

# **Master thesis**

*The struggles of accepting a new logic from a micro level institutional change perspective.*

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## Summary

In the current fast changing society, changing established ways of organising has become a major issue. Institutional change theory may help individuals or organisations to change established ways of organising to their own benefit. However, this is a difficult process and how people strategically can perform this remains vague. The aim of this study is to better understand how tensions produced by a confrontation from the dominant and new logic manifest. To be able to study this a case study is performed in an arising initiative to organize informal care differently by voluntary citizen participation in Saasveld, a small village in the eastern part of the Netherlands. In this research many tensions of accepting this new logic have been found. Such as, maintaining the quality of informal care, the continuity of the initiative, structural deployment of volunteers, adaptation to paid informal care and adaptation problems for current operating organizations. It became clear from the results that it is possible to classify these different tensions into some major types from an already existing overview. These different types mainly differ from how or when they arise, which role they play and what the relation is with other types. It also became clear that these tensions are much more intertwined than expected. The research contributes to the literature by demonstrating that it is possible to define and analyse tensions based on a dialectical view and by identifying certain characteristics to deviate tensions. From a practical view it contributes by explaining the struggles the initiators might need to overcome to embed their initiative in the society. These outcomes are critically reflected in the discussion part based on existing literature. Finally, limitations and suggestions for further research are mentioned.

## Table of content

<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
1.1 <i>Background</i>	4
1.2 <i>Literature</i>	4
1.3 <i>Research gap and research question</i>	5
1.4 <i>Theoretical and practical contribution</i>	5
<b>2. Literature review</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1 <i>introduction to institutional change literature</i>	7
2.2 <i>Institutional logics</i>	7
2.3 <i>Micro institutional change</i>	7
2.4 <i>Institutional entrepreneurs</i>	8
2.4.1 <i>Rhetorical strategies</i>	9
2.4.2 <i>Cultural toolkit approaches</i>	9
2.4.3 <i>Story telling</i>	9
2.5 <i>Structural overlap</i>	10
2.6 <i>Competing logics</i>	10
2.7 <i>Introduction dialectical model</i>	11
2.8 <i>Conceptual model</i>	11
<b>3. Methods</b>	<b>13</b>
3.1 <i>Data collection</i>	13
3.1.1 <i>Operationalization institutional contradictions</i>	15
3.2 <i>Data analysis</i>	16
<b>4. Results</b>	<b>18</b>
4.1 <i>Description of the new logic</i>	18
4.2 <i>Description of the dominant logic</i>	19
4.3 <i>Description and analysis of the experienced tensions</i>	21
4.3.1 <i>Inefficiencies</i>	24
4.3.2 <i>Adaption</i>	27
4.3.3 <i>Divergent interests</i>	28
4.4 <i>How tensions manifest</i>	32
<b>5. Discussion</b>	<b>34</b>
5.1 <i>Theoretical contribution</i>	34
5.2 <i>Implication for institutional entrepreneurs</i>	36
5.3 <i>Practical implication</i>	37
5.4 <i>Limitations</i>	38
<b>6. Conclusion</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>7. References</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Appendixes I Interview protocols</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Appendixes II Coding scheme</b>	<b>50</b>

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

In the Netherlands, care is in reform. The government adopted a law in which a shift needs to be made from care that is fully organized by the government to care where participation from citizens is more required. The former way of organizing was established for many years and the current reform is a drastic change. These changes require community members to come with initiatives to organize informal care overcoming the established ways of thinking about care.

## 1.2 Literature

Such a drastic change can be observed from the perspective of institutional change. Institutions form the “rules of the game in a society”. These rules include “formal” institutions, such as the constitutional, legal, and organizational framework for individual actions, but also “informal institutions,” which refer to codes of conduct, values, and norms, including the uncoded attitudes that are embedded in a society (Welter & Smallbone, 2011). Institutional logics provide the informal rules of action, interaction, and interpretation that guide and constrain decision makers in accomplishing the organization’s tasks and in obtaining social status, credits, penalties and rewards in the process (Currie & Guah, 2007). The institutional logics can be perceived as the building blocks for the informal institution. The general accepted institutional logics are the dominant logics and can be interrupted by social upheaval, technological disruption, competitive discontinuity and regulatory change (Battilana et. al., 2009). As such, interruption in the field’s dominant logic leads to tensions because it forces the taken for granted logic to be reassessed (Khavul et. al., 2013). Why these tensions arise can be explained by the assumption that society is constituted through multiple actor’s institutional logics, which are independent and yet also contradictory (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Greenwood et. al., 2012). Complementary, tensions are inherent in complex, dynamic and ambiguous systems and the nature of actors is to narrow their attention to factors most under their control (Lewis & Smith, 2014). Based on these assumptions one can conclude that tensions arise in the contradiction between the dominant and new logics, because the reassessment of the dominant logic ensures that these tensions then come to the surface. Contradicting logics, or the evolving tensions, are in general perceived as a constraint for institutional change. However, from the perspective of micro level institutional change some authors state that contradicting logics are the basis for institutional change (Seo & Creed, 2002; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Greenwood et. al., 2012). Thornton (2004) state that Institutional entrepreneurs can play a critical role in perceiving institutional differentiation, fragmentation, and contradiction by virtue of the different social locations they may occupy in the interinstitutional system and in taking advantage of the opportunities it presents for institutional change. Institutional

entrepreneurs are defined as actors with sufficient resources who see an opportunity to realize an interest they value highly (Dorado, 2005). Institutional entrepreneurs can use several mechanisms to manipulate the cultural symbols and practices, for example story telling (Zilber, 2006), rhetorical strategies (Suddaby & Greenwood 2005), and tool kit approaches (Swidler 1986). Thus, institutional entrepreneurs who understand which tensions exist and how they can manipulate cultural symbols and practices are expected to be better able to achieve institutional change.

### 1.3 Research gap and research question

However, how institutional entrepreneurs can strategically perform this remains vague, because so far we do know little about why the tensions produced by a clash of new and dominant logics enable or constrain institutional change from a micro level perspective (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007). Understanding the nature of these tensions and effects on institutional change is mainly important for those who like to induce change in a certain field, because these dominant logics persistently prevail in the early stage of institutional change (Furnari, 2014). In conclusion, the current literature lacks an understanding why some tensions lead to the acceptance of the new logic and why some lead to the reinforcement of existing ones.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the nature of tensions, produced by a clash of contradicting logics in the early-stage of an initiative to change an established field, from a micro level institutional change perspective. As this is perceived as a first step to better understand why some tensions lead to the acceptance of the new logic and why some lead to the reinforcement of existing ones. Evolving in the following research question:

*How do tensions produced by a confrontation between dominant and new arising logics manifest in micro institutional change processes?*

With the following sub questions:

- Which tensions are produced by a confrontation between the dominant and the new logic?
- What are the different characteristics of tensions from a micro level institutional change perspective?

### 1.4 Theoretical and practical contribution

The major theoretical contribution of this research is that the results might form a basis to better understand which and how mechanisms to manipulate logics can be strategically used, referred to as the major challenge of institutional entrepreneurs (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Since it has not been studied before it contributes to the growth of academic knowledge in micro level institutional change and institutional change in general. From both a social and economic perspective the study seems important. Results from this study might help the initiative to succeed leading to

higher well-being of the society and lower health care costs. In addition, insights from this study can be used in other initiatives related to more societal participation, which is also important for the goals of the government.

## **2. Literature review**

### 2.1 introduction to institutional change literature

The term “institution” broadly refers to the formal rules sets, ex ante agreements, less formal shared interaction sequences, and taken-for-granted assumptions that organizations and individuals are expected to follow (Bruton et. al., 2010). These assumptions are derived from rules such as regulatory structures, governmental agencies, laws, courts, professions, and scripts and other societal and cultural practices that exert conformance pressures (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Institutional arrangements function to reduce uncertainty and to mitigate opportunistic behavior such that transaction costs associated with negotiating, monitoring and enforcing contracts between boundedly rational actors are reduced (Garud et. al., 2007).

The process of changing formal and informal institutions is called institutional change. Institutional change can positively influence the development of entrepreneurship when it removes or lowers barriers to market entry and/or exit, thus creating opportunity fields for entrepreneurs. However, since informal institutions are embedded in society, they tend to change more slowly than formal institutions (Welter & Smallbone, 2011). Informal institutions are constituted on logics of multiple actors. These logics enable actors to make sense of their ambiguous world by prescribing and proscribing action. Subsequently, action re-enacts institutional logics and makes them durable, explaining why informal institutions are embedded in society (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

### 2.2 Institutional logics

Institutional logics are important to understand institutional change, because a change in the field’s dominant logic is fundamental to conceptualizations of institutional change (Reay & Hinings, 2009). Institutional logics provide the “master principles of society” and guide social action. They are taken-for granted resilient social prescriptions that enable actors to make sense of their situation by providing “assumptions and values, usually implicit, about how to interpret organizational reality, what constitutes appropriate behaviour, and how to succeed” (Thornton, 2004). Thus, institutional logics underpin the appropriateness of organizational practices in given settings and at particular historical moments. Failure to use practices legitimated by an extant logic can have adverse consequences (Greenwood et. al., 2012), which explains why these become so taken for granted in the institutional field.

### 2.3 Micro institutional change

Thornton and Ocasio (2008) describe that the institutional logics theory provides a link between institutions and actions creating a bridge between the macro, structural

perspectives of Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and Zucker's more micro process approaches. This link required institutional logics to provide a plausible explanation for what might be at the source of institutional conflict and to provide insights in how arrangements are formed and how they come to change over time (Cloutier & Langley, 2013).

