unique challenge of frame emergence becomes more palpable when seen from the perspective of actors living through a crisis. For the actors scrambling to respond to a sudden disruption, frames do not come neatly packaged and clearly labeled. Only through growing surprises does an existing frame gradually reveal its contour (Garfinkel, 1967), and a clear view of meaning repertoires with which to fabricate a new frame is even harder to come by. Once again, what seems like an obvious outcome to retrospective observers is not so obvious to those at the center of an unfolding event (Jarzabkowski, Le, and Spee, 2017). Instead of having a clear view of a new frame to transition to, they likely face a daunting path whereby a personal hunch, mixed with doubts, must turn into a coherent, comprehensive, and collectively shared diagnosis and prognosis of a situation. On this path, actors must somehow generate rudimentary meaning elements and grow them into a coherent whole that may

help them resiliently navigate their crisis-ridden environment. How they do so is largely unknown.

Enactment and Structuration in Crisis

Theories from outside the frame literature—specifically, the notion of enactment (Weick, 1988) and structuration theory (Giddens, 1984)—offer important insights for addressing this theoretical challenge. By introducing the notion of enactment, Weick (1988) emphasized the importance of action and how actions can shape frames. Contrary to the conventional view that cognition determines action, he posited that ''action precedes cognition and focuses cognition'' (Weick, 1988: 307). According to this view, actors situated in an unfolding crisis enact their environment by first taking actions ''to sort out a crisis'' (Maitlis and Sonenshein, 2010: 553). These actions then generate consequences that clarify ''what the problem may be'' and consolidate ''an otherwise unorganized set of environmental elements'' (Weick, 1988: 315). This notion of enactment illuminates that frames do not exist separately from actions; rather, the process of framing and reframing is deeply entangled with what actors do to address the practical challenges amid crisis. Actions do not always flow from a fully validated view of a situation; instead, actions taken to address urgent needs of the moment can inform actors' broad understanding of the unfolding crisis.

This deep entanglement of action and frame (as a cognitive structure) is also a major focus in structuration theory (Giddens, 1984). The theory posits that structures are inseparable from actions: structures and actions are not two opposing entities (dualism) but come to existence through each other (duality). Via a constant cycle of structuration, actions are both constrained and enabled by structures, and structures are enacted as well as shaped by actions. Applied to the context of crisis, the theory implies that the simultaneous destruction and construction of frames can be grounded in situated actors' ongoing actions in response to the extraordinary circumstances of crisis.

Although laying a promising foundation, these perspectives do not automatically resolve the issue at hand. First, discussions of enactment have largely focused on actions that exacerbate crisis rather than those that enhance resilience. In the context of the Bhopal disaster, for example, Weick (1988: 308) showed how human actions at the onset ''amplify small deviations into major crises.'' Due to this original concern with the detrimental impact of actions on framing, less is known about how instantaneous actions amid crisis can result in a generative frame that alleviates crisis-induced disruption. Furthermore, while the concept of enactment illuminates the antecedents of effective enactment (e.g., commitment, capacity, expectation), it tells us relatively little about the processual mechanism whereby specific actions are translated into the contents of emerging cognitive frames. Consequently, we still lack an understanding of how adaptive actions and an emerging frame could constitute each other through constructive rather than destructive cycles.

The limitation of structuration theory stems from its misalignment with the contextual demand of crisis; the theory is about constitution and revision, not destruction and reconstruction (Weick, 1993). Building on microsociological traditions that focus on everyday social interactions, structuration theory pertains primarily to the structural implications of performing routinized practices of daily life (Giddens, 1984; Whittington, 2015). Therefore, the theory

is particularly strong on explaining the maintenance and modification of an ongoing structure. Structuration theory does explain changes, although most applications of the theory in organization studies have focused on structural changes due to more or less ordinary environmental changes, such as the introduction of a new technology (Barley, 1986; Orlikowski, 2000) and a new strategy (Balogun and Johnson, 2005; Jarzabkowski, 2008). Such changes cause slippages between the existing template and the vagaries of everyday life, leading to gradual modifications of an existing structure (Barley, 1986). This focus on maintenance and revision is well reflected in Giddens's (1984) oft-cited analogy between social structures and language, wherein speech (action) is simultaneously constrained by and shapes grammar (structure).

In the context of crisis, however, this analogy faces a significant challenge. At the onset of a crisis, actors experience what Weick (1993: 633) called a cosmology episode, in which ''people suddenly and deeply feel that the universe is no longer a rational, orderly system.'' To a significant degree, existing structures lose the ability to give order to the world and enable actions within it. While it is difficult to imagine the sudden inability of grammar to form speech and conversations, it is entirely possible that what once seemed like a solid structure defining everyday lives can crumble in the face of crisis. For structuration theory, this represents an uncharted territory—''the reversals of structuration'' where actions and structure ''mutually destroy one another'' (Weick, 1993: 645). It is unclear how structuration could continue when the actions enacting an existing structure increasingly undermine the validity of that structure, but this commonly occurs at moments of crisis. Giddens (1979: 124) recognized these extraordinary moments as ''critical situations'' in which ''a set of circumstances . . . radically disrupts accustomed routines of daily life.'' He posited that even in these situations, new routines based on a novel interpretive schema eventually emerge after a period of initial struggles. But his discussion stops short of unpacking these struggles and does not address how the process of structuration may resume beyond the temporary void of meaning.

This literature review illuminates an important blind spot, as we do not understand how actors living through an unfolding crisis can repeal an existing frame and simultaneously construct a new one that enables adaptive responses to crisis. The notion of enactment and the theory of structuration both point to the possibility that situated actors' everyday struggles on the ground will play a role, but they do not yet specify how. Thus this article pursues the following research question: How do actors in crisis accomplish the simultaneous destruction and construction of frames through actions?

METHODS

Research Setting: GREEN, an Alternative Business Incubator in Detroit

Detroit symbolizes the historical decline of the rust belt region in the American Midwest. The city embodies the rise and fall of American manufacturing, in which large industrial corporations emerged, thrived, and declined. With the decline of the auto companies that built and defined the city, Detroit experienced a gradual and painful deterioration that culminated in the government bailout of two of the Big Three automakers in 2008, followed by the largest municipal bankruptcy in U.S. history in 2013. From 1947 to 2007, the city lost

some 80 percent of its automotive jobs. As a case in point, Ford Motor Company's River Rouge Factory Complex employed more than 100,000 workers in its heyday in the 1930s, but in 2020, only about 5,000 workers were stationed in that complex. Lost manufacturing jobs were not replaced by positions in other industries but rather resulted in a high degree of joblessness. In 2013, an estimated 49.8 percent of Detroit residents between the ages of 16 and 64 did not work (Solomon, 2013).

This left most Detroit households in extreme poverty. U.S. Census data from 2009 to 2013 show that nearly 40 percent of Detroit residents were living below the poverty line, more than twice the national average of 14.5 percent. One in three Detroit households relied on the federal Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP; formerly known as the Food Stamp Program) to purchase basic food. At the same time, the city became increasingly empty as its housing market collapsed. By 2010, nearly 23 percent of all homes in Detroit were vacant, which amounted to 80,000 units. More than one-third of office space in downtown Detroit was empty by 2012.

Yet at the alleged bottom of this decades-long decline, the city was experiencing an influx of young entrepreneurs. Consistent with the trend of entrepreneurship being viewed as a remedy for economically challenged locales (Lerner, 2009; Sentementes, 2011), starting in the early 2010s Detroit began to see a rise in organizations sponsoring entrepreneurship, such as incubators, accelerators, and venture capitalists. Amid this entrepreneurial renaissance, Green Incubator Detroit (GREEN) was founded in 2012 with the mission of the ''sustainable revitalization of Detroit.'' GREEN was established as a for-profit entity whose main revenue came from renting co-working spaces to local businesses.

GREEN was housed in a historic building where Ford Motor Company used to run a showroom during the city's heyday. After three years of renovation, GREEN turned the building into an environmentally friendly structure: devices to concentrate natural sunlight replaced electric bulbs, and a solar-powered geothermal system replaced conventional heating/cooling systems. At the center of the 11,000-square-foot brick warehouse sat a Sustainability Library featuring books on Detroit history, sustainability, and urban development. On its rooftop was a community garden where volunteers grew organic vegetables to sell to neighboring restaurants and microbreweries. GREEN typically rented spaces to 50 businesses-in-residence, which formed a cohesive community with a distinctive culture. These businesses applied for space in GREEN and were chosen based on the ''value fit.'' While their products and services varied, they were all local small businesses (the largest had six employees) committed to the idea that a business should create social and environmental value, not just profit. Entrepreneurs and employees of the businesses-in-residence socialized through weekly happy hours, regular ''sustainable leadership dialogues,'' and community yoga sessions. People in the community jokingly said that they drank ''green Kool-Aid'' to follow Ted, GREEN's founder and the ''cult leader.''

For its business incubation services, GREEN typically selected just one business at a time and spent about 15 to 20 hours per week focused on that business. GREEN exhibited some similarities to typical business incubators and accelerators by providing coworking space, technical infrastructure, and administrative services. Similar to traditional incubators, GREEN primarily relied on rent revenues, had an informal selection/exit process, and pursued boosting

the local economy, and like accelerators, GREEN developed a sophisticated approach to incubating nascent businesses. But as I explain in the Findings section, the specific elements of that approach starkly contrasted those used by accelerators, and GREEN clearly defined itself as ''no accelerator.'' Even the label ''incubator'' was not a perfect fit: Ted did not object to GREEN being called an incubator but did not see the term as accurately describing the organization's identity. Instead, he often introduced GREEN as ''a natural process of adult learning.''

Before starting the incubation process, prospective business founders were encouraged to immerse themselves in the GREEN community for several months, during which the fit between the incubator and founders was informally vetted. Once the incubation process started, Ted and other GREEN mentors met with founders every week for one to two hours to develop their business idea. These meetings also involved community participants, some of whom were the founders' friends and family members or fellow entrepreneurs in GREEN. The first four weeks of the process were devoted to what they called ''community design,'' which set the foundation for a new business idea with the help of a large group of community participants (about 10 to 15). This was followed by 10 or more weeks of ''detailed design,'' when business ideas developed through small group discussions among founders, mentors, and a few community participants. The process ended with ''reunion'' sessions in which founders reported the design outcome back to the original group. After the process, founders typically stayed in GREEN, continuously developing their nascent business and participating in other incubation processes; see Figure 1 for a more detailed description of GREEN's incubation process.

