

MASTER THESIS

*Responses of change
agents to mitigate tensions
originating from institutional
contradictions*



Business Administration (MSc.)

Robbin Bruns

S1762362

Dr. A.M. von Raesfeld Meijer

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**UNIVERSITY
OF TWENTE.**

Management summary

In order to supplement the municipality of Enschede in their vision to grow the Dutch society towards an inclusive society, the neighborhood teams Enschede are trying to implement new ways of thinking that will eventually result in the desired transformation. This transformation of implementing a new way of thinking by replacing the old one is in this case observed through a micro-level institutional change perspective. By means of analyzing business meetings and conducting semi-structured interviews, the researcher was able to recognize tensions arising from institutional contradictions within the neighborhood team east. The recognized tensions, originated from the analysis of eleven business meetings and two interviews, are divided in several dimensions of tensions within each institutional contradiction. Change agents are able to mitigate and resolve these tensions by reaching a certain stage of praxis. This study aimed to examine the response of change agents to mitigate tensions. The distinction of dimensions and the responses of change agents through a micro-level perspective form the theoretical contribution of this research to existing literature by adding micro-perspective insights in institutional change. Furthermore, the outcome of this study could help organizations to recognize tensions earlier and mitigate them in order to achieve their predefined objectives. If tensions mitigate or resolve, the process of transformation will be stimulated and this could eventually lead to a more participate society, less inhabitants who need social assistance and less costs for the municipality. To critically reflect this study, the results are compared with existing literature earlier examined in a literature review. This study concludes with the limitations and suggestions for future research.

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Author: Robbin Bernardus Jozeph Bruns
Student number: S1762362
Email: r.b.j.bruns@student.utwente.nl
Education: International Business Administration
Specialization: Strategy & Marketing
Institute: University of Twente
Faculty: Behavioural, Management & Social Sciences

Examination committee

Dr. A.M. von Raesfeld-Meijer
Dr. R.P.A. Loohuis

Supervisor neighborhood team east

Ms. M. Veldhuizen

Preface

This thesis forms the end of my period as a student of the University of Twente in Enschede by completing the Master of International Business Administration. This preface allows me to look back at the recent years as a student and gives the opportunity to thank everyone who contributed to this study.

After successfully completing my previous study, commercial economics at the Saxion University of Applied Sciences, I was still eager to learn more and especially on a higher level. During this study, the focus was on marketing, strategy and finance. However, I came to the conclusion that financial courses were my weakness, while the higher grades arose from the marketing and strategy courses. To learn more and to improve myself on both courses, I signed up for the pre-master International Business Administration in 2015 and after that the Master. Nonetheless, I chose the marketing and strategy track as a result of my continuing interest in the corresponding courses. Now, right before the summer of 2017, the Master course has come to an end and my time as a student is over.

I would like to thank everyone who assisted and encouraged me throughout the research process. First, I would like to thank expedition leader and neighborhood coach Marloes Veldhuizen for successfully guiding me through the period of analysis in the neighborhood team east and enabling me to gather as much data as I needed. Second, I would like to thank dr. A von Raesfeld- Meijer and dr. R. Loohuis for helping me successfully writing a Master thesis by providing useful feedback throughout the complete research process. Your knowledge about existing literature concerning institutional change and the constant new ideas and insights allowed me to constantly improve the quality of my study. Furthermore, I would like to thank all the actors involved in neighborhood team east for their time and effort. It was informative and fun to attend business meetings and conduct interviews from a micro-perspective. At last, I want to thank my friends and family for their support during my study.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The municipality of Enschede offers their inhabitants the chance to describe the unfavorable situation they are experiencing. Depending on the size of the difficulty, the inhabitants can be brought into contact with neighborhood coaches who discuss the situation to mitigate and eventually solve the problem they are facing. The municipality has started a process of transformation by introducing new ways of thinking. Moreover, the goal of the transformation is an inclusive society where the inhabitants solve their problems themselves. In that case, neighborhood coaches will be needing less help of care facilities to help inhabitants. De Gier (2007) believes this is as a switch from a predominantly passive and expensive welfare state to an inclusive society where the inhabitants are more participative. The old ways of thinking can be seen as the traditional logic that lasts for years already. As a result, the current transformation implemented inside the municipality of Enschede and the neighborhood teams can be identified as a radical change. Subsequently, these changes raise tensions that have to be mitigated. Ultimately, this research focuses on the proceedings of Expedition Enschede in the neighborhood team east.

1.2 Theoretical positioning

As the transformation can be seen as a radical change, it can be seen as a process of institutional change. Jepperson (1991) referred to institutions as rule systems or socially constructed, routine-reproduced programs. To combine multiple research into one definition, institutional logics can be defined as beliefs, practices and systems that are characterized by a set of rules and attitudes that individuals create and recreate while simultaneously providing a link between institutions and action (Alford & Friedland, 1985; Jackall, 1988; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2002; Curry & Guah, 2007; Misangyi, Weaver & Elms, 2008; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Dunn & Jones, 2010). While many institutional logics are ingrained in a firm or organization, it can still be interrupted by social upheaval, competitive discontinuity, regulatory change, and technological disruption (Battilana et. al., 2009). Subsequently, these types of interruption are regularly accompanied by types of resistance, which could sometimes cause contradictions that develops tensions. Seo and Creed (2002) mentioned that these tensions can lead to a stage of praxis by actors in an organization to accept or withstand the new institutional logic. Hereby, conflicting logics can co-exist until one of the sides succeeds and the field improves around the winning logic (DiMaggio 1983; Hensmans 2003; Hoffman 1999). On the other hand, Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) and Thornton et al. (2005) stated that a new logic can originate from two previous old logics and act as a hybrid version. Seo and Creed (2002) subdivided these conflicting logics into four institutional contradictions, comprising of inefficiency, nonadaptability, Interinstitutional incompatibilities and misaligned interests. Subsequently, these contradictions can be recognized by change agents who are able to mitigate the tensions by reaching four stages of praxis, consisting of potential change agents, a reflective shift of consciousness, actor mobilization, and collective action that ultimately stimulates institutional change. How this process exactly unfolds on a micro-level can be examined further.