Most cited Institutional change and institutional logics literature is focused on the enabling conditions for institutional change (Dorado, 2005 ; Battilana et. al., 2009 ; Di Maggio, 1988). Contrary to this perspective, recent institutional theory focuses on the real change processes. Greenwood et. al. (2012) describe that former literature in institutional change over-emphasizing on field-level shocks or contradictions, and on strategically motivated entrepreneurship has limited our understanding of where and how field-level institutional change can originate and how it might unfold. Practice-driven institutional change differs from existing field-level accounts in terms of its initial locus, its mechanisms, and its unfolding. Since it is in micro-level practices that field-level logics are enacted, and that it is in their collision that institutional contradictions are experienced and problematized. Thus, the introduction of logics in institutional change literature might give new insights for its focus on change processes, rather than outcomes (Khavul et. al., 2013 ; Suddaby et al., 2010). Instead of focusing on temporary outcomes, underlying processes are teased in order to create new logics (Khavul et. al., 2013).

Change in the field's dominant logic exposes and exploits the inherent tensions contained in the contradiction between the "core values" and the "commercial interests". Historically, those already existing tensions have been suppressed in the discourse of professionalism (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Several studies highlight the considerable time and energy investment required for micro-level action to result in macro-level change. This can also be a cumulative result, by continual persistent actions build on each other. Although the change process may be slow, overall change can be significant and important (Reay & Hinings, 2009). Thornton and Ocasio (2008) describe that institutional logics literature has found the following concepts to be important for change in institutional logics: institutional entrepreneurs, structural overlap and competing logics. To understand the implications of this research these concepts are discussed in the following parts.

#### 2.4 Institutional entrepreneurs

Institutional entrepreneurs can play a critical role in perceiving institutional differentiation, fragmentation, and contradiction by virtue of the different social locations they may occupy in the interinstitutional system and in taking advantage of the opportunities it presents for institutional change (Thornton, 2004). The challenge for the institutional entrepreneur is to strategically use, deploy and mobilize cultural resources (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). From a micro level perspective institutional

entrepreneurs can use several mechanisms to manipulate the cultural symbols and practices, which are story telling (Zilber, 2006), rhetorical strategies (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005), and cultural toolkit approaches (Swidler 1986). These mechanisms are explained below.

#### 2.4.1 Rhetorical strategies

Rhetorical strategies are the ways in which the meaning systems that underpin institutions are manipulated, which combines two elements: institutional vocabularies and theorizations of change. Institutional vocabularies, understood as shaping perception of an abstraction through language selection, common metaphors, and the use of common referents, is a key component in challenging the taken-for-granted nature of an existing institutional order. Theorizations of change, by contrast, are linguistic devices by which actors manipulate the degree of uncertainty implied by an innovation. By using language to connect prevailing and potential alternatives to broader cultural templates, theorizations of change make new forms comprehensible by “naturalizing” some contradictions and suppressing others. In combination, institutional vocabularies make comprehensible the need for change, while theorizations make change itself comprehensible (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). The primary insight, however, is that the fundamental elements of institutional agency, conflict, and power are embedded in the rhetoric used to create, maintain, and alter the meaning systems that underpin institutions (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

#### 2.4.2 Cultural toolkit approaches

Culture contains toolkits of symbols, stories, rituals and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems. Culture provides cultural components that are used to construct strategies of action. These strategies of action are symbolic experiences, mythic lore or ritual practices of a society that create moods and motivations, ways of organizing experience and evaluating reality, modes of regulating conduct and ways of forming social bonds. (Swidler, 1986). Although, Swidler (1986) perceived that in established institutional fields culture becomes so common sense that alternative ways of organizing action seem unimaginable, these strategies of action still are expected to contain mechanisms for institutional entrepreneurs to manipulate cultural symbols and practices.

#### 2.4.3 Story telling

Within the translation framework, agency relates to the role of translators or editors - researchers, professionals, leaders, and consultants - who rewrite or retell generic rational myths, turning them into specific ones. Generic rational myths, like culture in general, should be understood as comprising a "tool kit" (Swidler, 1986); they are rhetorical and symbolic resources that social actors use and interpret dynamically rather than a given and objective entity in an institutional environment. Each culture

contains different meaning systems from which its members can borrow, mold, and recreate specific rational myths. For theorization or translation to be successful in fostering the diffusion of structures and practices, it must rest upon some vision of the modern (Zilber, 2006). Thus, one might say meanings are not replaced, but rather selected, reshaped, and appropriated. Although Zilber's (2006) study added more insight in the mechanisms and strategies institutional entrepreneurs could use, the actual acts of translations or the role of agency stays unclear.

### 2.5 Structural overlap

Structural overlap occurs when individual roles and organizational structures and functions that were previously distinct are forced into association (Thornton, 2004). They argue that contact with institutional logics in multiple and different organizational fields increases the awareness of and experiences with contradiction in logics, which lowers constraints and embeddedness of actors and enables central actors to become institutional entrepreneurs (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

### 2.6 Competing logics

A focus on competition between alternative institutional logics has guided research on institutional change. This diverse literature encompasses a wide variety of mechanisms to explain the effects of competing logics on change, including environmental selection pressures, political contestation, and social movements (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). However, Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) emphasize that competing logics are not, by themselves, an explanation for change in institutional logics but an antecedent or a consequence. Moreover, competing logics can facilitate resistance to institutional change (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). By focusing on how fields are comprised of multiple logics, and thus, multiple forms of institutionally based rationality, institutional analysts can provide new insight into practice variation and the dynamics of practice. Multiple logics can create diversity in practice by enabling variety in cognitive orientation and contestation over which practices are appropriate. As a result, such multiplicity can create enormous ambiguity, leading to logic blending, the creation of new logics, and the continued emergence of new practice variants. A focus on actors is crucial to understand how these struggles play out and result in the creation of new logics or practices (Lounsbury, 2008). This is in line with the reasoning outlined in the introduction that competing or contradicting logics are in general perceived as constraining for institutional change, but that they also might have characteristics that function as enabling for institutional change. Seo and Creed (2002) assume that various institutions- organizations, organizational fields, or states- can be understood as the multi-level social arrangements that are continually produced and reproduced by social interactions (social construction). However, these ongoing, multilevel processes produce a complex array of interrelated but often mutually incompatible institutional arrangements (totality). Such institutional incompatibilities provide a continuous source of tensions and conflicts within and across institutions (contradiction). The ongoing experience of contradictory

reality reshapes the consciousness of institutional inhabitants, and they, in some circumstances, act to fundamentally transform the present social arrangements and themselves (praxis). This reasoning explains how micro level institutional change might occur from the perspective of institutional contradictory, which they elaborated in their dialectical model.

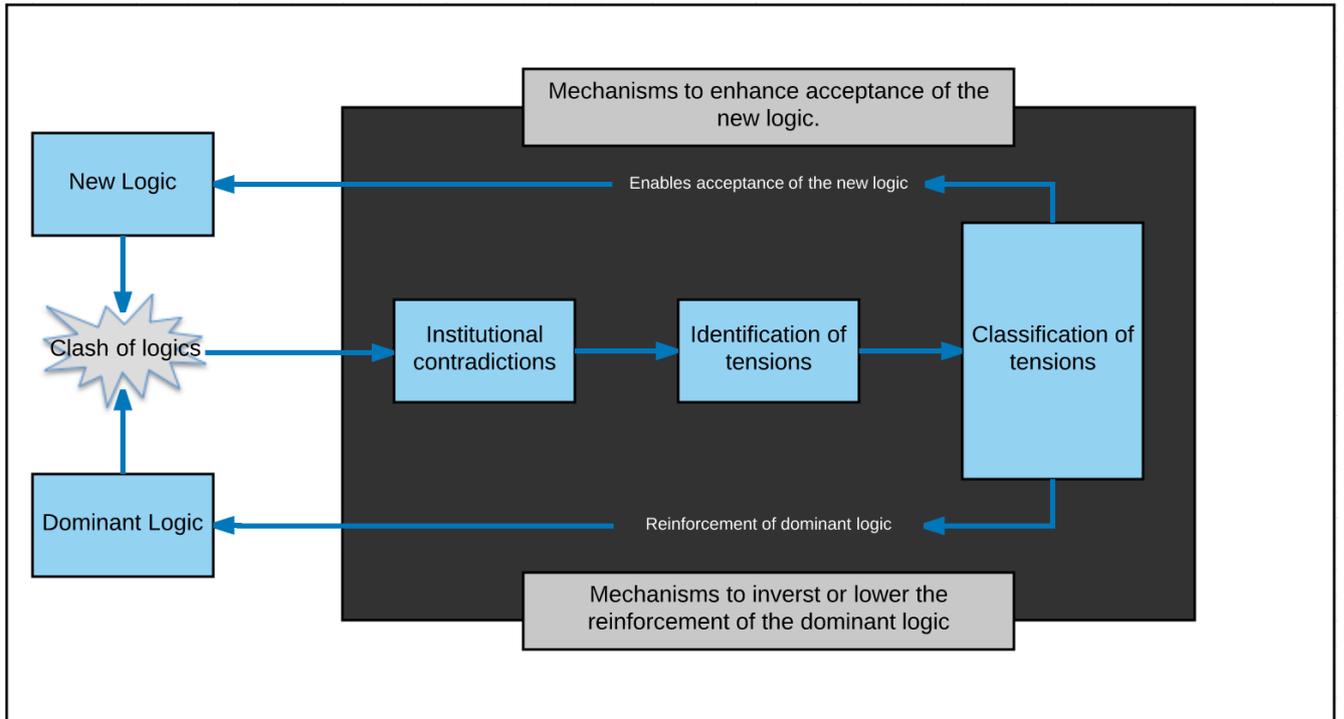
### 2.7 Introduction dialectical model

Seo and Creed's (2002) dialectical model introduces that the variance of institutional contradictions explains to what degree meaning system potentially give rise to tensions and contestation over the legitimacy of the particular institutional arrangements targeted for change. By the following four sources of contradictions that can arise over the long term as b-products of the processes of institutionalization: (1) legitimacy that undermines functional inefficiency, (2) adaptation that undermines adaptability, (3) intra-institutional conformity that creates interinstitutional incompatibilities and (4) isomorphism that conflicts with divergent interests. Institutional contradictions may not only trigger the shift in actors' collective consciousness but also may provide alternative logics of action and psychological and physical resources to be mobilized, appropriated, and transposed in the process of institutional change. A major assumption for application of this model is that the current institutional arrangements in the researched context are already established enough to embed their inhabitants.