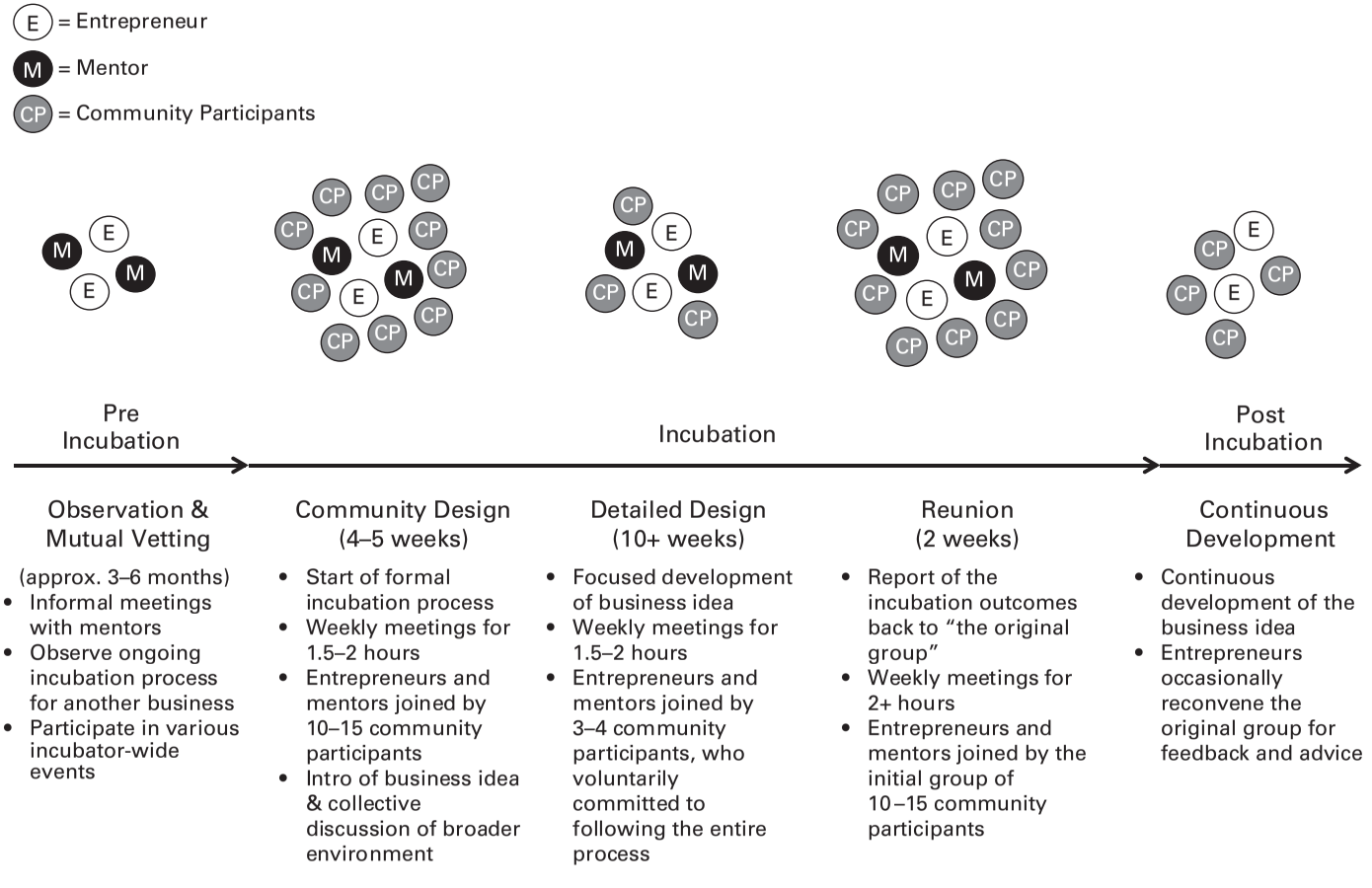
Data Collection

I conducted a 22-month ethnography from July 2012 to April 2014 as I followed all of GREEN's incubation processes from the first to the fourth business it incubated. As a community participant, I sat in weekly idea development meetings for all four businesses.[2] These meetings—the focal point of my participant observation—typically involved discussions of the emerging business idea among GREEN mentors, founders, and community participants. Although I was not allowed to audio-record the meetings due to confidentiality concerns, I captured the meeting conversations to the fullest extent possible by writing down the gist (if not the exact words) of every speech. I cleaned these notes afterward and added my personal reflections. Thus my field notes were pseudo-transcripts that preserved the flow of the meeting conversation with either the informants' exact words or my paraphrasing. In addition, I observed internal meetings of incubated businesses and other incubator-wide events and workshops.

These observational data were supplemented by ethnographic interviews. I conducted recurrent interviews with all GREEN mentors and participating founders. I also interviewed community members who participated in the

[2] While my formal role at GREEN remained as a community participant, my informal role evolved over time along with my relationship with informants. Initially, people at GREEN jokingly called me a ''court reporter'' who sat in the corner silently recording conversations. Later I was considered as a ''personal therapist'' for struggling entrepreneurs and a ''map maker'' who accompanied their journey toward ''uncharted territories.''

Figure 1. Visual Description of GREEN's Incubation Process



entire incubation process of at least one of the four businesses, because their extensive experience provided a rich account of how GREEN's approach evolved. These semi-structured interviews focused on interviewees' reflections on GREEN's unique approach to business incubation that co-evolved with the incubated businesses. See the Online Appendix (http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/suppl/10.1177/0001839220986464) for interview protocols. Finally, to trace GREEN's further growth, I conducted regular visits to interview Ted and the incubated founders for four years after the end of the main data collection. All the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. In addition to the observational and interview data, I collected various types of archival data including e-mail communications, drawings and artifacts created during meetings, and other documents.

This extensive data collection resulted in observation of 117 one- to five-hour meetings/events of three types (62 business idea development meetings, 18 post-incubation meetings/events, and 37 incubator-wide meetings/events) and 65 one- to two-hour interviews of four types (11 entrepreneur interviews during incubation, 28 entrepreneur interviews after incubation, 20 interviews with incubator mentors, and six community participant interviews). More comprehensive descriptions of the data collection and each incubated business are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of Data Collection*

	Good Food Network	Medicine Pocket	Dog Pound	Pocket Neighborhood
Incubating period	May 2012 to Oct. 2012	Nov. 2012 to March 2013	March 2013 to Sept. 2013	Oct. 2013 to April 2014
Service/product description	Organizing support network of sustainability-oriented food businesses in Detroit	Designing community-sourced solutions to empower elders	Counseling service on the relationship problems between humans and animal companions	Creating a sustainable residential complex for intentional communities
In-process observations (# of events)	7	18	19	18
Post-process observations (# of events)	3	7	5	3
In-process interviews with founders (# of interviews)	0	3	4	4
In-process interviews with participants (# of interviews)	0	3	3	0
Post-process interviews with founders (# of interviews)	20	8	0	0

* Three of these businesses are still in operation as of this writing, and one (Medicine Pocket) is closed. Good Food Network grew to become an influential local institution supporting 200+ local sustainable food businesses by providing incubation services, shared kitchen spaces, and regulatory support. It has generated more than 200 new jobs and collective revenue of $7 million in 2019. Medicine Pocket designed the city's first community paramedics program and facilitated the design process for the city's first affordable senior housing. After four years, it ceased operation due to financial distress. Dog Pound is currently providing dog training and consulting services. In addition, it also developed an animal behavior testing model with a local animal shelter and led a community campaign to pass an anti-tethering law in Detroit. Pocket Neighborhood has renovated multiple residential properties and is currently prototyping its first sustainable residential complex in Midtown Detroit.

Data Analysis

Data analysis began with a preliminary focus on how GREEN's alternative approach to business incubation emerged. Over time, my analysis evolved to have a much sharper focus on GREEN's framing of the crisis in Detroit. I analyzed the longitudinal process of GREEN's journey by attending to recurring interactions among GREEN mentors, founders of incubated startups, and community participants. To trace a long-term (two-year) process composed of a series of micro-interactions, I went through five discrete but intertwined phases and integrated various qualitative methodological traditions. I first identified GREEN's alternative actions via thematic coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1994) and then utilized various techniques in the traditions of process research (Langley, 1999) and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967). Doing so enabled me to capture how significant moments of ''doing'' constituted the gradual ''becoming'' of GREEN's novel frame (Jarzabkowski, Le, and Spee, 2017). Table 2 summarizes the analytic process.

Throughout the process, my analysis focused squarely on the longitudinal journey of GREEN, and the specific unit of analysis was a moment of interaction. I gleaned 231 critical moments primarily from the observational data (see

Table 2. Data Analysis Process

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
Analytic focus	Coding GREEN's novel approach for business incubation	Coding GREEN's discussion of an existing approach for business incubation	Timelining key moments of interaction	Analyzing key moments of interaction	Constructing longitudinal process of frame reconstruction
Main data analyzed	Observational data on idea development meetings; interview data on participant reflection	Observational data on idea development meetings; interview data on participant reflection	Observational data on idea development meetings (first three incubation processes)	Observational data on idea development meetings (first three incubation processes)	Observational data on idea development meetings; interview data on participant reflection
Literatures iterated with		Literature on business incubators and accelerators	Structuration theory	Ethnomethodology; research on metaphor	Research on cognitive frames; research on framing in crisis
Analytic outcome	24 codes (specific actions) clustered in 7 themes (major elements of GREEN's approach)	Codes for existing approach for business incubation that matched elements of GREEN's approach	Chronological timeline of 231 key moments categorized by performance or discussion of elements of GREEN's approach	Detailed analysis of micro-interactions during key moments	Longitudinal process model of structuration amid crisis between pragmatic actions and emergent frames
Reflection of the outcome	GREEN's living business metaphor frequently appeared; discussions of the conventional accelerator approaches accompanied articulation of GREEN's approach	GREEN's approach was articulated by drawing contrast with conventional accelerator approaches	Emergent pattern indicated constant iteration between action and sensemaking; gradual emergence of an overarching structure encompassing different types of actions	During the key moments, the context was redefined in a way that rendered GREEN's improvisational actions sensible; framing emerged as a major theoretical lens	

my explanation of Phase 3 below). I compared them with one another, classified them into different categories, and pieced them together to construct the broader longitudinal process of GREEN's evolution. By constantly iterating between emerging patterns and relevant literatures, I made theoretical sense of why discrete moments were connected to one another in the observed way, and I developed a process model that is theoretically generalizable to other processes of frame reconstruction amid crisis.

Phase 1: Identifying GREEN's approach. To develop a systematic understanding of what GREEN did to incubate nascent businesses, I started by coding—naming and assigning meanings to fragments of data (Locke, 2001). I coded field notes and interview transcripts, which led to the identification of different actions that GREEN mentors (and seasoned participants in later stages) took to develop nascent business ideas. I then clustered individual codes into more abstract themes. For example, individual codes such as ''designing by getting clear on deep root'' and ''designing based on entrepreneur's personal identity'' were clustered under the higher-level axial theme ''designing through grounding.'' Individual codes and their thematic structure evolved over time through constant comparison (Strauss and Corbin, 1994), and eventually I developed a structure in which 24 codes (individual actions) were clustered into seven larger themes (elements of GREEN's alternative approach).[3] I noticed two salient patterns: that GREEN's foundational metaphor—''business is a living organism''—was frequently used throughout the entire process and that many actions that GREEN mentors took were articulated in light of conventional incubators' or accelerators' practices. To pursue these emerging themes, I compared GREEN's approach to the approach of conventional accelerators.

Phase 2: Examining GREEN's approach vis-à-vis existing approaches. I coded how GREEN's actors described the conventional accelerator approach and consulted with the existing literature on business incubators and accelerators (e.g., Christiansen, 2009; Miller and Bound, 2011; Blank, 2013; Cohen, 2013; Cohen and Hochberg, 2014; The Economist, 2014) to validate these descriptions. This step revealed an interesting pattern as the meaning of GREEN's novel actions was repeatedly articulated through contrast to the conventional approach. For example, Ted's emphasis on organic growth was often accompanied by his critical statements about how accelerators emphasize scaling up through fundraising. Intrigued by this, I next identified all these moments of articulation and examined how they accumulated over time.

Phase 3: Creating a timeline and analyzing temporal patterns. Building on analytic procedures of process research (Langley, 1999), I created a timeline by identifying all the specific time points when individual codes appeared (i.e., moments when GREEN's specific actions appeared) and compiling them chronologically (see the Online Appendix). Since GREEN's approach had reached a certain degree of maturity by the end of the third incubation process (i.e., no new elements emerged through the fourth process), I narrowed my focus to the first three processes and used the fourth to confirm the continuous

[3] This structure is presented in the right column of Table 3 in Findings.

operation of a previously emerged approach. Thus the timeline analytically bracketed the constant stream of events over 15 months into 231 moments in which GREEN's novel actions were either performed or discussed.

To detect systematic patterns across the 231 pivotal moments, I categorized each moment according to the seven elements of GREEN's approach and put them in chronological order as shown in Figure 2. Each row in the figure represents a specific element of GREEN's approach, and the 231 thin bars constituting each row represent analyzed moments. Light grey bars denote the moments when a specific action was performed (e.g., Ted encourages entrepreneurs to develop their idea through deep grounding), and dark grey bars denote the moments when the meaning of such actions was discussed (e.g., GREEN mentors, entrepreneurs, and community participants discuss why business ideas are developed through deep grounding). The horizontal juxtaposition of these moments visually summarizes the chronological evolution of GREEN's alternative approach.

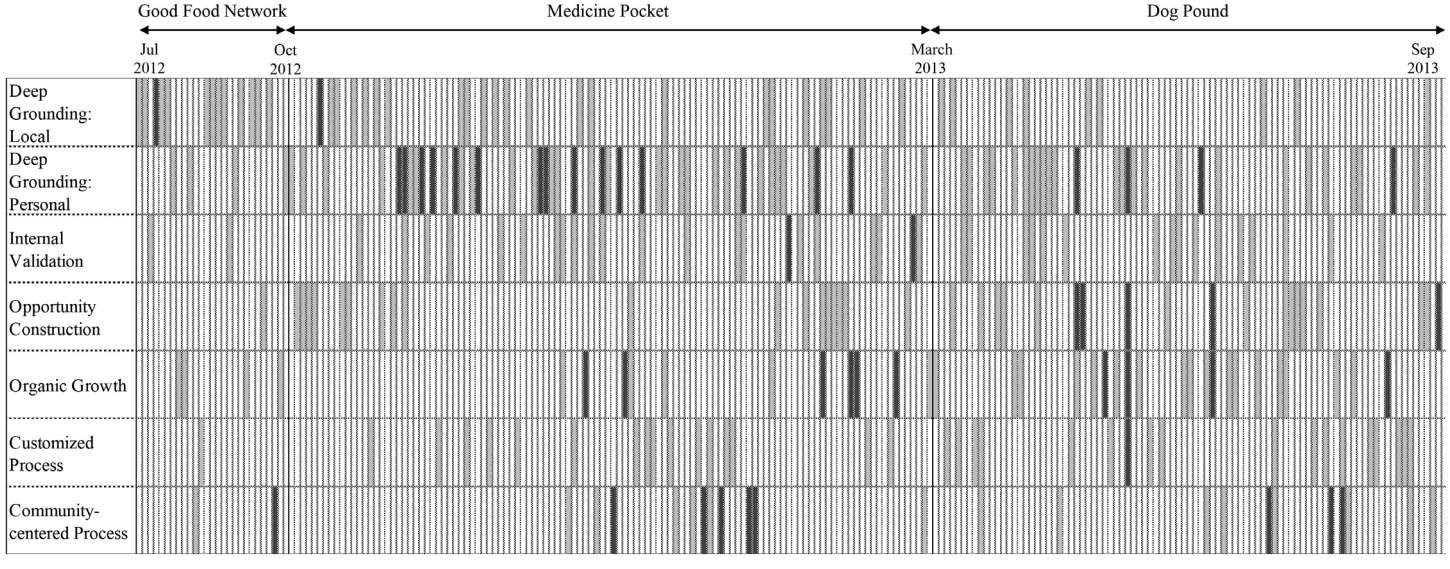
By carefully examining the figure, I gleaned a few notable patterns that warranted further investigation. First, multiple light grey bars (performance of an action) typically preceded dark grey bars (discussion of the action), suggesting that most actions first emerged without explicit explanations, were repeated over time, and then occasionally became subject to an explicit discussion. Second, dark grey bars were followed by increasingly frequent light grey bars in the same row, suggesting that explicit discussions of particular actions may have fueled subsequent performances of similar actions. This led me to develop a hunch that when explicitly discussed, the actions may have become more frequently used and further developed.