1.3 Research gap

After explaining the theory used as background for this research, the researcher recognized a gap in existing literature in how certain actors mitigate and solve tensions that arise from contradictions through a micro-perspective. Moreover, research can be done about the level of praxis that change agents can reach in order to accept a new way of thinking and eventually encourage institutional change. Therefore, the aim of this study is to contribute to the current perception of mitigating tensions through reaching a certain stage of praxis by adding the micro-level institutional change perspective. As a result, the following research question is made:

What are the responses of change agents to mitigate the institutional tensions and contradictions in the neighborhood team east?

The main research question is subdivided in the following sub questions:

- Which tensions occur by which contradictions on micro perspective?
- In what way are the tensions being solved through praxis?

1.4 Theoretical and practical contribution

This research adds to the current writing in two ways. At first, existing literature about contradictions, tensions and ways to mitigate tensions are for the most part directed from an institutional or conceptual point of view. But, in order to examine how change agents mitigate tensions, this research is executed from a micro-perspective. At last, it supplements the current writing by recognizing singular arrangements accumulated in an explorative way while gathering data from micro interactions.

The practical contribution consists of contributing to a firm's organizational and social setting. Keeping in mind the end goal of institutions, the outcome of this study could be able to help an organization to mitigate tensions in order to achieve their predefined objectives. Achieving these objectives and satisfying the municipality could lead to a more inclusive society. Consequently, this leads to less use of care facilities, social assistance and eventually less cost for the municipality of Enschede.

2. Literature review

The following chapter consists of a complete theoretical analysis of previous research containing studies about institutional logics, institutional change, contradictions, tensions, stages of reaching praxis and finally and elaboration on the institutional change by an examination from a micro-perspective. In this way, this literature review gives a quick introduction about the core underlying concepts while working towards acquiring superior comprehension of the praxis that change agents use to mitigate tensions.

2.1 Institutional logics

Although Alford and Friedland (1985) first introduced the term 'institutional logic' in 1985, there were already articles that mention quite similar phenomena. According to Thornton & Ocasio (2008), the concept of institutional logic commenced with empirical analyses of organizations and the institutional environment by Selznick (1948, 1949, 1957) who theorized how institutions function to integrate organizations with other organizations in the society. Meyer and Rowan (1977) emphasized the importance for organizations to conform to the requirements of external environments for legitimacy. DiMaggio & Powell (1983) extended this theory and stated that the societal field, in which organizations operate, governs the choices and actions of those organizations. This new kind of institutionalism has an emphasis on legitimacy rather than efficiency as an explanation for the success and survival of organizations. Empirical work by Haveman & Rao (1997) and Thornton and Ocasio (1999, 2004) created new insights regarding institutional logics. The focus is aimed at the effects of differentiated institutional logics on individuals and organizations in a larger variety of contexts. Institutional logics shape rational and mindful behavior and individual and organizational actors have some influence in shaping and changing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Even though the definition of institutional logics has developed over time (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), a definition that is widely used in multiple research is as follows: 'Institutional logics are beliefs, practices and systems that are characterized by a set of rules and attitudes that individuals create and recreate while simultaneously providing a link between institutions and action' (Alford & Friedland, 1985; Jackall, 1988; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2002; Curry & Guah, 2007; Misangyi, Weaver & Elms, 2008; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Dunn & Jones, 2010). This is the starting point to look even deeper into the potential changes within this concept of institutional logics.

2.2 Institutional change

The amount of studies regarding institutional change and especially logics, has grown in attention in several research sections. Examples of these sections are economics, organization theory, politics, and the social science (Clemens & Cook, 1999; Mahoney & Thelen, 2009). Institutional change makes the state of how social orders and individuals evolve after some time and along these lines is the way to figure out how to appreciate historical change (North, 1990). Additionally, according to Lounsbury (2002), a combination of providing and introducing the chance to accept or reject a new institutional logic in a certain environment is characteristic for institutional change. The change in dominant logic can be viewed as the fundament of the institutional change idea since that change gives more knowledge in understanding the process of changing associations (Reay & Hinings, 2009). Keeping in mind the end goal to get actors included, the way these individuals associate and deal with each other

will change. Therefore, one could translate the change procedure as the way toward relinquishing the old way of thinking and embracing the new way of thinking. Moreover, Greenwood et al. (2002) likewise portrays this statement by adding that despite that there are various logics out there, it is the dominant logic that guides behavior when developing from the dominant to another logic. Misangyi, Weaver and Elms (2008) argue that certain logics can be repeated after some time, yet this is just conceivable when these logics are embedded by and supported in resources. However, since resources cannot boundlessly give on the strength of certain institutional logics, the likelihood of a change in institutional logics will increment.

The more seasoned writing underscores the significance for associations to integrate and meet the institutional necessities to accomplish authenticity. However, recent studies explain the significance of actors and change in institutions. Reay and Hinings (2009) emphasize that macro-level changes can be produced by micro-level actors and their actions will cost significant time and energy to result in institutional change. Despite the fact that this procedure has a tendency to be moderately slow, general change can be critical and imperative (Reay & Hinings, 2009). Other researchers reaffirmed the capacity of actors to avoid the power of capabilities of institutions (DiMaggio, 1988; Rao, 1998; Beckert, 1999; Carney & Gedajlovic, 2002) while others demand this and recommend that institutional change happens as a result of accumulation over time by acting not really coordinated to produce it (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Giddens, 1984). Furthermore, a paradox appeared that can be portrayed as how institutional change can be acknowledged when the actors' actions, rationality, and intentions are adapted by the institutions they wish to change. This paradox could possibly affect the process of realizing institutional change (Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002). In order to conquer this paradox, the institutional change can be triggered by observing under what conditions actors experience the need to act as institutional entrepreneurs (Battilana, 2006). In this study, the institutional entrepreneurs considered to consist of the change agents of the transformation that happens in the neighborhood team east in Enschede. These change agents can be characterized as actors in an organization who have the intention to perform activities to transform existing institutions or create new ones. The people's social position is a key variable by the way somebody is empowered to act as change agent in spite of institutional pressures (Battilana, 2006). These change agents look at new institutions as a chance to acknowledge interest that they profoundly esteem (Garud, Hardy and Maguire, 2007).