### 2.8 Conceptual model

As the four sources of contradiction and their variance give rise to tensions and explain the particular institutional arrangement targeted for change this model can contribute in understanding the nature of tensions from a micro level institutional change perspective. As explained before, the process of identifying tensions and understanding their implication for micro institutional change is considered as a black box. The conceptual model displayed on the following page in figure 1 explains this process based on the literature review and shows the part of the process in which this research focuses. This focus is the process of tension identification and to acquire a better understanding of the different characteristics of tensions. The next step is to understand why some tension lead to the acceptance of the new logic and why some lead to reinforcement of the dominant logic. Although, it is not the purpose of the research to answer this question this step is included in the conceptual model in order to represent the greater purpose of this study.

**Figure 1.** Conceptual model



### **3. Methods**

This thesis draws on a case study to examine tensions that arise from a confrontation between the dominant and the new logic and to identify characteristics of these tensions. The context of the case study is the early stage of an arising initiative to organize informal care differently by voluntary citizen participation in the region Saasveld. Related to insights from the literature part of this research can be explained why this setting is suited. The change in regulatory structures by the government can be perceived as change in formal institutions. Alongside with these regulatory changes the government decided to cut back on expenses on informal care. According to items in the Dutch public media this has caused great concern about the quality of informal care in the whole society (NOS, 2015), leading to social upheaval. As explained in the literature part, this social upheaval functions as one of the enabling conditions for institutional change (Battilana et. al., 2009). Although these new logics arose, it certainly is not embedded in society. Findings presented in the Dutch media (NOS, 2015) showed that a major part of the society sees the new way of organizing as not a proper development. These findings explain that the dominant logic differ from the new logic of the initiative and this is expected to lead to a confrontation, making this case study relevant to examine tensions. In addition, based on the assumption that the current institutional arrangements in this case study are already established enough to embed their inhabitants this setting is suited to apply the dialectical model.

The researcher adheres to an interpretive philosophy (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) and took an ethnographic strategy to examine and understand the different perspectives. Since an interpretive study is mainly subjective and logics are not easy to count it is grounded to collect the data by using qualitative data methods. Semi structured open interviews are performed, because the direction and general concepts are clear.

#### **3.1 Data collection**

The units of analysis are all the actor groups that are expected to participate in the organizing of the initiative and/or in the operating establishment of the initiative, because it is expected that all these actors complement to the overview of experienced tensions. The units of analysis were divided into the following groups; initiator, formal care providers, informal care providers, users/care-needed citizens and municipality. The care-needed citizens were divided into the following sub groups: elderly, future elderly (55-65) and parents of disabled children. In case of validity considerations at least twelve interviews are held under the care-needed citizens actor group, because major differences in logics were expected. The cases were selected by purposive sampling by asking during the project team meetings if someone knew people to approach. Purposive sampling was chosen to include a

sample that at least represents differences in ages, partner situations and level of participation in society. Since there is only one initiator only one interview could be held under this actor group. Also for the municipality was chosen to only interview the employee responsible for the informal care policy. In the other actor groups three or four cases were selected, based on the current participating organisations in the region Saasveld. Managers, nurses and other care workers were selected, based on expected differences in feelings assumed from the discussions in the project meetings. In table 1 the description of the data collection is presented.

**Table 1.** Description data collection

<b>Actor group</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Function / People</b>	<b>Time</b>
Care needed citizens		Elderly #1	44 min.
		Elderly #2	unknown
		Elderly #3	unknown
		Elderly #4	unknown
		Elderly #5	32 min.
		Elderly #6	40 min.
		Future elderly #1	28 min.
		Future elderly #2	29 min.
		Parents disabled child #1	25 min.
		Parent disabled child #2	60 min.
		Parent disabled child #3	40 min.
		Parent disabled child #4	25 min.
Informal care organisations	VOCS	Volunteer of the foundation #1	61 min.
	VOCS	Volunteer of the foundation #2	61 min.
	SIZT	Employee	48 min.
	SWO	Manager	51 min.
Formal care organisations	Carrintreggeland	Manager	39 min.
	Carrintreggeland	Nurse	39 min.
	BTK zorg	Manager	31 min.
Municipality	Dinkelland	Care policy employee	46 min.
Initiator		Gerard Oosterik	24 min.

The members of the project team, who all have a background in (informal) care and live nearby the society of Saasveld, held the interviews with the care-needed citizens. Based on a familiarity issue there was chosen to let them do the interviews, because it was expected that mainly the elderly feel more comfortable with acquaintances. However, the members might have incentives to put the interviewee in certain directions. Therefore, it was made clear in the project team meetings to be open-minded and ask through to understand the real feelings. In addition, the members

practiced the interviews with a professor of the University of Twente. Three of the elderly did not want to participate with recording the interviews. Instead, the members of the project team made notes and later elaborated these interviews related to the questions in the interview protocol. The researcher, who has no incentive to put the interviewee in a certain direction, interviewed the other actor groups. He tried to make clear that it is just his role to observe and analyse during the process instead of making decisions or advice about the direction of the initiative. All interviews are held during the identification phase of the organizing of the initiative. They were recorded and thereafter transcribed within a week.

The interviews were mainly focused to identify the existing tensions. In addition, it was also focused to give insights into the dominant logic and general perceived new logic. In the beginning of the case study the new logic is not clear, therefore different scenarios were described based on the discussions of the project meetings. All the interviews started with a small introduction where different scenarios were explained. However, slightly different per actor group, questions like the following were asked: “what are your feelings per scenario in light of the activities of your organisation?”, “what do you think that is required to succeed?”, “do you have concerns about the current changes in health care?” and “could the society benefit from initiatives like this?”. The complete interview protocols are represented in appendixes I.

### 3.1.1 Operationalization institutional contradictions

As explained in the conceptual model the dialectical view (Seo & Creed, 2002) is used to be able to understand which tensions exist. As this information is required to be obtained during the interviews, this model was incorporated into the interview protocols. As no operationalization of the dialectical view model was found the researcher has operationalized this below.

#### 1. Legitimacy that undermines functional inefficiency

Legitimacy that undermines functional inefficiency can be explained as inefficiency that exist and is experienced by conforming to institutional arrangements. This can be operationalized as follows:

- To what extent are actors expected to follow the new policies?
- To what extent do the actors perceive the current policies as unnecessary?
- To what extent do current policies and decisions constrain actors in their goals/actions?

#### 2. Adaption that undermines adaptability

Adaption that undermines adaptability can come forth from institutions that are likely to be both psychologically and economically locked in and, in a sense, isolated from or unresponsive to changes in their external environments. This can be operationalized as follows:

- To what extent do actors believe they are psychologically attached to the current dominant logic?
- To what extent do actors believe they are economically dependent to the current dominant logic?

### 3. Intra-institutional conformity that creates inter-institutional incompatibilities

Individuals and organizations are increasingly exposed to multiple and contradictory, yet interconnected, institutional arrangements and prescriptions—all of which are the inevitable by-products of the ongoing social construction of those institutions. Thus, conformity to certain institutional arrangements within a particular level or sector may cause conflicts or inconsistencies with the institutional arrangements of different levels or sectors. This can be operationalized as follows:

- To what extent are current prescriptions in the institutional field inconsistent?
- To what extent are the current institutional arrangements layered on another rather than distinctive transformed?

### 4. Isomorphism that conflicts with divergent interests

The formation and reproduction of social arrangements are basically political processes involving various participants who have divergent interests and unequal power. Proponents of dialectical view place a special emphasis on this source of contradictions: the fundamental misalignment between a particular form of social arrangement and the interests of diverse actors who enact, inhabit, and reproduce that social arrangement. This can be operationalized as follows:

- To what extent does different interest exist between the multiple actors?
- To what extent are different interests expected from the new logic?
- To what extent there is a difference in power between the multiple actors?

## 3.2 Data analysis

To analyse the qualitative data all the interviews were transcribed, except the three already elaborated interviews with elderly. The transcribed interviews were conducted in Dutch, because interviews were held in Dutch. Only the parts that were eventually used to describe the results are translated into English. Many proverbs were mentioned and necessary to use for the description and interpretation of the results. These proverbs are sometimes fully translated and sometimes written down differently in order to make the meaning understandable. The interviews were analysed by the software program Atlas.ti. A deductive coding scheme was developed based on the descriptions in the conceptual model, the operationalization of the institutional contradictions and the different sub questions. However, this coding scheme is partly adjusted during the analysis based on new insights. Thus, the analysis has been more or less a combination of a deductive and inductive strategy. This way of doing research can be supported by Langley (1999), who states that many scholars have noted that interpretive studies are inherently messy. During

the analysis of the interviews the position of the person who executed the interview was held in consideration. The eventually used coding scheme is displayed in appendixes II.

The description of the new arising logic and the dominant logic was the first part of the analysis. These were described from the perspective of an interpretive philosophy related to their definitions, as explained in the introduction. The next part was to determine the experienced institutional contradictions and evolving tensions. Firstly, the mentioned concerns per actor group were compromised and summarized into one sentence for each concern. Thereafter these concerns per actor group were merged into several tensions or subjects for all actor groups, which required a lot of re-assessment in order to represent a good overview. The four sources of institutional contradictions and the coding scheme were used as a guidance to create this overview. Subsequently, for all these tensions an interpretive analysis has been executed to find certain characteristics or other remarkable findings. Hereafter, all this information was merged in order to be able to summarize this for each source of institutional contradiction. From this analysis the following aspects of characteristics appeared that were different: "where or when do these tensions arise?", "what is the implication for these tensions?" and "what is the interaction with other institutional contradictions sources?". Based on these aspects another overview was created to represent and summarize the characteristics of tensions from the different sources of institutional contradictions.