Third, there seemed to be influences across different types of actions (i.e., across different rows). For example, light grey bars in the third and fifth rows often co-occurred or directly followed the dark grey bars in the second row, suggesting that discussions of personal grounding spawned new types of actions categorized as internal validation and organic growth. This raised the possibility that explicit discussion of one type of action may have influenced the generation of other types of action. Finally, in the later stages, there were some notable moments when dark grey bars vertically spanned multiple rows. This seemed to indicate that multiple types of actions were simultaneously discussed, suggesting the possibility that an overarching account encompassing various types of actions emerged over time.[4]

Collectively, these patterns suggested that the entire process can be dissected into a sequence of taking actions and interpreting the actions, and through such iterations, an overarching system of different actions may have emerged. Detecting this pattern led me to consult with the literature on structuration theory (Giddens, 1984; Barley, 1986; Feldman and Pentland, 2003), which helped me develop the view that iteration between action and structure can be a useful lens to understand the process. Continuously pursuing these themes, I zoomed in on each of the key moments to understand what micro-level dynamics underlie the observed longitudinal pattern.

[4] I extended the same analysis one level down by breaking three elements (grounding, internal validation, and opportunity construction) into distinctive actions, and it showed similar patterns at a more granular level (available in the Online Appendix).

Figure 2. Distribution of Critical Moments during GREEN's First Three Incubation Processes



Phase 4: Analyzing key moments. I extensively analyzed the moments of explicit discussion (dark grey bars in Figure 2) in terms of ''who interacts with whom in what ways at what times,'' with a focus on eliciting ''actors' immediate interpretation of events'' (Barley, 1986: 83). I ''slowed down'' the constant flow of events by focusing on critical moments and analyzing them in depth, which enabled me to ''recover how real-time work activities [were] produced'' (Llewellyn, 2008: 763) and to discover the moments of doing and saying that importantly shaped the process of becoming (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002; Jarzabkowski, Le, and Spee, 2017). Throughout this step, I consulted with organizational research in the ethnomethodological tradition (Llewellyn, 2008; Llewellyn and Burrow, 2008; Chalmers and Shaw, 2015), as well as the research on metaphor (Tsoukas, 1991; Cornelissen, 2005). This step resulted in a key discovery that what was underlying the growth of GREEN's approach was constant redefinition of the context: building a particular view of the situation that made GREEN's novel actions seem sensible and compelling. GREEN's foundational metaphor, which itself evolved over time, played a significant role in generating this new definition of the context. This discovery led my attention to the extraordinary context in Detroit and to how GREEN redefined Detroit's crisis through its novel actions.

Phase 5: Constructing a longitudinal process of frame restructuration. Inspired by this emergent theme, I consulted with the literatures on framing in general (Goffman, 1974; Cornelissen and Werner, 2014) and framing in crisis (Weick, 1993; Williams et al., 2017). I also went back to the data—particularly the interview data and the data on GREEN's reflection meetings in 2014—and gleaned all the data points in which Detroit was mentioned so I could capture how GREEN actors' view on Detroit changed over time along with the articulation of its actions. This final step revealed that framing was occurring at two different levels. In each key moment discussing GREEN's actions, the context of interaction was momentarily reframed through the use of metaphor. At the same time, the temporal accumulation of these micro-level reframings shaped GREEN's broader frame through which its actors understood and acted on Detroit's crisis situations.

Merging this insight with the previously detected pattern of structuration (Phase 3), I developed an overarching theoretical model that I labeled ''frame restructuration.'' To build the model, I zoomed out again from key moments to see the broader pattern in which key moments are related to one another. Building on the insights from Phase 3, I analyzed how key moments vary, how they are connected to one another, and how these moments are woven together to shape GREEN's diagnostic and prognostic frame of Detroit's crisis. The resulting model integrates three major themes: (1) the overall process showed how a novel frame arises and an old one dissipates, (2) this process was constituted by ongoing structuration between novel actions and an emerging frame, and (3) the ''living business'' metaphor played a key role in facilitating this structuration.

FINDINGS

During the first two years of GREEN's journey, its novel frame of Detroit's situation emerged along with its struggles to address the city's adverse

circumstances through entrepreneurship. In early 2012, GREEN started with a set of abstract beliefs summarized by its foundational metaphor, which neither concretely defined Detroit's crisis situation nor provided a fully specified plan for action. By 2014, it had developed a sophisticated view of what was going on in Detroit and a full-fledged list of what should be done to revitalize the city through entrepreneurship. I first present the beginning and the end of this journey and then show the detailed process in between.

GREEN's Beginning and Accomplishment

The beginning: Foundational metaphor. From its inception in 2012, GREEN used a metaphor of ''living business'' that implied an emerging business should be treated like a living organism. In the opening statement for Medicine Pocket's incubation process, Ted explained:

> Most of our existing paradigm in business comes from the industrial revolution. It's all based on the idea that business is a machine. . . . People say ''shifting into high gear'' and ''cranking out products.'' . . . But here, we think business is a living organism. . . . If you think it's a living organism, the solution comes out of biology, life sciences, not from mechanical sciences. . . . We looked at how businesses naturally develop. . . . This is no MBA, but this is about people who start things. . . . It is no accelerator but a natural process.

This metaphor sums up the influences that formed the basis of GREEN's approach. Ted founded GREEN after he retired as an executive of a global consulting firm. Before he incubated the first business, Ted spent three years running weekly research meetings with his colleagues, friends, and volunteers from the local community. Gathering at a corner of a building under renovation, the group not only researched existing business incubators but also explored ideas outside business, such as permaculture (an alternative principle for sustainable agriculture), Margaret Wheatley's social scientific interpretation of quantum physics, Jane Jacobs's ideas on urban planning, and Chris Alexander's works in sustainable architecture. Incorporating these influences into the realm of business creation shaped GREEN's initial principles, as symbolized by the living business metaphor; see Figure 3.

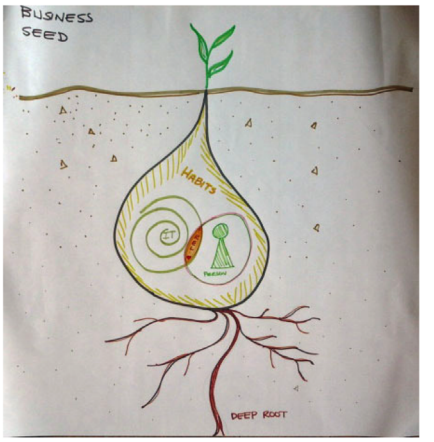
From the beginning, the metaphor clearly reflected GREEN's deviation from conventional approaches. The inception of GREEN coincided with the ''startup renaissance'' in Detroit (Bischke, 2011), when the city was experiencing a proliferation of incubators and accelerators that aimed to support high-growth technology ventures fueled by venture capital investment. These organizations tended to view the city as a clean slate and attempted to revitalize it by replicating the success of Silicon Valley (Rushe, 2013). GREEN's critical stance toward this trend was shown in its characterization of accelerators as ''factories'' manufacturing ''machine businesses,'' the antithesis of living businesses. Ted claimed that entrepreneurs in accelerators ''go down the assembly line,'' waiting for investors to ''pluck them off at the end of the line'' before they fall. The outcomes of this process were described as ''plastic'' and unnatural, turning the world around it into a place ''where nobody wants to live.''

Although GREEN's living business metaphor implied its criticism of the existing diagnosis of the city's situation and the accompanying solutions, it was

Figure 3. GREEN's Foundational Beliefs and Visual Representation of Foundational Metaphor*

Foundational Beliefs

- A business is a living organism that exists within an ecosystem. It is not a machine. Just as a flower is grown, not made...so is a business grown, not made.
- People want to work (and play) within healthy living organisms and ecosystems. They are alive and want their natural growth to be nurtured by the environment they are living in. They don't want to work as a cog in a machine. This need is fundamental and natural.
- This is about a new process for growing 3 dimensional businesses naturally.
- At their very core 3 dimensional businesses create economic, community and environmental value in the same action / activity. They are integrated into one.... they are whole.
- They support healthy work and play environments for the growth of the people involved in them.
- Growing naturally means the next stage of growth **unfolds** naturally. It should feel easy.... natural. These are small foundationally grounded steps. Each step creates 3D value.
- This is essentially a systems-level design analysis based on a biology model (the study of life) versus a Newtonian model (the study of mechanics).



* Foundational beliefs were retrieved from GREEN's web archive and originally written in 2011. The drawing of the living business metaphor was updated in 2013.

initially too abstract to offer an alternative. It said little about GREEN's own understanding of Detroit's crisis and provided little specific guidance on how nascent businesses should be alternatively incubated. The abstract metaphor had yet to evolve into a concrete frame.

The accomplishment: A novel frame for business incubation in postindustrial Detroit. In 2014, GREEN's operation was fully equipped with a comprehensive set of concrete guidance on how business incubation should be done in the crisis-ridden context of Detroit. Table 3 summarizes it and compares it with the approaches of conventional business incubators and accelerators. The contrast is sharp. For example, while accelerators pursued fast growth fueled by venture capital investment, GREEN endorsed investment-free, natural growth through using existing local resources. While accelerators focused on quick scaling through rapid customer validation, GREEN emphasized grounding business ideas in the entrepreneur's identity and in the unique needs and opportunities of local communities.

This set of solutions was accompanied by GREEN's elaborate view of Detroit's crisis. In an August 2014 interview, Ted clearly articulated it when speaking of a founder he was working with:

> I'm working with Patricia and her four children. What am I supposed to do with Patricia? Have her go down the assembly line and see if I can pluck her off and then invest money? And if she can't pay me back, I'm taking her house and her car? [voice getting louder] And her four children? And eight grandchildren? And like . . . what are we doing? . . . When an ordinary entrepreneur in Detroit fails and her LLC goes under, she's losing her livelihood. . . . The people here I am working with, they can't assume those risks. [speaking of the trendy "fail-fast" mantra in accelerators] You could repeat a mistake 40 times, very quickly, and then that could kill you. That could

Table 3. GREEN's Approach to Business Incubation Compared with Traditional Incubators and Accelerators

Dimensions	Traditional Incubators	Accelerators	GREEN
Incubation process structure	**Little structure/varied across incubators** No set schedule, no cohort system (Forrest, 2014); varies from reactive/episodic counseling to proactive/ continuous intervention (Bergek and Norrman, 2008); unstandardized, diverse strategies (Bergek and Norrman, 2008)	**Standardized process** Standardized structure and timeline of the program (Cohen and Hochberg, 2014) **Individualized process** Some social events and collective learning through workshops but mostly on the basis of individual mentoring (Cohen, Bingham, and Hallen, 2019)	**Customized, understructured process** No cohort system (one business at a time); loose common structure with high customization; different length and different focus across different businesses **Community-centered process** Emphasis on co-creation and stewardship; large-group design and reunion sessions; encourage entrepreneurs to continuously seek community input
Growth strategy/ preference	**No strict preference/varied across incubators** No standardized preference among traditional debt financing, equity financing, or bootstrapping	**Accelerated growth** Develop a business idea that secures venture capital investment through active fundraising (Miller and Bound, 2011); encourage entrepreneurs to commit full-time (some require physical relocation to the hosting city; e.g., Y Combinator entrepreneurs relocate to Silicon Valley); Demo Day (first investor pitch) serves as ultimate milestone for acceleration process (Cohen, 2013)	**Low-risk, long-term, organic growth** Pursue low-risk, organic growth (bootstrapping); discourage entrepreneurs from early fundraising; encourage entrepreneurs to bootstrap and keep alternative sources of income (i.e., ''day job''); emphasis on long-term growth at a ''natural'' pace; emphasis on open-ended, continuously evolving nature of business idea
Design principle/ preferred outcome	**No standardized preference/ varied across incubators** Focus on the growth of local economy but also emphasize delivering value to owners/ shareholders (Hackett and Dilts, 2004)	**Rapid scaling** Mandate on quick scalability through geographical replication and development of mass customers (Rachleff, 2014); preference for ideas with the potential to reach a very large scale with millions of users or very high revenues (Metrick and Yasuda, 2010); maximize the potential for lucrative exit through acquisition or IPO (Metrick and Yasuda, 2010); avoid consulting-type or local service-oriented firms (Metrick and Yasuda, 2010)	**Deeply grounding business in person** Developing a ''business seed'' that is solidly grounded in the idea's origin as well as the entrepreneur's personal identity; generating personally sustainable business **Deeply grounding business in location** Developing highly localized businesses strongly connected to local ecosystem, serving demands unique to the location