Institutional change can be divided in radical and incremental change. Firstly, the radical change is a stage that commonly disorganizes the set up example of understandings and interests involving the adoption of another paradigm (Dewar & Dutton, 1986). Secondly, Dewar and Dutton (1986) stated that incremental change speaks to an augmentation of a business as usual, for this situation, modifications or refinements in current practices. This research context represents a shift between the old and the new way of thinking, especially on a micro-level. This can be deciphered as a radical change, yet it is still executed in the organization through an incremental approach to avoid separating the workplace. Furthermore, Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) mentioned in their study that organizations that open their practices to societal impacts are probably going to experience consistent incremental change that does not undermine their legitimacy but maintains it. Moreover, this guarantees that insiders' practices are in line with the societal standards.

If incremental changes occur, they have to be carried out with the involvement of different sorts of actors. As a result, this research asks for a multi-actor approach which takes into account the multiple perspectives of actors of different layers in an organization. In this case, the actors can consist of neighborhood coaches, neighborhood team managers, project leaders, policy makers, and directors. As a conclusion, managing various actors could prompt an extensive variety of contradictions and tensions talked about further in the following subchapter.

2.3 Contradictions and tensions

Institutional change can be defined through contradictions and tensions, where “contradictions are bipolar opposites that are mutually exclusive and interdependent” (Putman, Fairhurst & Banghart, 2016). To gain more insight in the contradictions and their corresponding tensions, Seo and Creed (2002) introduced a dialectical framework which adds to the existing literature by utilizing institutional change as a result of the dynamic cooperation between institutional contradictions and human praxis. Seo and Creed (2002) divided institutional contradictions into four categories. Starting with the legitimacy that undermines a firm’s functional inefficiency. Secondly, the adaption that undermines adaptability. Thirdly, interinstitutional incompatibilities created by an intra-institutional conformity. Ending with misaligned interest as the collective name for isomorphism that conflicts with divergent interests. These four types of institutional contradictions could originate one or more tensions concerning the social and institutional courses of action. These courses of action can lead to one or more tensions, because they are regularly deeply institutionalized. These tensions can occur in the form of controversies. Von Raesfeld and Van der Helm (2017) define controversies as a debate about a moment including solid feelings. This involves situations in which actors of different or the same management layers disagree about certain subjects during a business meeting or other activities. Therefore, a firm needs potential change agents to mitigate or resolve these tensions. If change agents recognize a certain tension, they can act against the tension by reaching stages of praxis. By doing this, these tensions can be mitigated and eventually trigger institutional change within the working environment in which all actors feel satisfied.

2.4 Praxis

After elaborating the institutional contradictions, this subchapter illustrates several conceptually important relationships among particular components of praxis. These particular components are actions that actors exhibit to mitigate and resolve tensions. Seo and Creed (2002) mentioned four stages of praxis. The first stage of a praxis consists of affecting who will arise as change agents. In this stage, an actor is chosen to lead the process of change. In the second stage, the change agent has created a reflective shift of consciousness that allows disengaging from past patterns of behavior and social reproduction. Third, once a group of actors reached a critical understanding of both the limits and potentials of the arrangements, the change agent can begin mobilizing other actors for the creation of new social structures. The fourth stage of a praxis can be reached when actors perform a collective action to change. In practice, the analysis of used research methods will point out which stage of a praxis has been reached during the observation period. Furthermore, as current literature about contradictions, tensions, and actions to reach a praxis is mostly conducted from a conceptual or institutional perspective, the next subchapter elaborates on the micro perspective.

2.5 Institutional change from a micro perspective

Tensions that arise from contradictions can be mitigated by change agents by reaching several stages of praxis. Still, some fundamental insights in the organization theory about the examination of organizational activities from a micro-perspective are still missing. An extensive view of this missing section can be achieved by taking a look into previously written literature. First, the study of Barley (2008) focused on the micro foundations of institutions. Dorado (2005) and Gray et al. (2015) complement the findings of this research by adding new variables consisting of the sort of agency and the bottom-up perspective. While the sort of agency could influence the actor's natural attitude, certain change activities could also be accomplished by actors through numerous layers of the association. In this case, a top-down movement includes an idea initiated by the management and brought down through the work floor. On the other hand, a bottom-up movement includes situations where employees on the work floor are aware of ideas and already experienced a reflective shift of consciousness before proposing it to the management. To add even more to the micro-perspective approach, Compagni, Mele and Ravasi (2015) linked institutionalized approaches with practice based approaches. Moreover, ordinary exercises of experts attempting to finish their work can trigger institutional change endeavors (Smets et al., 2012). However, this practice approach is in inconsistency with the presumption that most of the time, institutional change is started by the attempts of higher management and other essential performing actors. Furthermore, some studies performed through a micro-perspective encounter an absence of associations between nearby stages of praxis and their comparing progression inside an organization and how these new strategies eventually get standardized. Nonetheless, in order to mitigate tensions arising from contradictions, institutional change needs sufficient thinking about the multiple actors trying to pursue institutional change.

To reach the desired institutional change and hereby implement stages of praxis throughout a complete organization, Smets et al. (2012) highlighted the methods to encourage the shift from the old to the new way of thinking. If change agents introduce certain stages of praxis, it could occur that actors within an organization do not even notice the praxis because it already vanished. In this way, not a single actor embraces the new way of thinking and the tension remains. These somewhat unnoted endeavors are more averse to raise resistance of refusal among the actors included (Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015). An organization needs encouragement from the outside to mitigate the chance of an organization becoming institutionalized. In conclusion, when keeping previous study in mind, one can define two tendencies. First, studies about institutional change progressively accentuate characteristics that influence praxis and organizational actions at macro- and micro level. Secondly, the rising attention and new research opportunities in this field of research affect the integration between institutional analysis and micro-level perspectives (Smets et al., 2012; Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015).

This study is focused on the institutional contradictions and stages of praxis change agents of neighborhood team east reach to mitigate or resolve the tensions that occur by contradictions. Continuously, figure 1 presents the process of mitigating tensions by reaching a certain stage of praxis to eventually achieve institutional change. This figure comprises the fundamental pieces of this research in one model. The components of this figure are observed from a micro-perspective.