## 4. Results

In this chapter, the results of this study are presented. The new and dominant logic are described in the first part. Thereafter are the experienced tensions in the case study described, elaborated on the basis of the four sources of institutional contradictions. At last, is described how the different types of tensions manifest in order to answer the research question

### 4.1 Description of the new logic

The new logic in the case originated from a meeting by the village council where some civilians voiced concerns about the quality of informal care. Inspired by these concerns the initiator, one of the village council members, constituted a project team to discuss about these concerns and possible solutions. The initiator explains his vision on the desired changes as follows:

*“There are chances to organize the informal care differently, performed by initiatives organized by villages themselves. Mainly focused on the prevention of loneliness. Other activities can be domestic/household help since this has become minimalized, to arrange transport, doing groceries and to organize daytime activities”.*

He also remarked that:

*“I think it is important to collaborate with the current organisations that perform informal care. It would be convenient that the current performed activities are connected and reinforced with the possible new activities.*

The employee of the municipality, also a member of the project team complements this vision:

*“I expect the focus will be on to strengthen the wellbeing of the society in the village and that this initiative engages the different care providers with for example exchange of information”.*

*“I see this initiative from the perspective to lay back the opportunities for civilians to sit behind the wheel again”.*

Also from the current established informal care organisations expectations are focused to enhance the sociability for elderly. These expectations are more or less based on the experienced needs from the society. For example the association of elderly contacts Saasveld, also members of the project team, mention the following:

*“A free accessible place to visit would be beautiful. That this place is open for some days in the week and that volunteers are present, just to have a small talk or to drink some coffee or tea. Since you regularly see a lot of people just standing to talk. That need really exist. We have also noticed people who are scared to go outside, for example because they have fallen. A group of volunteers could take them outside once in a while to have a little walk. Or to arrange some childcare for the parents with a disabled child, so they have time to go out”.*

This quote also makes clear that the general focus from the participants of the initiative is to organize the activities voluntary. However, the initiator also mentions the possibility to hire employees:

*“Suppose it evolves to a care cooperation, then intervention with the major formal care organisations would be possible, to cooperate were necessary. Although I have seen care cooperation’s with own employees who provide care. I do not say that we should do that, but it could be a possibility”.*

The difference stems from the perspective of the width of the role of the initiative since the initiator suggest it as an opportunity when nursing and caring, “the real care”, will be performed. However, this is not expected regarding the project meetings and the following quote by the employee of the municipality.

*“In some countries there are care cooperation’s created by civilians and they purchase care and take control of the care, the role of the formal care organisations. But that kind of activities I really don’t see to happen”.*

To conclude, the general new logic that has arisen in the project team is to arrange informal care by volunteers. It is important to consider that this new logic is currently in transition, particularly on the width of applicability of the activities that can be performed by volunteers. However, based on the latest project meetings the initiative is expected to focus on a coordinating role between the current informal and formal care organisations and on executing informal care activities such as creating “social moments”, arranging transport and doing household chores. They decided this after an examination of the needs and wishes under elderly, future elderly and parents with a disabled child.

#### 4.2 Description of the dominant logic

The dominant logic is a field’s shared understanding of the goals to be pursued and how they are pursued (Battilana et. al. 2005). Since the institutional field in the researched context is constituted from the whole society previous general accepted feelings, meanings and so on need to be recognized from the required data.

The general dominant logic builds around the perspective of being taken care of instead of the participating new arising logic whereas participation of the society is required. The employee of the municipality explains this as follows:

*“We used to be a welfare state and the role of the government used to be: we take care of the solutions for the civilians. People take for granted that they get what they expect to get based on their rights, even when they not need it. Also from the government it has become natural that we came up with the solutions and that this solution will be the way to do it without contradiction”.*

Also from the interviews with the formal care organisations becomes clear that before the change in regulation people were used to take for granted that care would be arranged and paid for them.

*“Previously one could see that everything would be taken care of and everything would be taken over, but now I sometimes experience the that people want to pay for certain care services, as long as no subscription is affiliated”.*

*“In the Netherlands we are taken care of from birth to the grave, everything is organized. And that is precisely why everybody has become so spoiled and now this is turning and then it is so hard for everyone”.*

From these quotes it can be outlined that these feelings already changed, but the introduction of the results already showed this is not the case in general. The following quotes from the informal care organisation SWO supports this.

*“We notice that if we enhance prices with a few “kwartjes” that people quit with meal services, whether they have enough money or not. We just offered to enhance the price a little bit and people shifted from 5 to 3 meals a week”.*

This is also supported by one of the interviewed elderly:

*“Actually I do not think it is a task for a village, I think it must be arranged by the government. In the end you are dependent on regulation and the government”.*

Complementary, also from the following quote from the manager of Carintreggeland can be determined that the dominant logic for the major part of the society is that informal care should be arranged and paid by the government:

*“I really think we should not act spoiled. The government don’t need to pay for household chores for people. But I think the half of the Netherlands will shoot us when they hear this”.*

Another major aspect of the new logic, as explained in the section before, is that volunteers should organize informal care. However, many quotes were found that underpin that people in general perceive that it is hard to arrange by volunteers and therefore does not seem realistic.

From the statement of BTK zorg for example can be outlined that voluntary work will not be done structural, perceived as the major requirement for informal care:

*“I think that people have less and less time for their parents. And thereby that people who want to do voluntary work still want to do this, but not structural”.*

Also from the interviews with care needed citizens can be understood that more voluntary work for informal care is perceived as inappropriate. The following quotes make clear that mainly the deployment of volunteers will become critical.

*“Yes it could be possible that volunteers help with informal care, but I don’t think that we must assume that that will happen. I do not think it will run so fast”.*

*“There will always be volunteers who would participate, but also a very large group of people who will not. Often it are the same people who participate and they same people who do not participate”.*

*“Voluntary work is also a real challenge. Everyone wants paid jobs, but those volunteers need to do everything for nothing. Sometimes I think it will not sustain”.*

In addition, the following quote from the interview with SIZT makes clear that replacing informal care by volunteers is not taken for granted at all:

*“Deployment of volunteers on household chores is bread robbery. I experience that this is slightly happening, but I would not do it”.*

In conclusion, these quotes make clear that only a small part of the society, or otherwise stated the institutional field, perceive the new logic as suited. Based on the data from this case study it is reasonable to state that the major part of the field constitutes to the logic that informal care should be organized and subsidized by the government with little effort of volunteers.

#### 4.3 Description and analysis of the experienced tensions

Based on the operationalization of Seo and Creed (2002) dialectical model the following tensions are found and described in table 2. To understand the table one assumption is critical. The examined institutional contradictions sources are based on

a "sketch" of the new logic, and therefore need to be perceived as "change tensions". However, it must be understood that these tensions could also be related to the dominant logic in order to achieve greater understanding of the deeper underlying actor's institutional logics. Also these tensions can be perceived as "change tensions" since these could enable or constrain the new logic.

**Table 2.** Description experienced tensions

Source of Tension	Care users	Initiator	Municipality	Informal care organisations	Formal care organisations
<b>1. Inefficiencies</b>					
Quality of informal care	Many indications and concerns that quality of informal care is decreasing.	Signal function is missing when professionals do not perform household chores.		Concerns if current support on family care can be sustained.	
Complexity to arrange informal care	Much needs exist for more clarity to arrange care. It is too complex.	Related to large scale and bureaucracy requests for care are difficult.		The high bureaucracy causes deficit for care users.	
Continuity municipality			Focus to create a base, although this is difficult since guaranteed long term support of municipality is contrary to the more short time focused principle of democracy.	High concerns if budgets will be remained.	
Dependency of the initiator				Concerns about dependency of commitment initiator.	
Availability of volunteers.	Concerns about the pressure on volunteers.	Fears the efforts and availability of volunteers since this is already	Expectation that many civilians will not participate as volunteers.	Emphasize that the current availability and pressure on volunteers is already high.	Expectations that volunteers can't be bounded structural.

		critical.			
Knowledge of volunteers.	They worry about this, mainly when volunteers need to take care of disabled children.			Worries about how volunteers handle difficult situations to keep activities accessible for everyone.	Worries if volunteers are capable enough to handle difficult situations and signal.
<b>2. Adaptation</b>					
Psychological attachment to former way by formal care organisations	Although discontent exists they also value the quality of care.	Much discontent exists about how formal organisations previously arranged it.			
Psychological attachment to be taken care off.	In general most do see it is as necessary that volunteers do participate more.		Since this has been taken for granted for so long this seems quite hard to change.		
Economically dependent on paid informal care.	Attached and dependent to financial subsidies to arrange (informal) care.			Expectations that it is hard to change this for many care users.	Much resistance expected, but a slight change is perceived. They think it is necessary.
<b>3. Divergent interest</b>					
The role of the initiative as a coordinator.			Expects resistance from informal care organisations .	Resistance is expected since some organisations see this as their major right to existence. Also resistance from formal organisations expected on accepting information, mainly based on time issues.	They want to participate also expect to have limited time and resources and do not prefer to communicate all the time.
The role of the initiative as operator of social moments and				Current activities and mutual communication	One of the formal organisations see this also as

activities.				with the different informal parties perceived as good.	an opportunity for their own. However, would be possible to cooperate.
The role of the initiative as operator of household chores			Actor wishes to happen, but expect much resistance from other actors.	High resistance when current activities of other parties are taken over by the initiative.	
The role of the initiative as family care supporter.				Resistance is expected since some organisations see this as their major right to existence.	

#### 4.3.1 Inefficiencies

##### Quality of informal care

Related to the introduction of the new logics concerns arose if the quality of informal care could be maintained. This can be explained by the following quote of one of the informal care organizations:

*"I do worry about that. In the sense of if the current support to family care can be sustained and if problems will be sufficiently recognized".*

This tension is broadly discussed by the different actors and accepted as one of the major shortcomings of the current way of organizing. Related to the description of the new logic this is an important aspect to improve. However, opinions on how to execute this differ, which might lead to conflicts.

##### Complexity to arrange informal care

From the perspective of the old logic many concerns exist about the complexity of arranging care. For example stated by one of the elderly:

*"Requests for care has become so complicated".*

This tension is characterized by low conflict, because it is widely accepted by most actor groups and arose from the shortcomings of the dominant logic.