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Dimensions	Traditional Incubators	Accelerators	GREEN
Idea development method	**Traditional business planning** Focused on building a detailed plan to justify the business typically to the investors	**Market/customer validation (lean startup)** Seeking fit with the current market and customer demands through empirically testing entrepreneur's hypothesis (Blank, 2013); focus on prototyping (MVP: minimum viable product), beta test, and pivot (Ries, 2011); emphasis on ''fail fast and iterate'' (Feld and Cohen, 2010)	**Internal validation** Seeking to identify the ''deep root'' of the idea through deep personal reflections; make design choices through the entrepreneur's personal resonance; disregard pervasive focus on external presentation; ''pulling (stakeholders with similar values)'' instead of ''pushing (product/service to market)'' strategy; encourage entrepreneurs to deny external demands incongruent with the deep root
Perspective on opportunity	**Unclear/discovery** Opportunities are out there waiting to be discovered	**Discovery** Opportunity objectively exists in the environment and is discovered through validation (Baron and Shane, 2007); first prove hypothesis, then craft the business mission, identity, and narrative for external communication (e.g., investor pitch)	**Construction** Pursue deeper meaning underneath observable products/services; through contemplation on ''deep root,'' construct a fundamental and novel sense of problem that is not yet broadly known, and build unique solutions to the problem

> be the virus that kills you. . . . I think Silicon Valley has a capacity to withstand that—withstand that kind of failure rate, because they have high standards of living. Those people that are getting laid off from the work have a master's degree in computer science and just go to the next start-up. They have a whole ecosystem that is built around that. In Detroit when that person fails, they're standing in the soup line trying to get food. . . . There's no next job to jump to.

In this diagnosis of Detroit's context, Ted drew a clear contrast between Detroit and Silicon Valley and explained why the conventional solutions of typical accelerators would not work in Detroit. GREEN's unique approach was the response to Detroit's extraordinary circumstances.

The first two years of GREEN's journey somehow turned an abstract metaphor into a full-fledged alternative frame. Ted later recollected that this process unfolded as he ''followed a thread of truth [that he was] connected to at each moment.'' The rest of the findings unpack this process by carefully reconstructing the thread, which wove through pivotal moments.

The First Step: Experimenting with Grounding as a Pragmatic Response to Crisis

GREEN's living business metaphor underdetermined its actions. Although Ted named its business incubation process ''seed design'' in line with the living

business metaphor, the metaphor itself did not say *how* to design a seed of a business. Instead, GREEN's beginning was marked by a series of experimental actions, not all of which stayed the course. For example, for its initial businesses, GREEN mentors led discussions on the ''natural strengths'' and ''natural stresses'' that a nascent business may face, but such discussions were used less in later processes.

Meanwhile, other actions such as grounding gained substantial traction. The pursuit of grounding—designing a business seed from the idea's concrete origin, such as a founder's personal identity—emerged as a pragmatic response to the desperate need to address Detroit's situation. Sibling co-founders Mike and Jane ran Medicine Pocket, GREEN's second incubated business. When they joined GREEN, they already had a product—a medication-management tool for elders—that major retail pharmacies had offered to sell through their nationwide networks. But the founders' backgrounds were in inner-city community organizing and interfaith movement for social justice, and they hoped to build a business that ''serves others'' and to have a ''full impact'' on the people in the community. They could not find support for such aspirations from existing business development solutions. Major pharmacies wanted to offshore production to China or India to reduce labor costs, and a local accelerator tried to guide them toward rapid nationwide expansion. They were desperate to find a way to develop their fledgling business so that it could serve their deteriorating community. Thinking that ''there had to be a more powerful way'' than ''putting a product on [the] shelf,'' they came to GREEN.

To address their particular needs, Ted improvised new responses. After starting over a couple of times, Ted began to focus on Medicine Pocket's founding story: how the founders' mother invented the original product as a way to care for her own mother. GREEN's mentors, the founders, and community participants spent several weeks solely reflecting on the details of the story, and Ted gradually sensed growing traction with this experiment, observing that ''rooted in the story are the foundations that don't move, constancy of the purpose'' (week 6). Ted constantly checked whether what they were finding resonated with the founders. He kept asking Mike and Jane if the emerging idea ''gives [them] energy and feels right to [them]'' and evaluated whether it was aligned with their ''passion and competence'' (week 7). This strong focus on the founding story and the founders' personal identities was not a planned action in the beginning. By pragmatically improvising to accommodate the Medicine Pocket founders' unique needs, a concrete method to design a business seed began to emerge.

The Rise of Challenges and Their Resolution through the Living Business Metaphor

GREEN's unconventional action reacting to founders' unique needs and Detroit's dire situation perplexed some participants. In a discussion on Medicine Pocket's origin story (week 7), Amanda, a community participant—and the founder of the next incubated business—looked baffled and interrupted the discussion to ask, ''What is the question that you are trying to answer?'' Ted responded, ''I am still trying to figure out what the core [of Medicine Pocket] is about.'' The founders of Medicine Pocket also struggled to comprehend GREEN's actions at times. During the first weeks, Mike experienced

escalating tension with Jane, who said she was not sure ''what we are trying to achieve here.'' In week 9, amid the continued reflection on the origin story, Jane cautiously raised a point: ''One thing that we didn't talk about so far is whether our experience is translatable to the general level.'' This comment would have been perfectly natural in typical accelerators that target general problems and pursue quick scalability. Yet in GREEN, it led to a long digression that marked one of the first occasions when the meaning of GREEN's fledgling focus on grounding was articulated. Ted responded:

> In my opinion, everything useful started from something concrete. . . . It's not like someone comes up with a grand project and then finds something that's concrete. . . . I want to recommend you to continuously look for something like [the original Medicine Pocket] that your mother made, although it may not be for everyone. Don't start from a big, general question.

Encouraging founders to make a product that is ''not for everyone'' went directly against the conventional focus on maximizing target customers. Everyone looked puzzled, and the room fell silent. Later in the meeting, Mike cautiously shared a positive reflection on what they were doing, saying that he was beginning to see a ''living story behind the original Medicine Pocket.'' Ted followed this and quickly reminded the founders of the ultimate goal they began with: ''The answer has a story . . . if the answer doesn't have a story, then you might just have another product for CVS.''

The more they performed the initially improvisational activity of grounding, the more its meaning became articulated. In the next meeting (week 10), Mike struggled to draft a ''seed statement''—an identity statement of the emerging business. Ted encouraged him to keep focusing on Medicine Pocket's origin story and the founders' identities: ''This is who you are and what you do. It becomes the thing that all other things are referenced to and grow from.'' Nelson, a community participant, chimed in by sharing his own observation: ''What you are doing here feels so different. Other businesses make mission statements as an afterthought, but . . . what we have here is very different from them.'' Building on this reflection, Ted explicitly linked the novel action to GREEN's living business metaphor:

> Yes, this is what they are. This is their DNA. I think there's a spiritual part to it. If you truly believe in it, it gives you the energy and people, and the universe understands that you're an oak tree. The universe starts to give you resources—the rain falls and the sun shines. . . . When you create anything, it should be consistent with this.

This series of interactions shows that Detroit's extraordinary situation created unique needs that GREEN improvised to address, and the improvisation gradually attained meaning by surviving challenges. Although everyone had joined GREEN knowing that the incubator was somewhat different, the context of interaction—a business development meeting—generated expectations for conventional discussions and instructions (e.g., the focus on general problems). These expectations were repeatedly breached by continued discussions of family history and personal identities, which seemed out of place, leading

baffled participants to raise questions. These questions opened up moments of tension when the meaning of the experimental action had to be clarified. In these moments, Ted articulated the meaning of grounding in light of the living business metaphor. Invoking the metaphor instantly reminded the listeners, who were still seeing the situation as a conventional business discussion, that they were designing a seed for a living organism. This swift redefinition of the situation infused the pursuit of grounding with intentional rationality: living businesses grow out of well-defined seeds. Simultaneously, challenges that reflected a conventional paradigm were associated with making a machine business or manufacturing ''another product for CVS,'' an action that was incongruent with the founders' original goal to address the city's extraordinary adversity.

Following these explicit discussions of the meaning of grounding, the activity was more strongly embraced and even actively pursued by participants. For example, without Ted's prompting, the Medicine Pocket founders started to evaluate emerging ideas based on their resonance with Medicine Pocket's origin story and their own identities. In later meetings, they spoke Ted's language by describing their outcome as a ''formalization of our story'' that they found by ''looking for what resonated with our passion and competency'' (week 17). Encouraged by this traction, Ted more actively performed grounding activities and further elaborated them in the next business. In Dog Pound's week 4, Ted explicitly discussed the importance of having deep roots. While discussing potential risks for Dog Pound's idea, he mentioned that Michigan plants have very deep roots because of the harsh Michigan winter. He then added, ''For starting a new business, you need to have some deep roots.'' Around this time, Ted began to use the term ''deep root'' to refer to the ultimate outcome of grounding, and ''personal deep root'' was added to a ''business seed'' in the figure describing GREEN's seed design (see Figure 3). Yet the formal definition of ''deep root'' came nearly a year later. Reflecting on previous incubation processes, Ted for the first time formally defined it as ''something that stayed with the individual for a long time, which the person is passionate about and has the potential to benefit others.'' Through this sequence, the pursuit of grounding became more concrete and firmly settled as a main element of GREEN's emerging approach.

Importantly, by being repeatedly invoked to justify grounding, the living business metaphor itself gained a richer meaning: like a living organism growing out of an already defined seed, a living business grows out of a seed that is deeply rooted in the idea's concrete beginning (i.e., the business's origin story and its founder's identity). This elaboration of the metaphor was captured by Ted's later criticism of pivoting: ''If you plant an acorn, you get an oak tree, [and] you can't decide halfway through that you want a bean to grow off a branch.''[5] While grounding initially seemed nonsensical from the perspective of business acceleration, a typical acceleration method like pivoting later became equally nonsensical in GREEN's increasingly solidified, alternative worldview. This elaborated metaphor critically contributed to the subsequent evolution of GREEN's frame.

[5] Pivoting is a key method in conventional entrepreneurship in which a business idea undergoes rapid changes until it meets broad customer demands.

Elaboration of Metaphor and Generation of Novel Actions

As the grounding practice emerged, GREEN's action repertoire continuously evolved in varying directions depending on specific challenges posed by grounding. An example is GREEN's pursuit of organic growth. In GREEN's early days, there were few discussions on growth strategies for incubated businesses. This changed in week 11 of Medicine Pocket's process, when Caroline, a community participant, questioned the effectiveness of grounding activities with investors:

> **Caroline:** [referring to Mike and Jane's idea] This is all good, but what do you think is the success rate of these stories when the entrepreneurs bring them to bankers or investors?
> **Ted:** [after a brief pause] Funding could be a bad idea for somebody because not every entrepreneur needs to start with borrowing money. . . . [with stronger voice] The whole idea of making a business case, then giving an elevator pitch, and then getting some loans and eventually failing—why does something like this keep happening?

In conventional accelerators where fundraising is a primary concern, a question like Caroline's would not have taken 11 weeks to surface and Ted's response discouraging borrowing money up front would have been unthinkable. But in GREEN, adhering to the conventional focus on investment was associated with exacerbating the region's crisis. In week 12 Ted directly attributed the crisis to the pervasive focus on investment: ''We are not going this path where you get a huge loan up front and go bankrupt next year. Go to Flint and see what's out there . . . that's the sum total of the single bottom line approach.''[6]

Yet participants' challenges did not wane, and contentious interactions ensued particularly during Medicine Pocket's reunion sessions. Following Mike and Jane's week 17 presentation of a business idea built on their origin story, Jim, a community participant, frowned and asked, ''Where does the money exchange happen here? This is a business, right?'' In response to Jim, who visibly struggled to find the profit-generating mechanism from the presented idea, Ted replied:

> A lot of development has to be done from here. . . . There's work to be done about how this can be merged into the way our society is evolving. . . . I think there are so many business models here, but putting this into one word or concept feels way too premature. I'd say you're growing something. It's like you just had a grandchild and talk to the baby, ''You are going to be a doctor.''

By likening the request to clarify a nascent venture's monetization plan to the premature declaration of a newborn baby's future career, Ted clarified GREEN's focus on organic, long-term growth by connecting it to the living business metaphor. More challenges created additional opportunities for GREEN's actions to become more substantiated:

[6] Flint is a city near Detroit that went through a significant economic depression after GM reduced its workforce from over 80,000 in 1978 to less than 8,000 in 2010. Flint's decline has been attributed to GM's focus on profitability (Highsmith, 2015), and Ted was citing Flint to criticize the singular focus on the financial bottom line induced by concern for investors' returns.