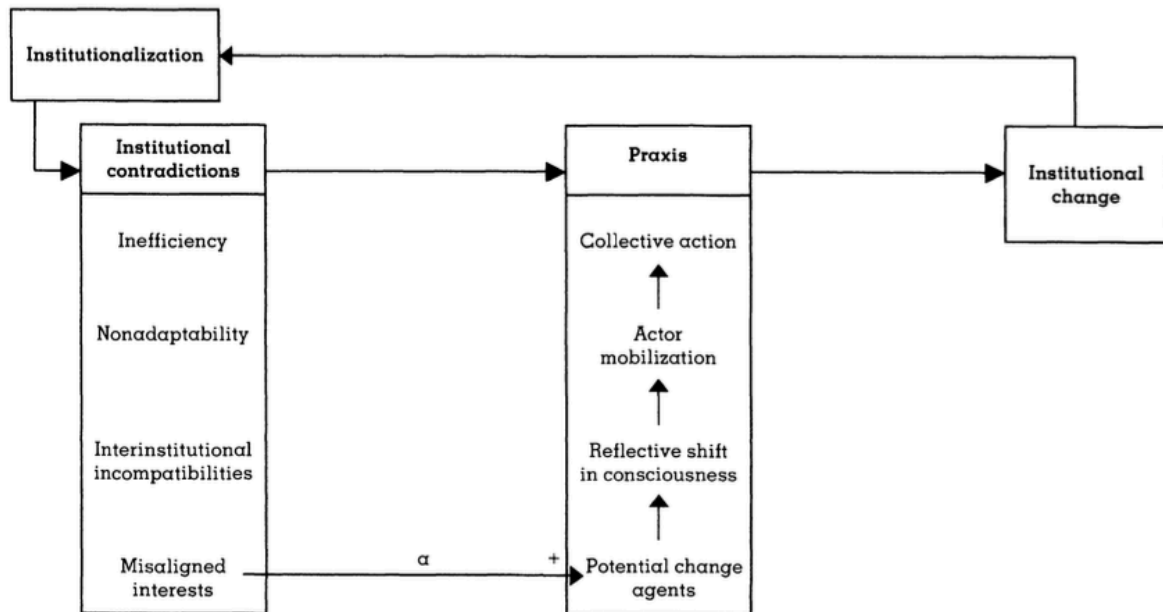


Figure 1: *Conceptual model (Seo & Creed, 2002)*

To conclude this literature review, serious research has been done about the connections between contradictions and how they are solved through an institutional and conceptual perspective, but not from a micro-perspective. This gap in the literature generated the idea to study the actions of change agents during working activities by performing and analyzing micro observations in an explorative way. Therefore, this exploratory research seeks to expand to the current understanding of institutional logics, institutional change, contradictions and tensions, and the stages of praxis from a micro-perspective.

3. Methodology

This research is explorative in nature, meaning the researcher systematically collects and analyzes data with the intention to explore new relationships (Mays & Pope, 2000). It examines not only the relation between the tensions and contradictions that institutional changes entail, but also the actions and solutions actors put in to reduce the tensions. Thus, this thesis draws on a case study to examine the responses of change agents to mitigate the institutional tensions and contradictions. The context of this case study is formed within the neighborhood team east in Enschede. Moreover, the municipality of Enschede and the neighborhood teams share a vision to transform towards a more inclusive society while experiencing the need for a shift in paradigms from exclusion to inclusion that fits the change that the transition wants to achieve. Currently, there is an initiative active in the municipality of Enschede, named 'Expedition Enschede'. The aim of this initiative is to contribute to the realization of a transformation in the social area by uniting distinctive gatherings of individuals so they can collaborate in a sustainable way inside numerous domains. This general change is of such size that it could be deciphered as a social development that includes diverse actors. Therefore, several meetings are organized every week to assess and evaluate the progress. Parties or actors that are involved are expedition leaders, neighborhood coaches, neighborhood team managers, policy makers, directors, transformation coaches and the municipality of Enschede. To elaborate on the organization, the Expedition Enschede is divided into several districts with each having their neighborhood team and -coaches. This study concentrates on the east district only. Moreover, each district can be viewed as an intricate network of different neighborhood teams, which exists of the expedition and their learning networks. There are numerous actors active inside the neighborhood team east, so it is of big importance to get a clear view of the complicated characteristics of each part of the neighborhood team east by utilizing suitable research strategies.

3.1 Data collection

The purpose of this study is to pick up knowledge in currently happening institutional contradictions and their corresponding tensions. Furthermore, the actions actors use to mitigate these tensions are observed and analyzed. In order to choose the correct research techniques for directing this research and gathering useful data, the research procedure must be determined. To examine the institutional change process that the neighborhood team east endeavors, the researcher observed the actors with the use of specific observations during business meetings and semi-structured interviews. This typology of research examines how the process of institutional change develops over time by narrating real-time emergent actions and activities by which collective endeavors unfolds. The choice of a particular process typology depends on how the researcher is focused on a specific case. According to Van de Ven and Poole (2005), the researcher may hold a real-time process or a retrospective process focus. Furthermore, exploratory research is less associated with terms like reliability and validity than quantitative research methods. In qualitative research, one should speak in terms of credibility and transferability when assessing various aspects of trustworthiness (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). At first, credibility refers to how well data and processes of analysis address the intended focus. When assessing the credibility, questions arise concerning decisions about the focus of the study, selection of actors, context, and approach to gathering data. Subsequently, the selection of the appropriate methods for the collection of data and the amount of data are also important in establishing credibility (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Secondly, transferability refers to whether the research findings are

transferable to another context. The transferability can later be enhanced by a strong display of the appropriate quotes together with the findings.

3.1.1 Method typology

In this research setting multiple data collection methods are used. Analysis of process data requires methods that can identify and test temporal linkages between events and patterns, and that can cope with the multiple time scales that frequently occur in the process (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005). Therefore, the researcher decided to attend business meetings and perform semi-structured interviews derived from the earlier examined business meetings. Every business meeting consisted of different participating actors while the semi-structured interviews took place after all meetings were analyzed. It differs per case if it is focused on a real-time or retrospective approach. In the study of micro processes in institutional change, Lok and De Rond (2013), used ethnographic observations. This study is quite similar to that study because they focused on individuals over a particular period of time and studied their interactions, experiences, and anticipations in a changing institution.