### Dependency initiative by support of the municipality

Mainly from the informal care organizations high concerns exist about the degree of continuity the municipality can guarantee. Mentioned as follows:

*"But what if from the initiative things are required. Than I wonder if the municipality still supports. They can now allow budgets to set up such initiatives, but what when the initiative is developed and a clear plan exists. How is the continuity of support by the municipality guaranteed? This is off course really related to who is in the management at that moment, but this could change the next year".*

This tension arises from the introduction of the new logic and probably plays up when budgets of (informal) care organisations will decrease. The tension is complex since changing this requires adjustments to the principle of democracy, which is strongly embedded in the Dutch cultural values.

### Dependency initiative of initiator

Also concerns were mentioned about the dependency on the initiator:

*"Such a same issue exist for the initiator who is very important. But how long does he want to do this? Or can he do this? And is then someone available to take over? Thus, how do you structural embed this in the society that you become less person dependent?".*

This tension is highly related to inefficiency of the new logic and in conflict with the current policy in which informal care organisations embedded the continuity for a long time. The tension probably will become viable when there are indications that the initiative is not organized well.

### Availability of volunteers

The availability of volunteers was the only one concern that was mentioned by all actor groups. This tension is clearly explained by one of the employees of the formal care organizations:

*"The main issue is whether you keep the group of volunteers. It is often based only on voluntary basis. Which does not make it voluntary, but compulsory voluntary. Because when the volunteers quit the whole plan fails. Since that is the shame in many cases. It is often set up and started up very beautiful and then runs like a train, but then in a while people react like: today does not come for me".*

The characteristic of this tension is that it is highly acknowledged by all actor groups for being a problem for organizing informal care. Since the new logic hangs stronger to the availability of volunteers this tension arises earlier by the introduction of the new logic. This tension also has links to the institutional contradiction source adaptation, because it is in high conflict with the current values of the society.

#### Knowledge of volunteers

The more knowledge is required the more pressure is expected on volunteers. This is explained by a quote from one of the formal care organizations.

*"I think informal care could be cached up quiet easy. Yet, focused on sociability. Having a small talk or drinking some coffee. More complex tasks requires more, by performing care tasks certain knowledge must be obtained. However, I think a lot of people can handle a lot of situations. They must chose for their self eventually if they are willing to take this up".*

However, were here is stated that many volunteers are expected to handle a lot of care tasks other people quite differ on this opinion. For example from the informal care organizations:

*"There are limits to the tasks a volunteer can do. When volunteers for example need to provide colostomy care you are doing wrong".*

The knowledge of volunteers can also be associated with the problem of the availability of volunteers. It might be that when pressure on volunteers is higher this could lead to fewer volunteers.

Although from these quotes cannot be outlined to what extent the tasks of volunteers can range it can be interpret that mutual opinions differ on this topic and probably will cause a major field of struggling. In addition, it is mutually understood by the actors and is originated from the introduction of the new logic.

#### Analysis inefficiency

The results indicate that inefficiency tensions arise from broadly accepted shortcomings of the dominant logic and expected shortcomings of the new logic. It is interesting that it looks like that it are concerns in which no real solutions or position is taken by the actors who introduce the new logic, which indicates tensions around an uncertain field. The characteristics of these tensions are partly also in line with characteristics that would be expected to fell under the institutional contradictions source divergent interests. From logical reasoning can be inferred that tensions that arise from shortcomings of the dominant logic form a basis for arguments institutional entrepreneurs can use. Whereas, tensions that arise from shortcomings of the new

logic form a basis for arguments that actors who propose against the perspectives of the new logic can use. Contrary, one tensions also shows characteristics of adaption institutional contradictions. It could be that some inefficiency tensions explain or complement adaption tensions.

#### 4.3.2 Adaption

##### Psychological attachment former way of organizing

From the society is expected that high discontent exist about how the bigger formal organizations organized care before. Since feeling exist that they focus more on the bureaucracy than the quality of care. This is expressed as follows by the initiator:

*"I notice in the village a call to small-scale organizations. This morning I read an article in the newspaper that a lot of care farms arise to arrange day care. As counterpart to the bigger guys. It would not surprise me if that would happen in other parts of care. That people would chose for something smaller, trusted and with a familiar image".*

Contrary, none of the actor groups showed satisfaction with the old bureaucratic way of organizing. From this can be interpret that the psychological attachment to this part of the dominant logic is low expressing a widely expressed wish for change. However, from the underlying wish to be taken care off by the government high psychological attachment is expected. Explained by the municipality:

*"From the discussions many people reacted by: I prefer to pay extra taxation rather than participating with such initiatives, so please arrange it as it used to".*

This perspective also pressures again on the availability of volunteers. This need is also contrary to the social developments as can be interpret from one of the interviews with the elderly:

*"I worry about what people nowadays want to do for each other, they take everything for granted".*

Combined these tensions lead to a complex tension field, because the new logic enhances both low and high attachment feelings to the former way of organizing. The tension arises with the introduction of the new logic and is contrary to the long established cultural values to be taken care of. Inferred from the interviews the combination of finding solutions for this tension and the availability of the volunteers is critical in the success in the initiative. However, since you cannot obligate people to participate it seems hard to change.

### Economically dependency on paid informal care

Coherent with the reasoning of the tension before is the economical attachment of many people in the society. It is not expected and the goal of the initiative to fully catch up informal care by volunteers, thus contribution of the care users is needed. As explained earlier this is contradictive to the dominant logic. However, own contribution of informal care leads to tension as can be outlined from the following quote from the manager of one of the informal care organizations:

*"We notice that if we enhance prices with a few "kwartjes" that people quit with meal services, whether they have enough money or not. We just offered to enhance the price a little bit and people shifted from 5 to 3 meals a week".*

Also expected from the introduction of the new logic is the economical dependency. This is particular the case for parents with disabled child, explained by the following quote:

*"For example, an sleeping weekend on the farm costs €250,-. We just can't pay that without grants. Thus, when the PGB quits we really got a major problem. And not only for us, but also for a lot of other people".*

This tension is characterized by a high conformity about the problem of this tension among the actors. Conflict with the society is expected to be high since the solution of the new logic is contrary to the long established cultural values. Also with this tension can be inferred from the interviews that it is critical to overcome in order to successfully implement the new logic. However, by power means there seem to be possibilities to push these changes through.

### Analysis adaption

It seems that these tensions are characterized by a high criticalness to overcome in order to make the new logic a success. In addition, they seem highly contrary to established cultural values of the society. Another remarkable characteristic is that there is high conformity under the actors that change is necessary, but that it is hard to change. This is in line with Seo & Creed (2002) reasoning that it is expected to be unresponsiveness for changes. There might be a difference in these tensions that some solutions can be pushed through and that some cannot. An interesting finding is that it seems that inefficiency tensions combined with adaption tensions can enhance the power of each other, which also is somehow mentioned with the analysis of the inefficiency tensions.

#### 4.3.3 Divergent interests

During the interviews several scenarios about the activities of the initiative were discussed. To be able to better understand the following elaborated tensions the

expected role of the initiative will be outlined again: a coordinating role between the current informal and formal care organisations and executing informal care activities such as creating “social moments”, arranging transport and doing household chores.

#### The role of the initiative as a coordinator

Around the role as coordinating party different interest exist between the multiple actors resulting in a tension. Although, the formal care organisations state that they stand open for communication and coordination between the lines can be interpret that probably some other feelings exist:

*"I think we are in principle willing to communicate. It is not that we do not want to invest, but I think that it at least should serve a clear goal and they must be aware that our voluntary participation is limited".*

From the informal parties this role leads to conflicting interest since some see this as their major right of existence:

*"We expect to gain a coordinating role between the formal and informal care organizations. So that we can link the volunteers, initiatives and professional care organizations".*

However, high resistance is not expected according to the following quote of the same interview:

*"We are not gonna fight for that coordinating role. We are not searching for competition and that is a change we are making as an organisation, since we had that role in all the societies. But we notice that we should joint the initiatives, because these are supported by the municipalities".*

This tension arises around the organization of the new logic in which the activities related to this tension play around a low institutionalized field. The tension is characterized by major differences in vision on how to organize the activities. However, all actors agree that the activities are important. Although, the major difference in vision the attitude is quite open for discussion and collaboration.

#### The role of the initiative as operator of social moments and activities

Also around the role of the initiative as operator of social moments and activities different interest exist for both the informal and formal care organizations. One of the formal organizations also plans to focus on offering informal care services:

*"We think about offering day care, child sitting services or host (wo)men and so on. From the perspective of our organization it is not possible to offer this voluntary. If*

*the society of Saasveld could not offer this voluntary then we are prepared to jump in that gap. I really think there are opportunities for both of us".*

Currently, the informal organizations offer the informal social moments and activities. And performing these activities mainly comes into the activities of the small elderly associations from Saasveld. Although they stand open for collaboration it probably will lead to some tension:

*"The current quality of our activities and collaboration with SWO is perceived as good. Somewhere, we also want to remain independent as our association".*

This tension also plays up around the organization of the new logic in which it is unclear how to unfold, related to the low institutionalized field. It is a complex tension that is characterized by a battle between actors how used to perform this and actors who also want to execute these activities. Although there are indications for a high conflict, currently the actors have an open attitude for discussion and collaboration

#### The role of the initiative as operator of household chores

Between the exploitation of household chores opinions among the different actors of the informal organizations are very conflicting. One sees this as a major gap for the initiative to fulfil:

Interviewer: *"what if household tasks will be deployed by the initiative"?*

*"That seems fine. For example doing groceries or gardens of homes of elderly, that kind of tasks. Or clean gutters".*

While others look completely different to this:

*"Deployment of volunteers on household chores is bread robbery. I experience that this is slightly happening, but I would not do it. I would focus on prevention of loneliness, transportation, eating together and that kind of stuff".*

These quotes indicate that this tension is characterized by a high conflict around the vision on who should perform these activities. An interesting finding is that an argument is used based on adaption reasoning.