> **Nelson:** But the real question is how long you can do this without getting paid.
> **Ted:** At this point, they have the Medicine Pocket product going on, so you can use the resource coming from that to mature the process they presented here. There's a runway, and you just have to think about the point of take-off.

Nelson's challenge evoked the conventional notion that startups face a limited length of runway within which they need to turn profitable. In response, Ted suggested an alternative to the conventional solution—securing an extra income source to give a nascent business idea enough time to mature naturally. Building on this, securing a separate income source during incubation became an explicit prerequisite for founders of subsequent incubated businesses.

In the next and final meeting for Medicine Pocket, Ted began by sharing a more elaborate response to the monetization concerns that participants had repeatedly raised. He again articulated GREEN's focus on organic, long-term growth through its living business metaphor:

> Right now, what we found is the acorn, and one day it will be a tree, which we might call "a business." . . . What we're doing here is asking "Do we have the acorn correct? Is it authentic and congruent?"

The use of metaphor again redefined the context by reminding the audience that while raising profit concerns may be natural in conventional business incubation, it is akin to discussing yields before knowing what to plant, which is inappropriate in the context of growing a living business. But despite repeated reframing, dropping conventional beliefs and habits was not easy for participants. Later in the meeting, Caroline again pointed out the lack of an immediate monetization plan, which eventually led to an emotional response from Mike:

> **Caroline:** You can't continue to do things for other people unless you can sustain yourself.
> **Mike:** [after a brief pause] You can't speed up an oak tree to suddenly become 100 years old. We are not trying to accelerate what we are currently doing. We are very comfortable with our identity that we just figured out, and I don't want to limit its possibility by saying that this is the plan to monetize what we have. I am from the business world where finance dominates everything, and what I am trying to do is getting rid of that part of myself. An honest answer [to your question] is "I don't know at this point," and I am comfortable with not knowing it.

Through this series of contentious interactions, GREEN's emphasis on organic and long-term growth was gradually substantiated and settled as a specific method of growing a living business. And the sequence not only justified GREEN's unconventional actions but also resulted in the elaboration of the metaphor: business is a living organism, so its growth cannot be artificially accelerated but takes its natural time. The elaborated metaphor was evident in Ted's sarcastic comment about a "pregnancy accelerator" in a week 9 meeting with Dog Pound. Addressing how other incubators focus on acceleration through investment, he said, "It would be great if you can have a baby in just three months. But it's not true; the baby will die." By emphasizing that acceleration makes no sense in the world of living organisms, this statement demonstrates that the pursuit of acceleration is out of place in a context in

which businesses grow as living organisms. Thus the use of metaphor made unfamiliar actions familiar while rendering normally appropriate prescriptions inappropriate. Along with this, taken-for-granted actions from normal situations became increasingly questionable, while unconventional responses to the extraordinary situation became more compelling.

In addition to grounding and organic growth, other elements of GREEN's solution also developed out of a similar sequence of challenge, metaphor elaboration, and novel actions (summarized in Table 4). GREEN's emphasis on internally validating business ideas against founders' deep roots emerged in reaction to participants' incessant pushes toward rapid customer validation, which is an imperative in business accelerators. Similarly, GREEN's emphasis on crafting a niche based on the founders' unique deep roots was articulated in response to participants asking why GREEN's process did not quickly narrow down product/service offerings. By surviving complaints about not following an ordinary path, novel maneuvers in the extraordinary situation became increasingly sophisticated.

Table 4. Challenges, Elaboration of Metaphor, and Novel Actions

Specific Elements	Participant Challenges and Reflections	Elaboration of Metaphor in Response	Novel Actions Resulting from Elaborated Metaphor
Deep grounding	''What is the general problem?'' ''There are living stories behind business ideas.'' ''Typical mission statements are created as an afterthought.''	A seed that is deeply grounded in founder identity and concrete local circumstances is first defined, and a living business grows out of it.	Developing business ideas out of reflection on the origin of the idea and founder's personal identity (''deep root'') Having founders craft a statement of personal identity Formalizing collective reflections on ''deep root'' as part of incubation process
Organic growth	''What is the success rate of these stories for bankers and investors?'' ''This is a business, right?'' ''How long can you do this without getting paid?'' ''You cannot continue unless you can sustain yourself''	Growth of a living business cannot be artificially accelerated through infusion of resources (investment).	Pursuing slow-paced, long-term growth Discouraging founders from fundraising Mandating extra sources of income to earn time to ''mature'' the idea Helping founders find an extra income source
Internal validation	''At what point do you go with your model to your potential customers?'' ''Are you setting up billboards, or are you going out to look for customers?'' ''It goes against the conventional notion that we need [a] 30-second pitch that has to be understood exactly the same by everyone.''	A living business is like a person, whose personality is not instantly introduced and understood by everyone in the same way.	Discouraging entrepreneurs from focusing on external presentation Discrediting ''push model'' of aggressively pushing product/service to customers and seeking validation Endorsing ''pull model'' wherein engagement in community attracts customers who hold similar values

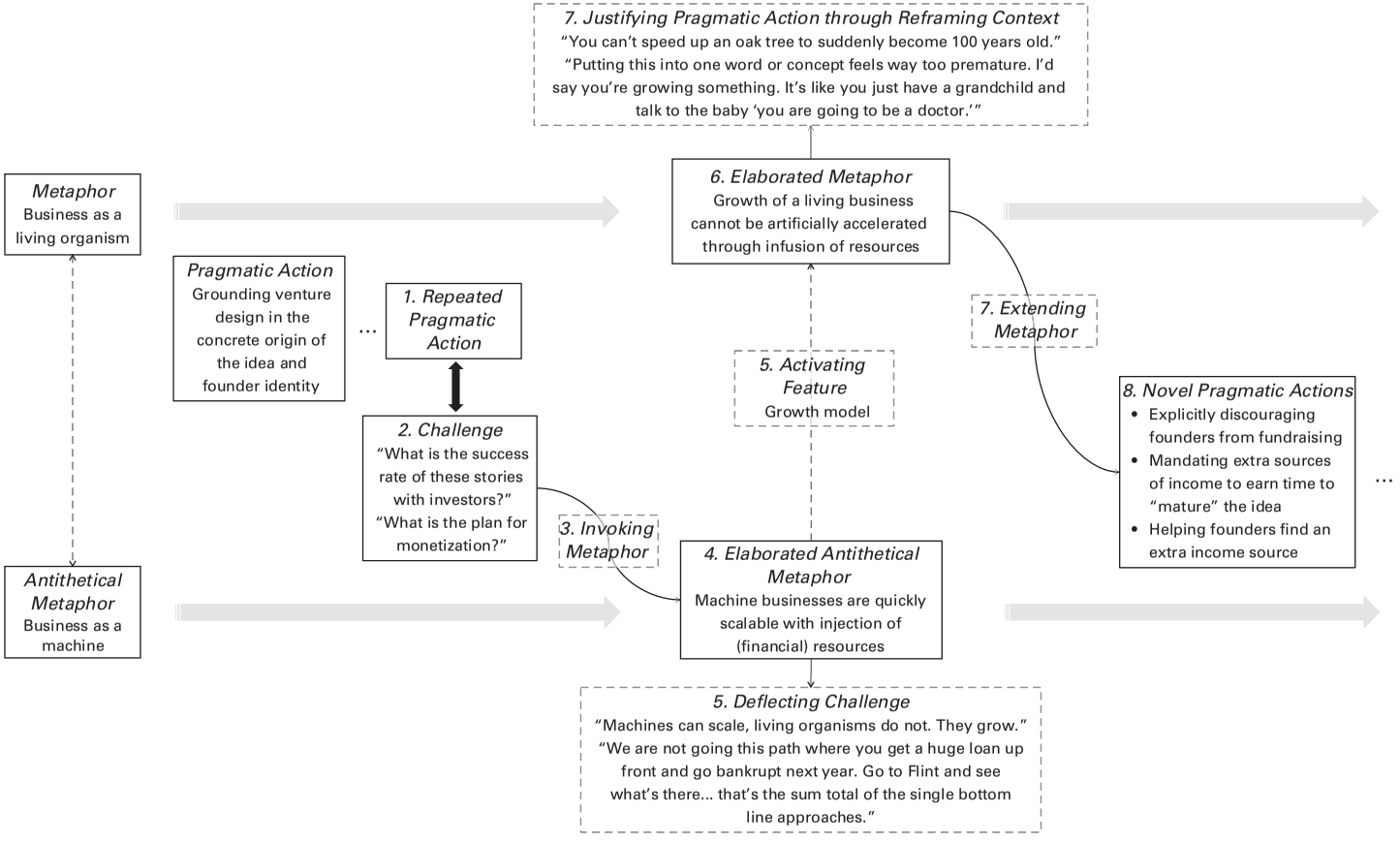
(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Specific Elements	Participant Challenges and Reflections	Elaboration of Metaphor in Response	Novel Actions Resulting from Elaborated Metaphor
Opportunity construction	''I thought [Dog Pound's initial idea] was straightforward, but now we're getting deep into the meaning of animal–human relationship. We've got this whole huge deal again!'' ''You have to start narrowing down and think of what you're going to sell.'' ''When do you add action to your research? Go out and ask customers 'what would you like to see?'''	A living business that is uniquely grounded grows from its unique niche that makes it sustainable.	Encouraging business development not from customer demands but from founders' ''morals'' and ''fundamentals'' Explicitly crafting a niche for the new business within the existing industry context Pursuing to go beyond traditional industry boundaries—''defining a new industry, not a new business''
Customized process	''Why do different seed designs have different structures and timelines, unlike accelerators where all participants follow a standard structure?''	Different living businesses are all unique, grow differently, and therefore require different types of care.	Increased flexibility and customization of the incubation process Imposing different timelines for each seed design Having a different focus for each seed design (e.g., Medicine Pocket focused on defining the service, while Dog Pound focused on designing operational details)
Community-centered process	''[Accelerators] always ask you to come up with more products/services which are not founded in anything inside you and then give you the impression that you're wrong if you can't do that.''	An individual founder does not *own* a living business but *stewards* its growth.	After seed design, continuing the prototyping process with the original group of seed design participants For later businesses, community check-in meetings being created to ensure that the business's growth stayed true to its seed

Figure 4 analytically breaks down this process into a sequence of micro moves. From the beginning, GREEN's living business metaphor was defined in opposition to a machine business metaphor, and this dual structure enabled redirecting challenges in ways that substantiated GREEN's approach. When participants posed a challenge to GREEN's pragmatic actions (see examples in ''2. Challenge'' in the model), Ted and other seasoned participants invoked the machine business metaphor (3. Invoking Metaphor) to frame the challenge as inappropriate (5. Deflecting Challenge). Invoking the metaphor also activated a particular feature of machines (4. Elaborated Antithetical Metaphor), which in turn activated a corresponding feature of living organisms (5. Activating Feature), consequently elaborating the living business metaphor (6. Elaborated Metaphor). This elaborated metaphor then justified the challenged action

Figure 4. The Process of Metaphor Elaboration in GREEN*



* While the numbers in each step reflect the logical order in the process, not all processes follow the same order.

(7. Justifying Pragmatic Action) and further facilitated subsequent improvisations of more unconventional actions (7. Extending Metaphor). This sequence suggests that while GREEN's metaphor had inherent potential for innovative actions, what ultimately unlocked the potential and determined its direction were challenges that embodied the lingering influence of normalcy. Even when situated amid an unfolding crisis, actors still applied the frames of normal situations to understand what was going on around them. The twist is that doing so actually helped substantiate how one should act differently in the extraordinary situation.

Elaboration of Metaphor and Construction of a Novel Prognostic Frame

Once GREEN's novel actions were generated through metaphor elaboration, they were challenged again and then justified again through further elaboration of the metaphor. As a result of this iterative cycle, more novel actions were generated and settled into GREEN's growing set of solutions. Later in GREEN's journey, the elaborated living business metaphor not only added more actions to the mix but served as a systematic framework of how business incubation should be done in Detroit's extraordinary circumstances. For example, near the end of Dog Pound's seed design, a community participant asked Ted why different seed design processes had different structures and timelines, whereas typical accelerators provide a standardized structure for all participating startups. Instead of answering, Ted took the person out to the parking lot and pointed to three native Michigan trees brought from the same nursery and planted at the same time. He explained that the one in the middle had developed lichen, had more yellow leaves, was particularly weak, and would probably die soon. Ted added:

> My point is, they are all different, and it's natural. Why would they have to be the same? This is not a factory where we say "Okay, we've spent 15 weeks, so you're good to go." What if Amanda takes 60 weeks? We should still be doing it.