3.1.2 Data collection method and operationalization

In order to determine how different actors responded to the institutional tensions and contradictions and how they mitigated them, the researcher ran along with a transformation leader who also functions as a neighborhood coach, attended to series of business meetings and performed semi-structured interviews. In addition, to create a reliable questionnaire, the general impression and output of the meetings delivered the input for the interviews. In short, the data arose from analyzing business meetings and performing semi-structured interviews. During these meetings and interviews, the researcher immediately classified the recognized tension in one of the four institutional contradictions (Appendix I). The researcher followed the four types of institutional contradictions mentioned by Seo and Creed (2002), explained in chapter 2. Every meeting delivered tensions and contradictions which could be classified as a matter of inefficiency, nonadaptability, interinstitutional incompatibilities, misaligned interests or a combination of these. Recording each session and writing down the minute that corresponds to the noticed tension, allowed the researcher to replay the meeting and jump over the concerning minute. Simultaneously, researcher was able to determine the intensity of the tension by giving each tension 'stars' ranging from one till five. This particular way of data collection is not commonly used, but proved to be useful and time-saving in this research. Furthermore, it could be used in comparable future research.

3.1.2.1 Operationalization of attending the business meetings

The researcher carefully chose the business meetings in consultation with the expedition leader to prevent the researcher from attending meetings that would not give useful data. Every meeting contained a minimum of three different actors to ensure a multi-actor perspective. Moreover, this perspective highlighted the daily affairs at different levels and gave clear insights in the process of transformation of logics. As a result, more actors involved more observations and tensions became more agitated. The analysis of business meetings did not only contribute to a better understanding of the contradictions and their corresponding tensions during this transformation process but also provided certain differences between multiple key actors in various management levels. It seemed

legit to assume that there are differences between the different actors within neighborhood team east.

The units of analysis in this part were all actor groups attending the meetings, mainly consisting of expedition leaders, neighborhood coaches, neighborhood team managers and transformation coaches. In addition, figure 1 gives an overview of how the organization is structured. During the meetings, the researcher adhered to an ethnographic strategy to examine and understand the tensions and contradictions while staying at a low profile. This strategy of analyzing should have given the active actors during a meeting the intention that nobody is observing them, so they could speak freely. The observations made during these meetings helped to link actions and actors, and ensured the researcher in composing the adequate semi-structured interviews.

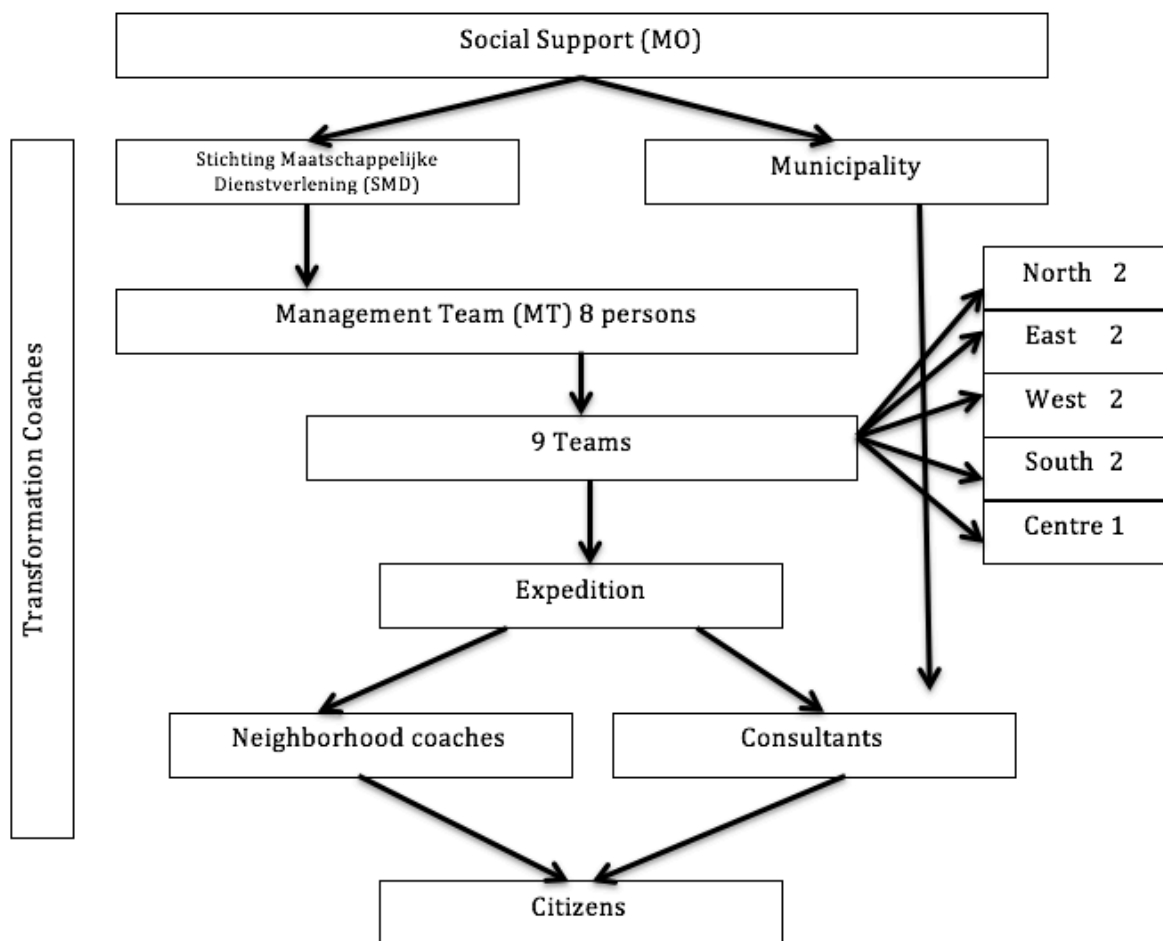


Figure 2: *Organogram*

3.1.2.2 Operationalization of performing semi-structured interviews

After an observation period, the follow-up interviews with actors took place. Qualitative research processes have an iterative nature in which preliminary data analysis coincides with data collection often results in altering questions as the investigators learn more about the subject (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). The most commonly used interviewing style for qualitative research is the semi-structured in-depth interview. It can either appear in a group or with an individual (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). During this study, interviews only took place with individuals. This style of interviewing gives the interviewer the chance to ask deeper into an open question creating more specific data. Crabtree and Miller (1999) distinguished the forms of qualitative interviews in three categories consisting of structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews. In this paper, the focus lies on semi-structured interviews in order to gain useful qualitative data. In contrary to semi-structured interviews, structured interviews often provide no depth in information by answering only the predetermined questions. During the process of observation, the researcher has already identified one or more key informants to interview. Two informants, consisting of a neighborhood coach and an expedition leader, were chosen during the observation part of the research and according to Poggie (1972), these actors could be chosen for their insight and part in a setting and their eagerness and capacity to fill in as instructors, translators, guides and additionally reporters for the researcher. All key actors play an important role in the extensive network of the neighborhood team east and they looked at it from different perspectives. During this interview process, the researcher observed the participant and his behavior (Agar, 1980), so the observation part also returned in this section of the research.