#### The role of the initiative as family care supporter

From one interview of the informal care organisations became clear that when the initiative focuses on supporting family care provider major resistance is expected:

*"I would have resistance if they decide to set up a family care providers cafe or to approach all family care providers if they can mean something for them, without evolving my organisation. Then they participate in mine professional channel".*

Since only one actor has discussed this role it might indicate that this tension is not broadly accepted as very important. Yet, one party addresses it as very important and the conflict might be high expressed by low intentions for discussion. Indicated from own interpretation from the interview these feelings probably come forth from the fear of losing their own jobs. Also interesting is that the argumentation is based on inefficiency reasons.

#### Analysis divergent interests tensions

Indicated from this data it seems to be that these tensions mainly exist around the organisation of activities in the new logic in which positions are taken leading to conflicts around the organizing actors. The tensions seem to arise when activities of organisations who performed these activities in the dominant logic are proposed to be overtaken, when new activities can be performed with more organisations willing to perform this and when ideas are proposed that lead to fears of own interest. Also in the analysis of these tensions overlap is found with the other institutional contradictions sources as actors use inefficiency and adaption reasoning to argument their positions. Another remarkable finding is that there are indications for a relationship between how important actors perceive a tension, the mutual attitude to discuss about the issues of the tension and the highness of the conflict in the tension.

#### 4.4 How tensions manifest

In this part the answer to the research question is given. From the analysis made in the chapter before some insights are found to better understand the nature of tensions, presented in table 3.

**Table 3.** Characteristics of tensions based on institutional contradiction sources

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Inefficiency tensions</b>	<b>Adaptation tensions</b>	<b>Divergent interest tensions</b>
Where/when do they arise?	Broadly accepted shortcomings of the dominant logic and expected shortcomings of the new logic.	When ideas of the new logic are adversative to established cultural values of the society.	When positions around the organizing of activities are taken and lead to conflict: 1. Activities of organisers in the dominant logic are overtaken. 2. New activities with more actors willing to perform. 3. New ideas that lead to fears of own interests.
What is the implication?	- Concerns in which no clear position is taken by the actors. - Form a basis for arguments actors can use to persuade their views.	- Very critical to overcome in order to make the new logic a success.	- Critical to understand in order to make the new logic a success.
What is the interaction with other institutional contradictions?	- When positions are taken on these tensions it might lead to divergent interest. - Might complement adaptation tensions.	- It might that when these tensions are related to inefficiency tensions they enhance the power of each other.	- Inefficiency and adaption tensions are used to argument positions.
Are there any other remarkable findings?		- High conformity under the organizing actors that change is necessary, but that it is hard to change.	- Indications for a relationship between how important actors perceive a tension, the mutual attitude to discuss about the tension and the highness of the conflict in the tension.

Thus, how do tensions produced by a confrontation between the dominant and new logic manifest. From the analysis can be outlined that there are differences in characteristics of tensions deviated from the dialectical view. These differences exist

in when they become viable, how actors take positions in the underlying activities, how strongly they are related to the established cultural values and if they are related to shortcomings of the new logic or the dominant logic. In line with the reasoning of Seo and Creed (2002) there are specific characteristics found for the different sources of institutional contradictions. Inefficiency tensions arise from shortcomings of the dominant or new logic and are related to concerns in which actors take no clear position. Adaptation tensions arise from new logic ideas that are adversative to established cultural values of the society with a high conformity under the organizing actors about the criticalness to change. Divergent interest tensions arise from conflicting positions of actors around the organization and ideas of the new logic. However, contrary to this reasoning this research shows that tensions from the different institutional contradiction sources are intertwined, indicating a more complex view. In this connection the different sources show specific roles. Inefficiency and adaptation tensions can function as a basis for arguments to position in divergent interest tensions. Some inefficiency tensions show "potential" to become a divergent interest tension when positions will be taken and the context is changing. Also a strong relation is found between inefficiency and adaptation tensions. For example, when an inefficiency of the new logic complements the reasoning of an adaptation tension it will become even harder to change the adaptation tension. Thus, tensions might be coherent and enforcing to each other. Another remarkable finding in this study are the indications for a relationship between how actors perceive tensions, the mutual attitude of actors to discuss about the tension and the highness of the conflict in the tension. It can be assumed that when some actors perceive something as very important, but others view this as not or less important this might lead to a higher conflict. This might be explained by negative feelings resulting in obstructive behaviour, because interests are not acknowledged. In addition, when there are indications for openness for discussion between the actors this might lead to a lower conflict. Indications for openness are for example purposes to collaborate or willing to attend meetings. However, these factors might also be intertwined. When actors act obstructive, because their interests are not acknowledged, they can be expected to be less open for discussion resulting in a higher conflict. Based on these insights one can opt for more categories of divergent interest based on highness of conflict. In conclusion, tensions can be divided into different sources of institutional contradictions based on specific characteristics. However, from a micro institutional change perspective this view is much more complex. Many indications are found to subcategorize the sources of institutional contradictions. For example the relation of tensions with tensions from other institutional contradiction sources or the highness of conflict for divergent interest tensions.

## 5. Discussion

The greater purpose of this research is to contribute to the understanding of the nature of tensions in order to require better insights in how institutional entrepreneurs can strategically act. In this chapter are the results linked to this purpose and discussed. At first, the theoretical contribution of the research is discussed. Second, the implication and contribution for institutional entrepreneurs are discussed. Thereafter, a description of the practical implication for the project team of the case study is given and the chapter will end with the limitations of the research.

### 5.1 Theoretical contribution

The research contributed to the literature by demonstrating that it is possible to define and analyse tensions based on a dialectical view. In the current literature a model to study informal logics is missing. The developed operationalization of the dialectical view can be perceived as suitable to study this. However, further research can supplement this operationalization by adding the specific found characteristics to this operationalization. The study also made clear that it is possible to divide tensions into different institutional contradiction sources and contributes by explaining the specific characteristics of these sources. The major contribution of the understanding of the nature of tensions is that this view is way more complex since tensions from other institutional contradictions sources are more intertwined than expected. In the analysis the four sources of institutional contradictions are explained as solid independent sources. However, Seo & Creed (2002) already mentioned that they do not suggest that these are separate sources. They state that human praxis acts as a mediator to create institutional change. In addition, they explain that nonadaptability may create an environment in which efficiency gaps or interinstitutional incompatibilities are unrecognized and perpetuated explaining relationships between the sources of institutional contradictions. The results of this research extend this view by finding and explaining more relationships.

During the analysis of the data none tension could be found to the incompatibilities institutional contradiction. This in line with the following reasoning: "we are not suggesting that all institutions always and immediately produce all four sources of contradictions. Instead, we suggest that as certain social relationships and actions become institutionalized over a long period of time, they are likely to produce one or a combination of these four sources of contradictions. From a dialectical point of view, these contradictions are the impetus that drives, enables, and constrains further institutional change" (Seo & Creed, 2002).

Regarding the literature a key assumption for micro institutional change is whether the underlying values of tensions are settled or unsettled. Settled culture can be characterized by low coherence and consistent views among the different actors in the field. On the other hand, unsettled culture can be characterized by high

coherence and non-consistent views among the different actors. In settled culture it is expected that it is harder to enhance new logics (Swidler, 1986). The context of the case study could be perceived as an unsettled culture, related to the background in the introduction. This might explain the existence of the many inefficiency and divergent interest tensions. This indicates that the amount of inefficiency tensions is related to the degree of settled culture, because when views are coherent and consistent fewer intentions arise to discuss about the shortcomings of new and dominant logic from which inefficiency tensions arise. This reasoning is also in line with the perspective of the dialectical view to see conflicting logics as the determinant of institutional change.

An interesting finding of the research is the use of inefficiency and adaptation tensions as arguments for divergent interest positions. Overall perceived is that to acquire legitimacy it is critical that new ideas can be connected to established cultural accounts. When tensions show opportunities to fit into established cultural accounts greater chance of enabling is expected. Yet, when these opportunities do not exist it might lead to reinforcement of the dominant logic. This can be explained from the perspective that institutional logics are difficult to dislodge and that efforts to do so are enhanced if insurgent logics are connected through the core values within the institutional field (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). This would implicate that inefficiency and adaptation tensions that can be related to established cultural values would enhance the power of these arguments. In addition, this might also explain why the findings state that adaptation tension in general are hard to overcome, because these arise when ideas of the new logic are adversative to established cultural values of the society.

In the results the height of the conflict is mentioned as an important factor and mainly determined by the amount of different positions of actors. This is in line with the reasoning that when logics are competing they can facilitate resistance to institutional change (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007) and that the formation and reproduction of institutional arrangements are unlikely to satisfy the divergent interest of all participants (Seo & Creed, 2002). Thus, although conflicting logics probably lead to new logics it is not a matter of course that these new logic are related to the new logic of the institutional entrepreneur, or in this research the logics of the initiative. From here can be assumed that the more different interest exist the more conflict arises. When more conflict arises chances to enhance the new logic are expected to be lower. This understanding has mainly implications for the divergent interest and inefficiency tensions. When many different views or opinions exist around a tension it is expected to enhance the conflict resulting in a more difficult process to achieve the targeted institutional change. This research supplements this view by introducing more relations with the intensity of conflict such as mutual coherence on the importance of the tension. Further research should address the factors that

determine the intensity of a conflict for micro institutional change to fully open the black box.

The adaptation tensions are perceived as very critical to overcome related to the insights from this case study. According to the following reasoning this might be explained by differences in power: "the formation and reproduction of social arrangements are basically political processes involving various participants who have divergent interest and unequal power, those who benefit the least are often the less powerful" (Seo & Creed, 2002). This would indicate that power is one of the major factors for at least explaining the failure of institutional change initiatives. However, with the current knowledge one cannot determine if this is also decisive for the success of institutional change initiatives. Another characteristic found for tensions is the degree of openness for collaboration. Reay and Hinings (2009) propose that institutional change may occur when actors develop mechanisms of collaboration that support the co-existence of competing logics.

Although, we now better understand the different roles tensions can play from a micro institutional perspective a full understanding is not acquired. When do inefficiencies really become divergent interest tensions? Which factors are decisive and in which settings? Can collaboration for example neutralize the effects of conflicts? And which role do institutional compatibilities tensions play? These are examples of question further research should address.