Notably, multiple elements of GREEN's emerging solution were simultaneously observable in this moment. In response to a challenge premised on the standardized approach of business accelerators, Ted again characterized the conventional approach as a way to create a machine business ("a factory"). He then justified GREEN's unstandardized process by literally showing living organisms (trees that were growing differently) and thereby elaborating the metaphor: a business is a living organism, so businesses are all unique, grow differently, and therefore require different types of care. This elaboration of the metaphor affirmed not only GREEN's unstandardized/customized process but also other previously developed elements: GREEN nurtures entities that are grounded in the individual uniqueness of the founders (grounding), are therefore all different (opportunity construction), and thus naturally take different lengths of time (organic growth). This exchange indicated that GREEN's reframing process had reached a degree of maturity. Actions that had separately emerged as pragmatic responses to different situations gradually achieved internal coherence through the elaborated metaphor and were consolidated into a comprehensive action plan.

Similar progress was also observable in the community participants' reflections in later stages. After participating in the incubation processes of both Medicine Pocket and Dog Pound, Nelson, a vocal critic within GREEN (Ted had even given him a nickname, ''Mr. Question''), eventually began to acknowledge how GREEN's various activities fit together. In week 15, Nelson reflected on Dog Pound's emerging idea grounded in Amanda's unique personal ethics: ''It's great that there's no fear if someone comes to compete with you. That gets you the comfort that you can take time to get things right.'' In this brief reflection, Nelson expressed that different elements of GREEN's approach were finally put together in a sensible way: grounding a business in the founder's individuality enables the construction of unique opportunities, which reduces concerns for competition, thereby enabling an organic, long-term growth strategy. This shows that Ted and participants began to commonly sense internal consistency across different tools in GREEN's growing toolkit. The enhanced sense of coherence gradually led to firm establishment of GREEN's solutions. In the fourth seed design process, participants' challenges noticeably declined, and what once were experimental actions were performed as standard procedure. After a wobbly beginning, GREEN developed a much clearer sense of how businesses should be alternatively incubated to address the extraordinary situations in Detroit. This progress was accompanied by an increasingly sophisticated diagnosis of what was going on in Detroit.

Elaboration of Metaphor and Construction of a Novel Diagnostic Frame

The living business metaphor justified GREEN's initial improvisations by instantly redefining the context of interaction at each moment. The accumulation of these instant reframings gradually shaped a constant frame through which actors understood the broader context, their crisis-ridden city. While they gradually came to view their work as nurturing a new living organism rather than designing a profitable investment opportunity, actors in GREEN began to see their crisis situation in a corresponding way. This was first explicitly expressed by community participants. In an interview that took place during Dog Pound's seed design, Jim, a long-time Detroiter in his 70s, shared his struggle to make sense of why people came back to Detroit to experiment with things like GREEN. Then he said:

> The idea of . . . a living metaphor was an appealing part of the vision. . . . Well, life itself is just too compelling. You can't keep it down. . . . This good fresh stuff . . . just rises up again. And it's fun and it's meaningful for me to see that, be part of it, and to take hope from this life that keeps rising up. . . . So here's Detroit, leveled. Up goes GREEN. Up come these people. Where do they come from? How did that happen? I just go ''Holy cow and maybe life just does keep coming back.'' That's how I put it.

Jim's statement demonstrates how GREEN's living business metaphor influenced the participants' view of their environment. Jim saw Detroit as ''leveled'' ground devoid of life but, at the same time, as a land that still has the potential to nurture life, which is ''just too compelling.'' From this view, Detroit is not a wasteland in which Silicon Valley should be transplanted (Rushe, 2013); rather, it is ground from which only deeply rooted living businesses can resiliently sprout.

The articulation of Detroit's crisis context progressed further during a series of meetings in 2014 in which Ted, community participants, and alumni founders reflected on the first four seed designs. As summarized in Table 5, participants in these meetings described Detroit as a place that can be remediated by growing living businesses. In line with GREEN's pursuit of organic growth, GREEN actors increasingly highlighted the fact that Detroit's impoverished population cannot bear the risks inherent in the investment-centered approach. An image of typical Detroiters became concretized—not ''a Stanford MBA'' but ''a single mom with three kids''—and the city was depicted as a place where ''it is not okay'' for investors to ''throw away'' businesses that are attached to these entrepreneurs ''who [do not] have a lot of options for another job.'' During one of the meetings, Ted elaborated on the hazard of the investment-driven approach in Detroit, alluding to the city's recent history plagued by its flagship corporations' near bankruptcy in 2008 and the nation's largest municipal bankruptcy in 2013:

> Let's say [founders out of typical accelerators] applied for a loan with the business plan. What's the worst thing that could happen? They get the loan. And so now they ruined their lives, we have bankruptcies, we have bank loss, and we have societal loss. Where's that money come from? It comes from everybody else in the society. . . . So the rest of the society is funding these kinds of business cases. It's terrible. They are destroying the community.

In another example, the elaborated antithetical metaphor also shaped GREEN actors' view of Detroit's situation. In justifying grounding activities, the machine business metaphor was elaborated as ''a closed system'' disconnected not just from the founders' identities but also from the surrounding environment. This elaborated metaphor then helped explain the city's historic decline: Detroit was ''destroyed'' due to the unintended consequences of machine businesses that were ''made'' on the assumption that ''everything else remains the same'' and therefore disregarded their impact on employees, the environment, and local communities. This attribution was then connected to a further diagnosis that the city can be revitalized by living businesses that are deeply grounded in concrete local circumstances, are invested not with investor money but with the local community's ''collective soul,'' and are fueled by Detroiters' deep commitment and unique capacities.

As these examples show, by continuously making sense of their unconventional actions through the living business metaphor, GREEN actors increasingly saw their work as nurturing new life. This view enabled them to form a novel diagnosis of the crisis in which their life-nurturing actions were intuitively sensible and desperately needed. As a result, a tightly coupled view of what should be done and what was going on in Detroit's crisis context gradually emerged. The incubator's unique contributions to Detroit's gradual recovery attest to the effectiveness of its novel frame. As of this writing, most of the eight nascent businesses that GREEN incubated between 2012 and 2014 are still in operation, providing stable local employment and addressing specific challenges of the city's crisis by, for example, supporting underprivileged food entrepreneurs in the city, providing healthy food options to the city's destitute corners, and recycling waste tires piled up in abandoned properties. GREEN has also evolved further, applying its approaches to its own development. It is in the

Table 5. Elaborated Metaphor, Prognostic and Diagnostic Frames of Detroit Context

Elaborated Metaphor	Emergent Prognostic Frame	Emergent Diagnostic Frame	Supporting Quotes
Growth of a living business cannot be artificially accelerated through infusion of resources, while machine businesses are quickly scalable with artificial injection of (financial) resources	A business should be developed by giving natural time to mature the idea (pursuit of organic, long-term growth)	Unlike Silicon Valley, typical Detroit entrepreneurs who start a business for their livelihood cannot bear the risks inherent in investment-centered venture growth model	''It's dominated by an impression that the audience is a bank that is making a lending decision, which is very different than the purpose of starting a business that would be the livelihood of your family.'' ''It's kind of like somebody who is very sophisticated at roulette . . . that is very high risk, and they're bringing other people in to their environment and going, 'Oh by the way, you could hit it big.''' ''A lot of investors are inclined to throw things away. But that's okay if what you're throwing away is attached to someone like a Stanford MBA, because the Stanford MBA then just gets the next job. But if that's attached to a family—of a single mother with three kids in Detroit—and they throw it away, that's not okay. She doesn't have a lot of options for another job. There's no view of the societal impacts of all this.''
Living businesses are an ''open system'' organically connected to the surrounding environment; machine businesses are a ''closed system'' disconnected from the surrounding environment	A business should be developed by deeply grounding it in its concrete origin and surrounding local circumstances	Detroit has been destroyed by machine businesses that are designed to disregard the people within it, the environment, and the communities around it	''You can 'make' a business. The only thing is [that] it will destroy the community, it will destroy the planet, it will destroy the people that are part of it. We can only 'grow' businesses.'' ''You're actually taught, 'assume everything else remains the same.' That's what you're taught in closed systems. . . . That means, your unintended impact on the environment, your impact on the community around you, your impact on employees—you are told to please ignore all that. You're told to ignore all that in closed systems theory.''

(continued)

Table 5. (continued)

Elaborated Metaphor	Emergent Prognostic Frame	Emergent Diagnostic Frame	Supporting Quotes
		Detroit needs businesses whose growth is fueled not by investment but by the support and commitment by local communities	''What if a business had a soul? . . . The soul is a collective soul of the people that are there. . . . [speaking of a local business] Why are they in an old building in the corner of . . . Detroit? Well, it's because that's part of the soul. . . . If [a local business]'s building burnt down, the community would feel this huge loss. There would be people coming together to help, to rebuild that. . . . If the Costco burns down, would anybody show up?'' ''Amanda didn't get a loan. She didn't get somebody investing in her business, [but] she got people investing in her as a human and what she believes in.''
A living business that is grounded in the uniqueness of a founder's identity has a unique niche that makes it sustainable	A business should be built on the uniqueness of the idea, founder, and the local circumstances	Detroit has a potential to build its own entrepreneurial ecosystem based on its unique capacities	''So we hold out all of our dreams as if the rest of the country could just be like Palo Alto . . . well, first of all, I don't want it to be that way. I love Detroit with all of its complexity and all of its diversity. . . . It's all the regular people on the street. All they want is a good life for them and their family. And they are trying to pursue that purposefulness in their lives.'' ''When we selected Detroit versus Ann Arbor to do this work, I thought—deep inside me I felt a heaviness that . . . I was going to have to fight everything in Detroit at the same time. . . . So, I thought it was going to be much harder to do the project in Detroit, but . . . when you're doing this purposeful work that is aligned with what you love to do—it feels like there's a wind at your back.''

process of nurturing different manifestations of its ''deep root,'' expanding from a business incubator and coworking space to a lodging and residential complex and to a neighborhood grocery store. This expansion, in collaboration with other local businesses, has contributed to the vigorous restoration of Midtown Detroit.

DISCUSSION

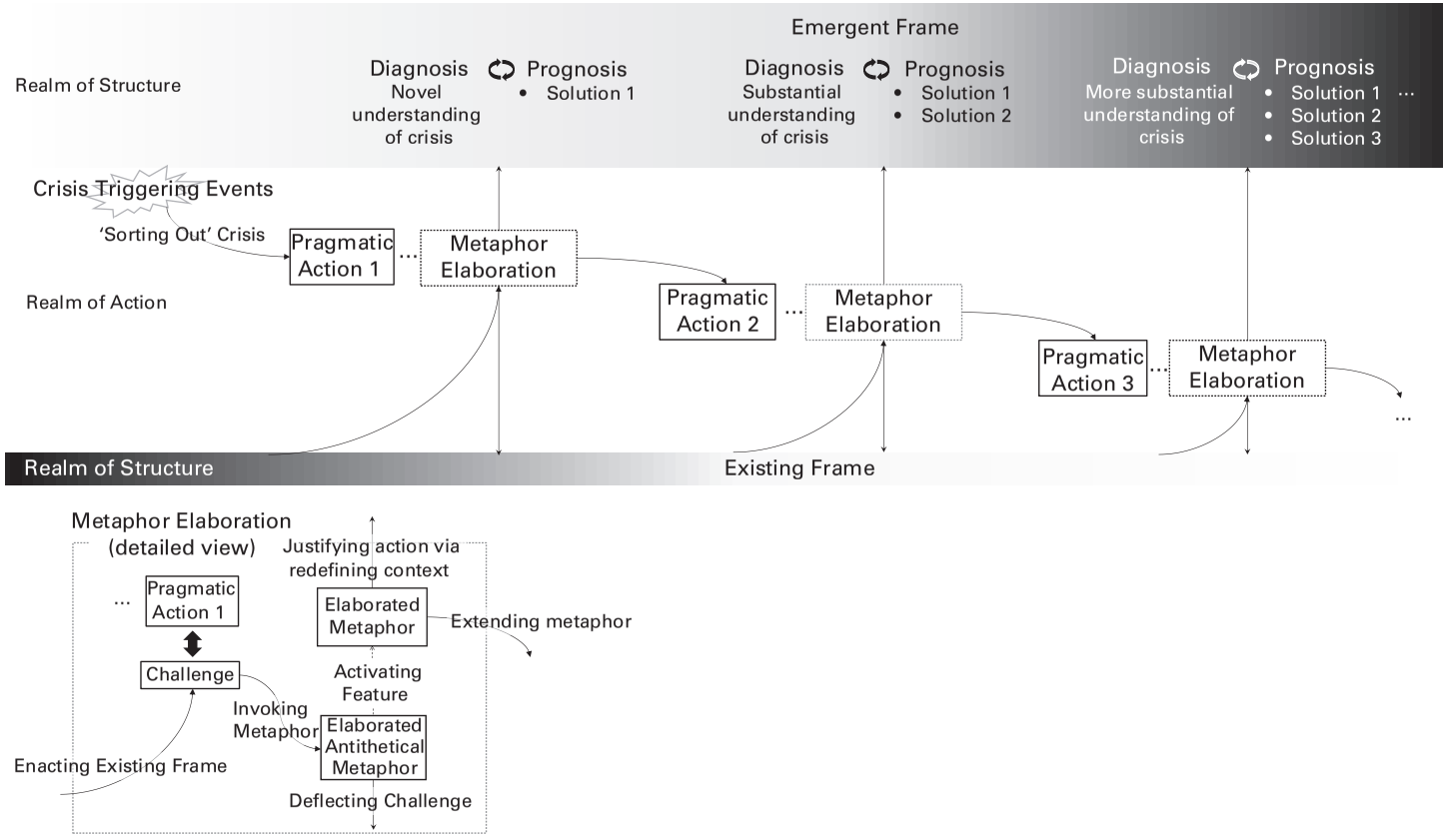
This study addresses how actors living through an unfolding crisis successfully dismantle an existing frame and construct a new one through which they can adequately understand what is going on in their disrupted context and adaptively imagine what should be done to respond to it. My in-depth analysis of the alternative business incubator GREEN suggests that this reframing, a critical task during a crisis, is achieved through recurrent sequences of pragmatic actions, challenges from participants, and responses to challenges through metaphor elaboration. Below, I build on this sequence to develop a theory around how cognitive frames can be reconstructed in an unfolding crisis.