In this setting, the focus was on the transformation within neighborhood team east and the tensions the interviewees experience. Questions were related to the actors within these changes and how they coped with it. Moreover, these semi-structured interviews gave the researcher knowledge about the tensions and contradictions that occur in the working atmosphere during meetings and in the workplace. The first actor, a semi-structured interview is performed on, was an employee who works as a neighborhood coach at the neighborhood team east, but could not adapt to the new ways of thinking and the switching activities change agents are working on. The second actor is an expedition leader/neighborhood coach who guided the researcher throughout the research. This actor was present at every meeting the researcher attended. As a result, the semi-structured open interview was performed, because the direction and general concepts were clear for both the parties.

3.1.2.3 Operationalization contradictions and stages of praxis

The literature review in chapter two already elaborated on the four types of contradictions mentioned by Seo and Creed (2002). As this research aimed to find out how change agents mitigate the tensions corresponding to these contradictions, this subchapter elaborates on the stage of praxis a change agent can reach to eventually trigger institutional change. Seo and Creed (2002) distinguished four stage of praxis consisting of potential change agents, a reflective shift in consciousness, actor mobilization and collective action. These stage are explained in table 1.

Table 1: Stages of praxis

STAGE OF PRAXIS	DESCRIPTION	TYPICAL QUESTIONS
Potential change agents	People that stimulate the transformation by enforcing new ways of thinking	Who are the change agents in neighborhood team east? Which role do change agents fulfill in neighborhood team east?
A reflective shift in consciousness	If actors reached the stage of discussing about the matter by giving their opinion, a shift of consciousness is achieved because they reacted on the actions of change agents about the new way of thinking	In what way do change agents affect actors to adopt the new logic? To what extent are actors able to adopt the new logic?
Actor mobilization	Occurs when other actors reach a collective understanding about the new way of thinking	How does this express itself in the working environment? To what extent are other actors convinced?
Collective action	Implies that multiple actors are willing to accept a new logic and contribute to the desired institutional change	What is the result of the observed collective action? Which mechanisms are used to achieve the observed collective action?

3.1.2.4 Overview data collection moments

The previous subchapters show the two methods of data collection. Next, table 2 shows an overview of all data collection moments with their corresponding location and time and the actors who were involved during the concerning meeting. As mentioned earlier, each business meeting consisted of at least three actors, while the interviews were held face to face with one interviewer and interviewee.

Table 2: Overview data collection moments

DATA COLLECTION MOMENT	ACTORS INVOLVED	LOCATION	TIME
Business meeting 1	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Expedition leader 2 Transformation coach 1 Neighborhood resident	Servicecentrum Oost	66 min.
Business meeting 2	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Expedition leader 2 Neighborhood team manager 1 Neighborhood team manager 2 Director SMD – E-H Projectmanager	Stichting Maatschappelijke Dienstverlening Enschede-Haaksbergen (SMD – E-H)	61 min.
Business meeting 3	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Expedition leader 2 +/- 30 employees Stads Kantoor Enschede	Stadskantoor Enschede	29 min.
Business meeting 4	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Expedition leader 2 Neighborhood resident Projectmanager	Schenkerij Watz	111 min.
Business meeting 5	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Neighborhood team manager 1 Neighborhood team manager 2	SMD – E-H	39 min.
Business meeting 6	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Neighborhood team manager 1 Transformation coach 2	SMD – E-H	32 min.
Business meeting 7	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Expedition leader 2 Neighborhood team manager 1 Neighborhood team manager 2 Transformation coach 1	SMD – E-H	52 min.
Business meeting 8	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Expedition leader 2 Transformation coach 1 Four other neighborhood coaches from the neighborhood teams Enschede	Speeltuin 't Stadsveld	56 min.
Business meeting 9	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Expedition leader 2 Neighborhood team manager 1 Neighborhood team manager 2	Servicecentrum Oost	46 min.
Business meeting 10	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Neighborhood team manager 1 Transformation coach 2	Servicecentrum Oost	55 min.
Business meeting 11	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1 Expedition leader 2 Transformation coach 1 Neighborhood team manager 1 Neighborhood resident	Servicecentrum West	128 min.
Interview 1	Neighborhood coach	Servicecentrum Oost	37 min.
Interview 2	Expedition leader / neighborhood coach 1	Servicecentrum Oost	48 min.

3.2 Data analysis

After conducting the actual research, including the business meetings as well as the semi-structured interviews, the results had to be analyzed. During each business meeting, the researcher used a scheme to recognize the tensions and contradictions. As mentioned earlier, the four types of institutional contradictions stated by Seo & Creed (2002) formed the basis of the analysis. Furthermore, the spoken language during every meeting was Dutch and the actors agreed on recording every meeting. This made it possible for the researcher to write down the minute corresponding with the recognized contradiction. Moreover, the researcher was able to replay the whole meeting. However, only the parts that were eventually used to describe the results are translated into English. These parts come back in the results chapter in the form of quotes, referring to a sentence spoken by an actor during the business meetings or semi-structured interviews.

The setting consisted of several actors in the neighborhood team east with each having different perspectives on the transformations. This study predicts in the preliminary analysis by getting significant data through the execution of multiple observations in order to conduct the interviews. This iterative procedure of gathering and analyzing data in the end led the researcher to the point in data collection where no new dimensions of tensions developed. This meant that the collection of data was finished, or in other words, the research had reached saturation (Kuzel, 1999). Along these lines, the researcher examined as much valuable meetings as he could attend but stopped the data gathering when he thought the examination reached saturation. Moreover, the researcher produced an exhaustive comprehension of recognizing the four institutional contradictions designed by Seo and Creed (2002) while explaining the different parts of the main research question.

Therefore, the data analysis provided insights into the reactions and solutions to observed tensions and contradictions of the examined actors in the neighborhood team east. The researcher examined what the most important contradictions and tensions are. The data analysis of the observations and interviews had the purpose of mapping the multiple institutional contradictions and developing a better understanding into this field of research.