## 5.2 Implication for institutional entrepreneurs

In this part the implication for how institutional entrepreneurs can use these results are described. Since better insights in the characteristics of tensions and the roles they play are obtained, institutional entrepreneurs can detect a more clear sight about the existing tensions. Based on this knowledge strategically actions can be determined.

For the role of inefficiency tensions some implications are found. As explained in the results these tensions arise from shortcomings of the dominant or new logic and they might be used as argumentation for divergent interests positions. When institutional entrepreneurs detect the shortcomings of the dominant logics they can use this as argumentation for the new logic when they try to overcome the divergent interest tensions. In addition, when these shortcomings of the dominant logic are against the established cultural values this can be used to strengthen their position. Story telling and theorizations of change seem suited as mechanisms institutional entrepreneurs can use. Since these focus on practices to argument based on established cultural values (Zilber, 2006 ; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

Nonadaptation has a great influence on the micro institutional change process since it can lead to the unrecognized of inefficiency problems and is hard to overcome. In general, this is related to a settled culture and tensions that are not in line with established cultural values. When institutional entrepreneurs understand in which reasoning nonadaptation exist they can focus on these tensions. At first, when they think there is anyway to find connection to established cultural values they can use story telling or rhetorical strategy mechanisms. When this does not lead to any shift or when they cannot find connection they need to challenge the taken for granted nature of an existing institutional order (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Cultural toolkit approaches might then be suitable since these try to obtain a shift in very strong strategies of action embedded in culture (Swidler, 1986). Related to institutional change literature social upheaval might create a "shock" in order to create less consistent views (Battilana et. al., 2009). Further research should address in which situation which mechanisms are suited and how social upheaval for example can be created.

Institutional entrepreneurs who are capable to deal with conflict are expected to better able to implement the new logic. When they understand how the conflict in divergent interest is constructed they should be better able to strategically act. With the insights from the results a deeper understanding of these tensions can be obtained. A strategic analysis of which inefficiency and adaptation tensions can be used for argumentation seems valuable. Understanding which actors has the most power and if there are possibilities to collaborate should also be integrated in the strategic analysis. However, which mechanisms can be used in which situation cannot be determined from the results of this research. Further research is required to obtain deeper insights. In addition, institutional entrepreneurs should also understand that some inefficiency might lead to divergent interest tensions. With this understanding they might use mechanisms to prevent or to stimulate this process in order to lower the reinforcement of the dominant logic or enhance the acceptance of the new logic.

### 5.3 Practical implication

Beside the implications for institutional change theory there also many practical implications found. During writing this thesis these implications are constantly and directly communicated and presented to the project team of the case study in line with engaged scholarship (Van de Ven, 2007). Advised during the final presentation is that the project team should emphasize their focus on enhancing the quality of informal care, because this fits well within the current established cultural values. In addition they should also focus on establishing the continuity of the initiative, which might be achieved by collaboration. They must understand that the availability of the volunteers and adaptation problems to paid informal care are probably the major constrainers for the success of the initiative. The availability of volunteers will become

even more critical when support of the municipality and organizing actors will decrease and the complexity of tasks they need to perform will be higher. It is expected that the more complex these care tasks are the more conflict between the organizing actors will arise, because this will lead to more change in the activities of the current operating organisations.

#### 5.4 Limitations

This research has focused on tensions from institutional change theory literature. The researcher understands that there are different insights on the classification of tensions in other theories, which might be perceived as a limitation. However, not including these other theories can be substantiated by a focus on an institutional change perspective.

An arising question is what these results mean for other similar initiatives, because such initiatives are expected to arise more and more in the Netherlands the coming years. As described in the results the focus of the institutional field was constituted from the whole society, meaning the whole society in the Netherlands. However, the data is gained from the eastern part of the Netherlands with a focus on village people. During the interviews many indications are given that there are major differences between villages and cities, mainly about the attitude of people to do things for other people. From this perspective it might be assumed that in different areas results could be different. From logical reasoning can be inferred that more individual behaviour would enhance the difficulties to structural bind volunteers. With the current information cannot be concluded whether in other initiatives the same tensions arise. However, since the institutional field in this research is broad one can assume that forthcoming results are corresponding. Comparable initiatives should at least consider the found tensions. In addition, one can also not determine the implications of these results for other settings than informal care initiatives.

This research demonstrates that from the perspective of analysing institutional contradictions tensions could be observed. This analysis is based on the operationalization of the institutional contradictions, introduced by Seo & Creed's (2002) dialectical model. The operationalization of this model seems mainly useful for qualitative research, because in order to fully capture the concept of the sources of institutional contradictions requires understanding the underlying feelings of the actors. However, this consequently requires well-trained interview skills. Although, the researcher practiced the interviews no well-trained interview skills can be demonstrated, which could be perceived as a limitation. It might be the case that results would differ when someone else executed the interviews. The current literature lacks a clear operationalization of the dominant and new logic. From logical reasoning these can be described based on the clear existing definitions. However, a clear operationalization would probably lead to more consistent descriptions. Another

limitation is the lack of (targeted) volunteers as units of analysis. During the analysis became clear that they play a major role around the tensions. In the research their feelings and reasoning are based on expectations of the other actor groups, but these feelings might be different from the perspective of the (targeted) volunteers. The qualitative and the interpretive nature of this study also provide some limitations, because this is related to subjectivity of analysing the data. This creates the problem for the reliability of this study. In addition, one must understand that the results are based on only one case study creating a problem for the validity of this research. At last, to fully understand how tensions manifests further research should perform process studies in order to understand how tensions evolve over time.

## **6. Conclusion**

Tensions, produced by a confrontation between dominant and new arising logics, differ in when they become viable, how actors take positions in the underlying activities, how strongly they are related to established cultural values and if they are related to shortcomings of the new logic or the dominant logic. This research showed that it is possible to deviate tensions into different sources of institutional contradictions. However, it extends this view by indicating that this is a way more complex process since tensions are intertwined with other tensions. Based on an explanation of the found relationships institutional entrepreneurs are better able to strategically act in order to achieve institutional change.

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## **Appendixes I Interview protocols**

Two different interview protocols are used. The first protocol is used for the interviews with the care dependent actor group. This protocol is developed by the supervisor of this research and thereafter adjusted by the researcher, after discussion in the project meeting. This interview protocol is mainly used to acquire information for the initiative itself: what are the wishes and needs of care dependent people. Through the lines it is expected to also found information related to the institutional contradictions analysis. The first protocol is written in Dutch.

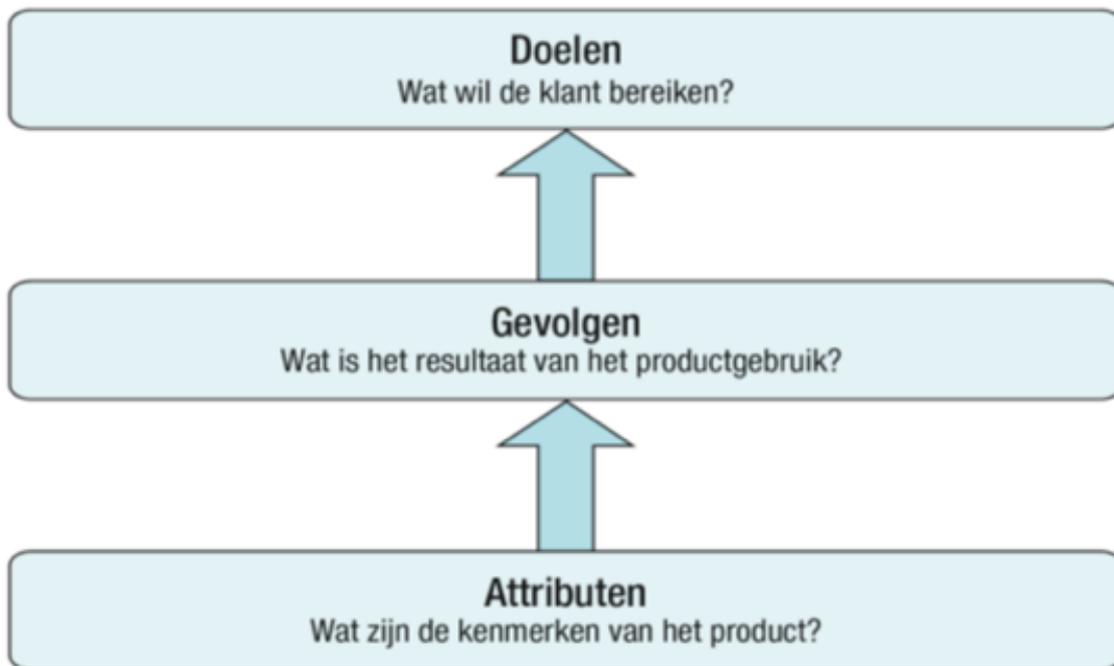
### **Achtergrond, richtlijnen en interviewschema t.b.v. inventarisatie behoefte cliënten van “Zorgcollectief Saasveld” gemeente Dinkelland**

Door: dr. R.Loohuis, Fac. BMS, Universiteit Twente, Enschede

#### **Inleiding**

Waarom kopen of huren mensen diensten of producten? Zeker niet om ze alleen te bezitten maar voornamelijk om problemen op te lossen en daardoor het leven een stukje aangenaamer te maken. Niet de producten of diensten moeten daarom centraal staan maar de problemen die mensen ondervinden in het dagelijks leven. Natuurlijk zijn er producten of diensten nodig om deze problemen op te lossen maar die kunnen pas benoemd worden nadat we weten welke problemen er opgelost moeten worden. Zo is een taxirit van A naar B de oplossing voor het realiseren van mobiliteit en ‘ergens te kunnen zijn’ voor een klant. Elke waarom vraag leidt dus weer tot diepere inzichten in de problematiek van mensen en leiden mogelijk tot nieuwe en creatievere oplossingen in de vorm van producten of activiteiten. Het kennen van klantwaarde gaat dus voor product, dienst of activiteit. De afstemming tussen beiden is echter wel weer belangrijk om klantwaarde daadwerkelijk te realiseren. Dat vergt een inventarisatie van de middelen zoals zorgkennis, mobiliteit, mensen, ruimte en het bedenken van slimme combinaties van deze middelen inclusief de coordinatie er van. Dit is een belangrijk taak voor het “zorgcollectief Saasveld”.