Theoretical Model of Frame Restructuration

Figure 5 presents a theoretical model of the frame restructuration process, which builds on the core mechanism of Giddens's (1984) structuration theory, wherein structure and action iteratively constitute each other over time. The prefix ''re'' reflects that the model is a special form of structuration that accomplishes not the ongoing modification of an existing structure but the ''reconstruction of the interrupted context'' (Joas, 1996: 128).

Following previous models of structuration (Barley, 1986; Barley and Tolbert, 1997), the model visualizes the iteration between actions (shown in ''realm of action'') and structure (''realm of structure''). In the case of restructuration, the actions are enveloped in two embedding structures: the emergent frame (the top strip) and the existing frame (the bottom strip). The two strips fade in opposite directions—the top strip becoming darker from left to right while the bottom strip becomes lighter—reflecting that the emergent frame becomes increasingly substantiated over time while the existing frame gradually loses its influence. The process starts with actors scrambling to sort out the unfolding crisis, generating pragmatic responses to immediate situational needs. These actions, often as unusual as the problems they tackle, baffle observers who still see the world through an existing frame, leading them to openly pose challenges (see the detailed view of metaphor elaboration). Responding to challenges, the proponents of the novel action can invoke metaphor, which has three specific consequences: the context of interaction is swiftly redefined through metaphor (1) rendering the challenge irrelevant and undermining the existing frame (the ''deflecting challenge'' arrow), (2) making the pragmatic action no longer nonsensical but rather natural and imperative (the ''justifying action'' arrow), and (3) generating more novel actions consistent with the newly constituted reality (the ''extending metaphor'' arrow). This sequence—constituting the microprocess of ''metaphor elaboration''—serves as a key mechanism that provides a thrust to reinstate the structuration process interrupted by the crisis. New pragmatic actions would then invite new challenges triggering more episodes of metaphor elaboration, and the

Figure 5. Process Model of Frame Restructuration



continuation of the process gradually enriches the diagnostic and prognostic aspects of the new frame. Below, I explain in detail each part of the model.

Sorting out crises generates pragmatic actions. Crises unfold in a process whereby gradual degeneration culminates in triggering events, which are then followed by a phase of recovery and adjustment (Williams et al., 2017). I observed GREEN's process amid the triggering events of Detroit's crisis (its 2013 bankruptcy) and throughout the immediate aftermath. While disruptive, a crisis does not create a complete disconnect from pre-crisis life. Although it becomes increasingly inadequate, an existing frame still exerts a lingering influence; thus in Figure 5 the strip at the bottom becomes increasingly lighter but does not disappear. In an unfolding crisis, structuration of the existing frame may continue but dissipate over time, significantly suffering from frequent and damaging ''slippages'' (Barley, 1986). In the case of GREEN, the existing frame is the conventional approach to growth-oriented business acceleration, built on the pervasive belief that Detroit can be revived by high-tech substitutes for Ford or GM. At the culmination of crisis, an existing frame and the conventional actions no longer provide viable guidance to navigate the drastically changed environment. Holding onto an existing frame can even imperil the actors' survival (Weick, 1993).

Thus actors in the disrupted context scramble to ''sort out a crisis'' (Maitlis and Sonenshein, 2010: 553) by taking actions that respond to the immediate situational demands but are not fully guided by a clear understanding of the situation. Perrow (1999: 10) observed that because the nature of crisis is not fully understood at its onset, actors closest to the problem often have to ''take independent and sometimes quite creative actions.'' This type of action is less an execution of a well-thought-out plan than a potentially ''dangerous action which produces understanding'' (Weick, 1988: 305). I labeled such actions ''pragmatic'' because they are best represented by problem-solving actions in the tradition of American pragmatism. At the center of the pragmatist philosophy are the bewildered actors facing the situation wherein their habits, or routinized practices, are no longer effective (Dewey, 1922; Farjoun, Ansell, and Boin, 2015). In these situations, which are ubiquitous in an unfolding crisis, pragmatic actors engage in ''situated creativity'' (Joas, 1996: 133), deliberating on various possibilities (Dewey, 1922) and trying out experimental actions residing at ''the borderline between imagination and action'' (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998: 990). While some of these improvisations turn out to be inadequate and gradually taper off, others gain traction and are used repeatedly (''Pragmatic Action 1'' in the model). In GREEN, the repeated use of grounding activities is one example. While potentially innovative, these actions are highly susceptible to challenges.

Pragmatic actions are challenged by an existing frame. The lingering influence of an existing frame creates a liminal space where actors are betwixt and between shifting frames (Howard-Grenville et al., 2011). Although the existing frame's empirical credibility—the ''apparent fit between the framings and the events in the world'' (Benford and Snow, 2000: 620)—may significantly wane amid crisis, it still functions as a working frame until it is fully replaced by a new one. Therefore, crisis situations rarely create a complete void in

meaning; rather, they create liminality wherein the actors still habitually but hesitantly resort to the existing frame to understand the world around them. In GREEN, while all joined the incubator in search of an alternative, most participants were unwittingly enacting the default lens of high-tech startup acceleration and an investment-driven growth model.

Seen through this conventional lens, the experimental actions pragmatically addressing extraordinary circumstances may seem nonsensical, eliciting a sense of breach, confusion, and anger—and sometimes overt challenges (Garfinkel, 1967). In GREEN's case, participants' growing discomfort with unconventional actions, such as the pursuit of grounding, ultimately turned into open challenges. These challenges interrupt the flow of improvisational problem-solving and create a need for collective sensemaking, as the ongoing pragmatic actions are called into question and their explicit meanings must be articulated (Weick, 1995). By triggering these moments, the challenges force articulation of the context in which seemingly nonsensical actions could be rendered sensible, thereby serving as a critical springboard for reinstating a structuration process.

Invoking metaphor reframes the context. In this moment of sensemaking, metaphors can play a significant role. The use of metaphor infuses new meanings to the challenged actions by radically redefining the frame through which the actions are understood. This radical reframing relies on metaphor's creative potential to enable ''understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another'' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5). Specifically, metaphors not only enable the transfer of features from the source domain to the target domain but also form a unique blending of the source and target domains (Coulson, 2001; Cornelissen, 2005), consequently unlocking a novel view of the target. For example, the notion of grounding—a business grows out of the seed rooted in founders' identities—originates from the unique blend of the concept of a living organism (which grows from a predefined seed) and the concept of business (which typically involves human founders). Here, the mapping between business and living organism is ''not one-sided, but combines models from each'' (Coulson, 2001: 172), and by enabling a previously unthinkable mixture of different models (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998), metaphors imbue the target with a radically novel but oddly familiar meaning.

Once the target is seen differently, it instantly redefines the context of interaction by achieving what Goffman (1974) called ''upkeying.'' Employing a music analogy, Goffman (1974: 44) theorized that through ''keying,'' a given activity can be reframed ''to be seen by the participants to be something quite else,'' that is, an activity of ''a different key.'' Like a song's key, an interaction's key can go up or down, and upkeying refers to ''a shift from a given distance from literal reality to a greater distance'' (Goffman, 1974: 366). Through the use of the living business metaphor, the interaction among GREEN actors became upkeyed from a discussion of future business ideas to a growers' conversation about how to raise a strong and healthy living business. With an additional layer of frame, the participant's challenge and the challenged action gain radically different meanings, and this reframing serves three specific functions.

Reframing undermines the existing frame. First, what seemed a perfectly reasonable challenge loses its relevance, and this helps dismantle an existing

frame. GREEN's case suggests that dismantling of an existing frame is facilitated by the use of the antithetical metaphor—a metaphor built on the binary opposite of the original metaphor's source concept. Structural linguists have posited that the human mind understands an abstract concept through its binary opposite (Putri and Sarwoto, 2016; Barry, 2017). For example, the concept of life becomes meaningful through the contrast with its binary opposite, death. Thus an antithetical metaphor is conceivable for most metaphors, and to a varying degree it can be enacted in the use of the original metaphor.

In addressing challenges, an antithetical metaphor can play a key role by delegitimizing the conventional frame. Just as GREEN's living business metaphor reframed GREEN's novel activities as those of nurturing lives, GREEN's antithetical machine metaphor reframed conventional accelerator practices as those of manufacturing soulless machines that destroy human employees and surrounding local communities. The grave situation in Detroit was then attributed to these machine businesses, and taken-for-granted approaches of business acceleration were reframed not as a solution but as a cause of the crisis. In the context that is radically redefined by the original metaphor, the antithetical metaphor serves a powerful rhetorical function to highlight the anachronistic and counterproductive nature of the conventional understanding of the situation. Repeated reframing through antithetical metaphor thus helps overcome the natural tendency to stick with the most habitual responses (Staw, Sandelands, and Dutton, 1981) and eventually ''drop'' the familiar ''tools'' (Weick, 1996).

Furthermore, the role of antithetical metaphor goes beyond deflecting challenges. Because the dual metaphors are connected through binary opposition, elaborating one elaborates the other. As an antithetical metaphor is invoked to address specific challenges (e.g., why not focus on investors?), a particular feature of the antithetical metaphor becomes activated (e.g., the scaling of machines), which in turn activates the corresponding feature in the original metaphor (e.g., the growth of living organisms) and determines the direction of metaphor elaboration. This elaboration then shapes the contours of the new frame. Thus the antithetical metaphor redirects the existing frame's resistance into a force to unlock the creative potential of the original metaphor. Dual metaphor not only helps to dismantle the existing frame but also works as a channel through which the resistance of the status quo shapes the contour of the new order.

Reframing shapes the emergent frame. The elaborated metaphor then helps to justify the pragmatic actions through frame amplification (Snow et al., 1986). Specifically, reframing leads to ''a new construal of a well-understood phenomenon'' (Coulson, 2001: 201) that can amplify value congruence between the frame and the participants. For example, Ted's reframing through the living business metaphor amplified the alignment between novel actions and participants' personal values (e.g., the pursuit of grounding prevents making ''another product for CVS'') and therefore enhanced the action's emotional resonance with participants, promoting participants' acceptance. This was apparent in later stages when participants themselves engaged in reframing by elaborating the living business metaphor (e.g., Mike responded to mounting pressure for monetization by saying ''you cannot speed up an oak tree's growth''). Because the metaphor enhances resonance and motivates internalization, the justified action is repeatedly employed and comes to constitute a

stable notion of what should be done to overcome the crisis—the prognostic aspect of the new frame (Benford and Snow, 2000).

The growth of a prognostic frame is accompanied by the advancement of a diagnostic frame. The recurrence of similar framings in micro-level interactions increases the scope and endurance of a frame, eventually granting it moral and practical legitimacy (Kellogg, 2009; Gray, Purdy, and Ansari, 2015). Through this process, provisional framing in momentary interactions is reinforced to form a shared frame that goes beyond the time and space of the original setting (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). Continuously redefining ''what we are doing in the moment'' gradually forms an understanding of ''what we do in general,'' ''who we are,'' and ''where we are.'' These general understandings constitute a shared view of what exactly is going on in the crisis-ridden environment—an updated diagnosis of the situation. The diagnosis in turn shapes the prognosis, because ''the identification of specific problems and causes tends to constrain the range of possible 'reasonable' solutions and strategies'' (Benford and Snow, 2000: 616). This mutual shaping between the diagnostic and prognostic aspects of an emerging frame is represented in the model by the circular arrows between diagnosis and prognosis.

Reframing generates novel actions. Reframing through metaphor elaboration generates novel actions, which gives the emerging cycle of structuration an endogenous push. Once a metaphor has been elaborated, actors can put it into practice and experiment with more actions that were previously unthinkable. This creativity stems from the fact that frames enable actors to see what they could not see before. Frames guide assumptions about unobserved elements (Weick, 1995) and inferences about ''the existence of unstated elements'' (Coulson, 2001: 37). Therefore, a new frame based on the elaborated metaphor can enable actors to imagine more novel actions that are not explicitly prescribed but consistent with the novel frame. Once generated, these novel actions are in turn challenged and justified again to further elaborate the metaphor, which generates more novel actions, and the cycle goes on. In this way, the cycle of metaphor-mediated structuration between novel actions and an emerging frame is now fully reinstated.