3.3 Implications

Because of the expanded contact with a specific participant what could have made the researcher thoughtful to their perspectives and issues, the researcher needed to keep the research question in mind while avoiding uncritical acknowledgment of a solitary perspective of the association (McDonald, 2005). To balance this plausibility of dishonesty the researcher needed to keep a specific distance between the participants. Subsequently, semi-structured interviews additionally needed to manage certain implications. DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) divided these implications into two sorts of issues, namely ethical and technical issues.

Firstly, ethical issues can mostly be related to the prosperity of the interviewees. The prosperity consists of the researcher's responsibility regarding the diminishing of unforeseen danger, giving interviewees quick but clear information about the nature of the research, preparing the interviewee's data legitimately, and decreasing the danger of misuse. According to Anderson (1991), it is vital to fabricate a technique for recognizing the contributions into the research plan in order to repay the

interviewees in different ways for their efforts. With a specific end goal to conduct a suitable research, the researcher has to take all actors' interests in mind and deliberately continue during the execution of the interviews.

Secondly, technical issues consisted of the process of recording the interviews. According to Kvale (1996) this can be done by using an audio recorder, video recorder or by taking notes. In this research, the researcher used an audio recorder. Transcribing the data could cause challenges in light of sentence structure, utilization of quotes and mixing up words or sentences. Also, the transcribing software, used to help with the examination, could analyze data in a different way than the researcher could do with quantitative data and their statistical data software. As a conclusion, a researcher's expertise, experience and discipline stay of big importance in conducting qualitative research.

4. Results

This chapter highlights the results of the research described in the methodology chapter. These results should help the researcher in answering the research question mentioned in chapter two. Moreover, this chapter will give the output of all the analyzed data gathered during the business meetings and semi-structured interviews. The research is divided into two phases. Phase 1 shows one example of every institutional contradiction during the analyzed business meetings, while phase 2 shows examples of contradictions noticed during the semi-structured interviews. These two phases are combined and all the tensions are classified into dimensions. At last, a correspondence analysis gives an overview of all the institutional contradictions noticed during both the meetings and interviews.

4.1 Phase 1: Business meetings

Phase 1 of the data collection period consists of the analysis of business meetings. Seo and Creed (2002) already mentioned researchers will find out that many recognized tensions and contradictions can be classified into multiple institutional contradictions simultaneously, but in this research, the best suitable classification was chosen for each example of an observed contradiction. The results of this phase are composed by using quotes from eleven attended business meetings. After analyzing nine business meetings, the researcher recognized recurrent themes. However, the researcher attended two more meetings to validate the analysis. Practice shows that one does not always come up with a solution to a certain tension or contradictions.

4.1.1. Inefficiency

Within the Expedition, a certain degree of inefficiency occurs by planning too many business meetings to discuss the matters and actions for taken, while this time could also be used for actual actions. A transformation manager remarks that she knows that the current results are not the highest attainable. Moreover, it happens that one not always shows up at every meeting. Meaning that one could also not be aware of every discussed development. Expedition leaders state the following during an evaluation meeting:

"I do not plan to inform the people who do not show up at the evaluation meetings. If one does not attend multiple meetings, one can have the feeling that all ongoing projects are at a low profile. Within

the core group meetings, we exchange information and tell each other what is going on in the Expedition.”

“One does not share all the matters that are agreed on and the cases that are running, this makes it difficult to hook up if you are not able to attend a meeting at some point.”

The quotes above show that the different actors are not efficiently processing the currently running cases. During a meeting, a transformation manager reacts with the following solution:

“Idea! Why don’t we ask a student to build a simple and flat website, where one can see the map of Enschede with dots at every point a case is running. This point immediately contains the corresponding contact within the neighborhood team and gives a plain view for neighborhood coaches and every other actor involved. Through this solution, we immediately show a 3D accountability model for the municipality of Enschede.”

The second contradicting matter concerning the cases is the inefficiency in the number of cases being closed. A neighborhood team manager mentioned the following about the caseload:

“Because the neighborhood coaches have a higher caseload, they feel very busy. This causes a situation that coaches do not close cases and it gives the coaches the feeling the amount of work keeps on growing. People don’t feel by definition the common pressure of handling the cases.”

The same neighborhood team manager suggests the following solution:

“At this moment, the structure within the organization is not set up to close cases. The Expedition should implement some sort of reward system for the closing of cases. Not too much, because in that case, everyone would close cases too fast, but just to motivate the team to close cases more often.”

The researcher did not find out if the solution has been implemented, meaning no praxis has been reached yet.

4.1.2. Nonadaptability

The business meetings showed the researcher that people want to adapt to the new logics and implementation of new ways of thinking, but are often not able to adapt. A transformation coach highlighted this by stating:

“At the moment, there are many ideas and powers. People who say that they want to collaborate, see something in the new possibilities and want to contribute their part, but they are also seeking ways for how, where and with who.”

The quote above shows us that the actors are willing to collaborate and transform, but they do not always see the leads and points of connection. Actors repeatedly referred to these points as ‘hooks’ an expedition leader needs to anticipate to. Expedition leaders remarked that:

"I am always aware that the hooks are there at the expedition, but we often insufficiently visualize these hooks. I do not always see the hooks myself, but when I hear someone else describing one I immediately recognize a hook. That is a part of my job where is still space to learn."

In another meeting, a neighborhood team manager strengthens this matter by describing that:

"An organization needs people with courage and daring, who are willing to step into the unknown to work on change."

The researcher recognized a reflective shift in consciousness when the project manager stated:

"If we are able to adapt and combine these hooks and also compare the differences between the neighborhood teams east and west, we should be able to translate many of these hooks to concrete actions."

To show other actors within the neighborhood team east that things can be handled differently, the change agents need to show how it do needs to be done. A transformation coach remarks this by saying:

"The more we just not do everything, the less we can show that it can really be done differently".

During the meetings, no clear solution was given for this example of nonadaptability. However, the actors agreed upon each other that the change process is a long-term process and people do not change from day to day.