Hieronder wordt schematisch het belang van klantwaarde (doelen) in relatie tot gebruik van producten en haar attributen benadrukt.



(uit E. Huizingh, 2011 Innovatiemanagement. 3e editie)

### **Klantwaarde in een zorgcontext**

Niets is zo bepalend in het leven maar toch zo onopgemerkt voor mensen dan de dagelijkse routines en gebruiken. Dat geldt ook voor zorgontvangers. Over de tijd raken zorgontvangers gewend aan de zorg die ze krijgen, hun rol hierin, de partijen die er bij betrokken zijn zoals instellingen, vervoerders of huisartsen en de verwachtingen die hier bij horen. Naast andere, vormen deze verwachtingen een belangrijke obstakel in het accepteren van veranderingen zoals die nu plaatsvinden in het kader van de WMO. De gevolgen voor het doen van klantwaardenonderzoek is dan ook dat zorgvragers vanuit de bestaande 'logica' gaan antwoorden. Met andere woorden, probleem en oplossing zijn zo nauw verweven met elkaar dat zorgvragers zich nauwelijks nog kunnen herinneren welk onderliggende probleem er aan de behoefte ten grondslag ligt. Deze zijn echter wel belangrijk zoals eerder opgemerkt en dat vraagt om een specifieke benadering van diegene die klantwaarden willen onderzoeken in de zorg. In de vragenlijst wordt zowel met de huidige context en dit belang expliciet rekening gehouden.

### **Doelgroepen:**

Tot dusver kiest het Zorgcollectief er voor om niet op voorhand doelgroepen uit te sluiten. Alhoewel in de gesprekken en voorgaande onderzoeken de focus op oudere mensen lag, zou het dus ook om gehandicapte kinderen of mensen van middelbare leeftijd met een zorgbehoefte. Daarom is het interviewschema geschikt om de

problemen van diverse doelgroepen te documenteren. Vanwege het lokale karakter van het project, worden er alleen mensen geïnterviewd in de kern en buitengebied van Saasveld. Het aantal interviews per doelgroep moet nog nader bepaald worden.

### **Richtlijnen:**

Er zijn tevens richtlijnen geformuleerd die interviewers helpen om door te vragen om voldoende kennis te verzamelen. Een van die richtlijnen is dat de interviewers bij binnenkomst niet de suggestie moeten wekken dat het om een zogenaamde “keukentafelgesprek” gaat. Hoewel het gesprek natuurlijk wel aan een keukentafel kan plaatsvinden kleeft er nu al een negatieve lading aan dit nieuwe begrip. Er zijn namelijk in bepaalde gemeentes zorgorganisaties actief die zorg willen verkopen aan argeloze ouderen of zorgbehoevenden en dus misbruik maken van dit begrip in een periode waarin de transitie naar de Gemeentes plaatsvindt.

Om de integriteit van het project te bewaren wordt er daarom voorgesteld dat er onderzoek wordt verricht vanuit het project zelf met ondersteuning van de Universiteit Twente.

Verdere richtlijnen zijn:

- Wees open en transparant over het initiatief en in welke fase het zit. Wees open over uw rol in het project. Beloof niets maar maak duidelijk dat het erg belangrijk is dat we eerst voldoende kennis hebben over de problematiek en zorgvraag.
- Stel te geïnterviewde gerust
- Verzeker anonimiteit. Voor een accurate data-analyse zou het fijn zijn indien het gesprek opgenomen kunnen worden (dat kan met de meeste mobiele telefoons). Data en adresgegevens worden gescheiden bewaard. Vraag altijd eerst of de geïnterviewde akkoord is en vertel wanneer het opnemen begint en stopt.
- Hoewel er enkele interviewvragen zijn, kan het interview ongestructureerd verlopen. Dat wil zeggen dat de interviewers ruimte hebben om door te vragen. Dat kan door open vragen te blijven stellen: waarom, waarom, waarom, hoe veel, wanneer....
- Probeer het interview tot een uur te beperken.

## Het interviewschema:

---Interviewschema---

Naam:

Adres:

Leeftijd:

Geslacht:

Thuisituatie: (alleen, met kinderen, partner, inwonend bij, etc.)

Primaire vragen:

1. Waaruit bestaat de huidige zorgbehoefte? (of wat is het probleem van de zorgvrager?)
2. Wat zijn de verwachtingen ten aanzien van het probleem richting de toekomst? (Houdt het probleem aan of is het van tijdelijke aard?)
3. Hoe wordt nu in de zorg voorzien? (wie zijn er bij betrokken, welke activiteiten, hoe vaak?)
4. Wordt er voldoende in de huidige zorg voorzien. Indien nee, waarom niet?
5. Los van de oplossingen, wat mist u en welke wensen bestaan er voor u nog meer gezien het probleem?
6. Wat is voor u belangrijk in het ouder worden buiten de lichamelijke zorg? en wat mist u hier nu in? (denk hierbij aan klussenhulp, boodschappen, geschiktheid huidige huisvesting, welbevinding, mobiliteit)
7. Hoe zou de gemeenschap tegemoet kunnen komen aan deze wensen? En welke bijdrage zou u hier zelf in kunnen leveren?
8. Wat doen al de veranderingen in de zorg met uw gevoel?

The second interview protocol is executed by the researcher and is used for the interviews with all the other actor groups. Also this protocol is written in Dutch.

### **A. Introductie interviewer**

- Welke opleiding
- Onderwerp van mijn scriptie
- Mijn rol binnen het initiatief: niet actief betrokken bij de oplossingen --> dus niet om te adviseren maar te analyseren.
- Doel van het interview:
  - Inzichten over hoe het burgerinitiatief eruit moet gaan zien.
  - Te verwachten bottlenecks in het organiseren van het initiatief per scenario.
  - Te verwachten randvoorwaarden om het te laten slagen.
  - Algemene zorgen gericht op hoe informele zorg georganiseerd is en was.

### **B. Introductie initiatief**

Optie 1 (geïnterviewde is bekend met het initiatief):

- Kunt u de situatie schetsen zoals u het burgerinitiatief in de toekomst ziet? Wat verwacht u dat er uit gaat komen?

Optie 2 (geïnterviewde is niet bekend met het initiatief)

- Toelichting van verschillende scenario's:
  - Coördinerende rol tussen de samenleving en verschillende (zorg)instanties
  - Uitvoerende rol voor hulp in huis
  - Uitvoerende rol voor dagbesteding
  - Zorgcoöperatie (samenvoeging van 3 bovenstaande)

Belangrijk hierbij is om te benadrukken dat dit ideeën zijn en dat nog helemaal niet zeker is dat hier op gericht zal worden.

### **C. Introductie geïnterviewde**

- Kunt u zichzelf en uw organisatie introduceren?  
[ minimaal weten: functie / activiteiten organisatie / activiteiten in Saasveld ]

### **D. Mening over initiatief en verschillende scenario's**

- Kunt u aangeven wat u in het algemeen van zulke initiatieven vindt?  
*[ geef tijd om uit te praten: vaak beginnen de personen met de zaken waar de meeste frustratie over is ]*

Daarna ingaan op de verschillende scenario's:

- Wat vindt u van dit idee?
- Wat zal er voor jullie organisatie veranderen bij dit scenario?
- Wat verwacht je dat er zal veranderen voor andere organisaties bij dit scenario?
- Waarover verwacht uw weerstanden/spanningen?

- Welke twijfels heeft u hierbij?
- Welke randvoorwaarden verwacht u dat hiervoor nodig zijn om het te laten slagen?
- Zien jullie mogelijkheden voor samenwerking?

*[ Belangrijkste hierbij = doorvragen --> waarom voelt de persoon dat?! ]*

### **E. Dominant logic & Institutional contradictions**

Dit waren de vragen over het initiatief zelf. Verder zou ik graag nog wat vragen willen stellen over hoe de informele zorg georganiseerd is en was en wat uw visie op deze verandering is.

- Kunt u beschrijven hoe de informele zorg geregeld was?
- Kunt u beschrijven wat de belangrijkste veranderingen zijn?
- En wat is uw gevoel hierbij?
  - Komt dit overeen met uw waarden?
  - Wat merkt u hier aan in uw (vrijwilligers)werk? Wordt u ergens door beperkt?
  - Wat vindt u goed aan deze veranderingen? en wat baart u echt zorgen?
- Wat voor gevoel verwacht u hierover bij het "gemiddelde" van de samenleving? en verwacht u hier veel verschillen over? En waarover verwacht uw weerstand? (geld? of gewoon gehechtheid aan hoe het was?)
- Begrijpt u de huidige regelgeving / beleid nog? en vindt u dit nog allemaal nodig?

## **Appendix II Coding scheme**

### **A. New logic**

*Help: how do people describe the new way of organizing? and how do they feel about this?*

### **B. Dominant logic**

*Help: how do people describe the established way of organizing? and how do they feel about this?*

### **C. Inefficiencies**

C1: Alignment to policies

C2: Thoughts of policies

C3: Constraining factors of policies

C4: Inefficiencies of initiative / scenario's

### **D. Undermining of adaptability**

D1: Psychological attached

D2: Economically dependent

### **E. Institutional incompatibilities**

E1: Inconsistencies

E2: Degree of distinctive transformation

### **F. Divergent interests**

F1: Actors interest's differences

F2: Actors power differences

F3: Vision regarding a coordinating role

F4: Vision regarding domestic house help

F5: Vision tensions regarding informal care activities

### **G. Framework**

G1: Fit to established cultural accounts

G2: Conflict

G3: Power

G4: Intentions to collaborate

During the analysis the visions regarding the different scenarios are placed under the major code "divergent interests", because it became clear that these question were strongly related to the differences in actors interest. In addition, the codes related to

apply the framework (G) were added during the analysis. The operationalization of all these code's are represented in the research and therefore not included in this scheme.