Reinstated structuration promotes innovation for resilience. The repeated cycle of structuration gradually reconstructs a new frame of the crisis situation. The continuous growth of a new frame is facilitated by two important characteristics of metaphors. First, metaphors are expandable. Metaphors rarely delineate the full conceptual mapping between the source and target domains. Instead, they provide only partial mapping and have actors creatively ''extend the mapping to import novel inferences from the source domain to the target'' (Coulson, 2001: 165). Through this process, metaphors enable continuous discoveries of ''a new meaning beyond a previously existing similarity'' (Cornelissen, 2005: 755). Metaphors' expandability enables the emergent frame to continuously grow. By being used to make sense of novel actions, metaphors are elaborated, and elaborated metaphors then update the emergent frame by adding new solutions to the prognosis and further sophisticating the diagnosis of the situation. Its elastic nature enables a metaphor to continuously translate novel actions into structural growth.

Second, metaphors provide coherence. Numerous features in the source domain (e.g., the domain of life) are all connected to one another in a complex but orderly system that follows the domain's inherent logic. Through metaphors, this order can be mapped onto the emerging frame to give coherence and order to its growing elements. In GREEN, its prognostic frame became increasingly richer along with the continuous elaboration of its living business metaphor. These growing solutions formed a coherent whole because they were built on different features of a living organism, all of which are organically connected to one another following the internal logic of biological systems. Because metaphors enable the transfer of coherence among features, metaphor-induced emergent frames do not sprawl but grow in an orderly manner.

Ultimately, this continuous cycle between novel actions and a growing frame is expected to reach a degree of maturity, at which point a normal structuration process can resume, ''making metaphor dead'' (Powell and Colyvas, 2008: 294). The new frame developed in this way is likely to enhance actors' resilience and help them successfully navigate the crisis situation because the frame is firmly grounded in the actions that had effectively addressed various exigencies of the crisis. In the proposed model of frame restructuration, a new frame emerges by essentially providing systematic explanations of why a certain set of actions worked, and this experientially grounded frame is expected to generate more future actions that are also likely to work. Experiential grounding can generate a frame with greater empirical credibility, which ensures adaptive responses to crisis.

Boundary Conditions

The process of restructuration is likely to be pronounced in unfolding crises characterized by ''the forcefulness of actions and the ambiguity of the situation'' (Weick, 1988: 314). First, in some crises, there is more room for intervening actions to be conceived, to be executed, and to be reflected upon. Such conditions may be more likely in crises with an extended temporal scale, such as a global pandemic, an economic recession, deindustrialization, inequality, or climate change. When a crisis situation persists, more pragmatic actions can be taken to address various situational adversities, and a greater variety of conjectures and perspectives can emerge and be advanced by metaphorical thinking. In contrast, in swiftly unfolding crises, such as the wildfire in Mann Gulch (Weick, 1993), actors have relatively less time to experiment and to reconstruct the context by reflecting on the results of the experiments.

Second, heightened situational ambiguity also increases the likelihood of frame restructuration. While some crises can be more clearly structured early on, others remain ambiguous throughout their course and become fully comprehensible only retrospectively. The latter type of crisis is expected to provide a more fertile ground for frame restructuration. In line with Goffman's (1974) distinction between natural and social frameworks, the distinction between natural disasters and crises of a social, economic, and political nature may reflect the contrasting degrees of ambiguity. Although natural disasters are still open to different interpretations (Gephart, 1993), a more or less accurate understanding can be achieved relatively easily using objective measurements (e.g., the pace of a growing wildfire). In contrast, the understanding of a social and

economic crisis can be much more fluid. This is because, as Kaplan's (2008) frame contests show, different actors facing social crises can put forward different frames that are grounded in different identities and aligned with different interests. Furthermore, objective measures that would evaluate the validity of different interpretations are less likely to be available. In these crises, frame restructuration can play a more salient role because there is greater room for different interpretations of the situation that can be informed by different actions and different metaphors.

Contribution to Research on Framing in Crisis

This study contributes to the research on framing in crisis by proposing one plausible pathway through which actors amid crisis can simultaneously dismantle and reconstruct the cognitive frames of their extraordinary situation. Building on the notion of enactment (Weick, 1988) and structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), this study suggests that situated action plays a crucial role in this pathway. In the existing literature, frames are related to actions in a largely linear fashion. On one hand, frames are considered tools of persuasion that effectively sell preconceived actions such as strategic alternatives (Nadkarni and Narayanan, 2007), organizational change (Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991), or collective action (Benford and Snow, 2000). On the other hand, frames are treated as an already established understanding of the situation from which a set of novel actions can flow (Glaser, Fiss, and Kennedy, 2016; Wright and Nyberg, 2017). This study goes beyond this dichotomy by situating frames and actions in a dynamic, mutually constitutive cycle, and by doing so it advances integration between the framing literature and the research on practices and actions. This ''experiential grounding of frames in actual practices'' (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014: 217) enables effective framing in crisis in three specific ways.

First, the firm grip of an existing frame can be loosened through actions, challenges to the actions, and active resolution of the challenges. GREEN's case suggests that challenges reveal the existing frame, and the successful resolution of challenges delegitimizes it. Repeating this cycle over time results in what Weick (1993) called the ''reversal of structuration'': in the face of crisis, an existing structure generates inadequate actions (i.e., challenges to situationally appropriate improvisations), and these actions then contribute to the dissipation of the structure. The literature has shown that loosening the cognitive grip of an existing frame is difficult, and this study suggests that reverse structuration is one effective way to achieve it: make the existing frame visible by putting it into action and reveal the actions' inadequacy in light of the unfolding crisis. Taking a step further, this study also shows that an existing frame is not just an obstacle to be torn down but a force that can be redirected to build a new frame. In GREEN, a view of what was really going on gradually became clear as participants constantly disidentified with what was *supposed* to be going on (Pratt, 2000; Elsbach and Bhattacharya, 2001). This suggests that while framing in crisis requires creative destruction, the destroyed frame may not be simply discarded but rather productively repurposed to guide the design of its replacement.

Second, actions contribute not only to the destruction of the existing frame but to the construction of a new frame. In crisis contexts, the desperation and

urgency of the situation force people to act first before fully understanding the situation (Weick, 1988). This study reveals the pathway for these not-fully-informed actions to generate frames that enhance resilience. The positive cycle can start when actors do not just take pragmatic actions but also mull over why some of their actions effectively alleviate the disruption and pain of crisis. By imagining a possible situation in which these actions make sense (i.e., reframing), the actors start to form a provisional understanding of what might be going on. This structurational view of frame emergence complements the burgeoning processual view of framing by showing that frames are not just revised (Lee, Ramus, and Vaccaro, 2018) but can be reconstructed, and that frames grow not only in terms of acceptance and commitment (Cornelissen, Mantere, and Vaara, 2014; Reinecke and Ansari, 2020) but in terms of contents.

Finally, this study shows that the mutual construction of frames and actions can be significantly aided by metaphors. Extending previous research that views metaphors as a static element of a frame (Creed, Langstraat, and Scully, 2002) and a tool for effective framing (Cornelissen, Holt, and Zundel, 2011), this study highlights that metaphors can be the core engine of the dynamic constitution between frames and actions. Metaphors are uniquely equipped to do this job because their ability to instantly and radically redefine the context helps actors draw creative potential from novel actions and translate them into the glimpse of a new frame. Future research may extend this idea by examining other interpretive devices, such as narratives, prototypes, and analogies (Cornelissen and Clarke, 2010; Seidel and O'Mahony, 2014). These devices may play a significant role because actions underdetermine the frame—the same actions can be interpreted differently by different metaphors, narratives, and analogies, and depending on the interpretive device, they may end up shaping different frames.

Contribution to Structuration Theory

By theorizing a process of restructuration, this study proposes a mechanism whereby the core tenets of structuration theory can productively guide social actions in the context of crisis. Conceived to overcome Parsonian structural functionalism by incorporating the microsociology of daily lives (Giddens, 1984: xvi), structuration theory's main concern is explaining the structural implications of going about everyday routines. Therefore, the context of crisis is not a natural setting for the theory. Crisis situations pose different challenges than routine fluctuations in the environment. While routine environmental changes sometimes make existing capabilities obsolete, crises can permanently compromise them or even make them dangerous; while routine changes can undermine livelihood, crises can threaten existence (Mithani, 2020). Crises interrupt the vital flow of normal life (Williams et al., 2017), severely disrupting the structure of daily lives and causing temporary paralysis—the simultaneous degeneration of two essential elements of structuration. While Giddens (1979) expected that structuration would still proceed even in critical situations such as Nazi concentration camps, he remained unclear about how that might happen.

Building on the case of GREEN, I propose a model of restructuration that explains how interrupted structuration in the face of crisis can resume. This model is distinct from the existing model of structuration in a few important

ways. First, in the restructuration model, pragmatic actions take the center stage. Although improvisations by reflexive agents have long been recognized as a source of structural modification (Orlikowski, 2000; Feldman and Pentland, 2003), in routine contexts of structuration, these improvisations are sporadically interspersed between performances of an existing structure as remedies to occasional vagaries of daily exigencies. But in crisis situations, vagaries are the norm and exigencies are routinized, as what actors believed to be normal is constantly shattered by inexplicable turns of events. This situation brings pragmatic action to the front and center; pragmatic actions no longer just fill the gap in the ongoing flow of an existing structure but are the primary mode of action. Facing the fundamental breakdown of habits, pragmatic actors engage in deliberation—''dramatic rehearsal'' of ''various competing possible lines of action'' (Dewey, 1922: 191)—for ''readjustment of basic assumptions'' (Pearson and Clair, 1998: 66). Deliberations facilitate ''an act of imagination that [allows] for experimentation'' (Farjoun, Ansell, and Boin, 2015: 1791), ultimately leading to ''situated creativity'' (Joas, 1996: 133).

Second, restructuration is distinguished from structuration in terms of how these creative actions shape structure. In ordinary structuration, this process is less problematic because variations generated in the realm of action feed forward to the existing structure to modify it. In the case of restructuration, however, a pragmatic action does not modify an existing structure; instead, it tears down an existing structure and builds a new one over the remnants of the existing one. That is, the task is not revision but reconstruction. While the typical structuration processes try to ''maintain the patina'' of an ongoing structure to sustain normalcy (Barley, 1986: 93), the restructuration process requires openly subverting the existing structure and building a new structure to restore a sense of normalcy. In times of crisis, unprecedented actions are taken and conventional challenges follow. As these challenges are overcome, the existing structure breaks down, and by imagining the context where novel actions become sensible, an embryo of a new structure emerges.

Therefore, while the basic mechanism of structuration—mutual constitution of structure and action—remains intact, the proposed model of restructuration is distinct from the existing conception of structuration. This conceptualization of restructuration affirms that structuration is still a potent conceptual tool whose explanatory power covers territories far and wide. The duality of structure and action still strongly shapes social life, even when what seemed to be a perpetual normalcy begins to crumble and the sight of the next move is temporarily lost.

Contribution to Adaptive Responses to Crisis

This study also offers important implications for adaptive responses to crisis by illuminating the processual details that could have been lost if seen only through retrospection. First, actors in crisis would benefit from making explicit the interpretive devices (e.g., metaphors) they use in their adaptive process. The real-time investigation into GREEN's process reveals that its final solution was never obvious in the beginning, and its evolution was critically shaped by the use of the living business metaphor. Depending on what devices they employ, actors differently interpret their actions and consequences, which critically shapes their provisional understanding of the crisis. Second, actors in

crisis should be aware that depending on the specific needs to which they initially respond, their adaptive process can evolve in vastly different directions. For example, if Medicine Pocket had not been one of the first incubated businesses, GREEN might have engaged in different pragmatic actions than grounding and thereby elaborated its metaphor in different ways, which could have resulted in very different framing outcomes. This suggests that a successful reframing during crisis can stem from situating oneself in the environment that is rich in terms of crisis-induced troubles. In response to various exigencies, diverse novel actions will be taken, which form rich raw ingredients for the framing process. Finally, it is important for crisis responders to surround themselves with diverse social contacts who can freely challenge them and offer criticism from many different angles. GREEN's process suggests that the resistance to improvisation can be harnessed productively to generate innovative solutions. Challenges clarify the sense of what is supposed to be going on, and articulating that helps build a sense of what is actually going on.

Conclusion

The true nature of many crises remains deeply ambiguous to those who live through them and becomes fully known only in the aftermath. And the provisional understandings shared by those who are in the middle of a crisis are not inconsequential but can significantly shape the course of its unfolding. Therefore, it is important to understand how actors amid crisis form an adequate and generative understanding of their unprecedented and dynamically changing reality. This study presents one way to accomplish it by shedding light on the actors who attend to exigencies in the immediate environment, take creative actions to address them, and interpret them through metaphor. In so doing, they gradually craft clarity out of the thick ambiguity of an unfolding crisis and begin to act with more certainty. By better understanding this process in crisis-ridden Detroit, we may be able to better guide similar processes of restoration in other unprecedented, but oddly familiar, crises.

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Supplemental Material

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