4.1.3. Interinstitutional incompatibilities

There is a constant pressure from the Municipality of Enschede to the neighborhood team east, because of the amount of money the municipality invested. Therefore, the actors in neighborhood team east need to show results in a certain time frame. Moreover, they need to show what has been accomplished with the funding provided by the municipality. However, it appears that the municipality stops the development in such a way that initiatives can not be executed properly. An example is the development of care farms. The neighborhood team manager indicates that the municipality often not agrees on the plans and solutions that arise within the neighborhood team. The municipality disagrees about funding the care farms as they are too expensive for them.

"Care farm Ensink is too expensive because they have way too many costs and need more subsidy every year. The transport costs of the children from their homes to the farm are way too high."

"We should get around the table with all the parents of the children who go to the care farm and show them the rising expenses from 2015 to 2016, so they see that this no longer works. We should let them think and speak about what they think they need and what are other obvious possibilities."

An expedition leader reacts by adding that:

"We can wait until the municipality will take action, but we can also take initiative ourselves and have a critical look at what we can arrange in this neighborhood by ourselves to reach a more inclusive neighborhood."

A few meetings later, this topic came to the table again and a different actor came up with the following suitable solution to this problem mentioned above:

"We can clearly provide the municipality of Enschede financial numbers in which we can arrange a cutback the municipality desperately asks for."

"We should stop working with care farm Ensink and expand the care farm 't Wooldrik in 'Oost-binnen' by adding a few cows and horses. We arrange a few volunteers, a retired farmer and assign one neighborhood coach who turns his attention solely to the management of the care farm. In this way, we are in the neighborhood, meaning we can cut enormously in transport costs. If we can get it done to stop with care farm Ensink and use only half of the money to refurbish the care farm in our neighborhood. Then you can take steps! This is exactly what the municipality wants!"

The transformation coach hereby gives a clear solution for the problem of the care farms while simultaneously cutting the costs and give the municipality of Enschede a result that they are asking for. However, the neighborhood team manager wants to add that:

In practice, you often don't get the money, because even half of the currently invested money is too much for the municipality. It should not cost anything at all. The municipality is mostly a financially managed organization. We will find out if the municipality agrees."

The duration of the research was too small to figure out whether this plan is really executed and the desired praxis is reached. However, the group of actors reached a critical understanding of the limits and potentials of the present institutional arrangements. Subsequently, the actors reach the stage of mobilizing other actors to convince them and eventually come to collective action.

4.1.4. Misaligned interests

When the interests of the organization are misaligned, the ideas and interests of the actors are not adequately served by the existing social arrangements. A transformation manager mentioned during a meeting that not every employee within the neighborhood team east is working according to the same interests.

"The Expedition Enschede stays too much in the old ways of thinking. We think of closing cases, so we still think of ourselves in a role as an assistant. That is the wrong way of handling a case."

In some cases, potential change agents become conscious of the institutional conditions that leave their needs unmet and take action to change the order (Seo & Creed, 2002)

"We have to go into the neighborhood, start conversations with people in the neighborhood and build a relationship with these people."

The neighborhood team manager acknowledges by giving an example of the work floor.

“It really disappointed me that at one time, when the computers did not work for a moment, people immediately started to say that they could not do their work anymore. If this is the case, you do not know the purpose of our work. Your work is the support of people in the neighborhood.”

An example of a solution was given by the transformation manager stated in the following quote:

“Maybe we should look at this situation from a different perspective. What if we dress up like a homeless person, unrecognizable in front of the Albert Heijn, and sell the homeless newspaper? Take a look at who you are talking to and what kind of stories they have. Just do something different from what you always do and go out of your comfort zone!”

These examples show the importance of the active participation in the neighborhood in on the one hand building relationships with the people in the neighborhood and on the other hand the implementation of the new ways of thinking within the organization. In this case, the researcher observed a reflective shift in consciousness, while the transformation manager is really trying to mobilize the other actors attending the meeting. Unfortunately, the duration of this research did not allow the researcher to follow the result of the given solution.

4.2 Phase 2: Semi-structured interviews

Phase 2 of the data analysis consists of conducting semi-structured interviews with two employees within the neighborhood team east. Phase 1 already gave the researcher an idea of the tensions that were going on. Subsequently, the semi-structured interviews had a different style of analysis. Meaning the researcher could go deeper into a question by asking follow-up questions. Moreover, by having a direct conversation with the interviewee, the researcher was able to ask for obvious examples for each of the institutional contradictions. For this reason, more than one example has been elaborated per contradiction. The complete elaboration of both interviews is presented in Appendix II.

4.2.1. Inefficiency

The conducted interviews gave the interviewer the chance to ask for explicit examples of inefficiency within the neighborhood team east. By asking follow-up questions, the interviewer could also observe what solution the interviewee gave for the mentioned example of inefficiency. One of these examples is the inefficient use of professionals which are deployed for discussing a case. The case concerned a mother and her premature baby who needed a breast flask. The following quotes show exactly how inefficient the organization proceeded.

“A breast flask only costs around 150 Euro, but for this cost item, managers decided to plan a meeting in which they could discuss the matter. The meeting took 5,5 hours to eventually decide that the breast flask could be given to the mother.”

“The problem is that all these professionals need to be paid. The amount of time put in this case made sure that discussion of providing the breast flask was a higher cost item than the flask itself.”

The example shown above clearly displays the inefficiency of handling a simple case. Thereafter, the interviewee made a suggestion that there should be a clear regulation of whether or not to provide mothers from breasts flasks. This would save the organization time and money.

Another clear example of inefficiency is the amount of time the neighborhood team has to put into meetings. Too many projects run at the same time and that makes it difficult to make good progress on a single project. The following quote indicates this inefficiency.

“We spend too much time in convincing other people and the municipality of Enschede that we are making progress. As a result, there is only little time left to work on the transformation and to go into the neighborhood. If we would only have our caseload, work would be much more clear. Too many meetings are being planned around our daily operations.”

The other interview showed the researcher that inefficiency in daily operations can also be a combination of the nature of the employee and the number of new cases that run simultaneously. The interviewee expresses this by remarking:

“I am a security seeker. At some point, I get used to certain structures. However, there are so many projects running simultaneously, that I sometimes lose the overview. This is at the expense of the importance of a single project.”

The interviewee indicates the assumption that not every employee is open to new ways of thinking. Some people are just satisfied with the current way of working and will not easily cooperate in the transformation. From this example, one can be taught that there is not always a solution to a contradiction.

4.2.2. Nonadaptability

The contradiction nonadaptability also came forward while conducting interviews. The possibility of choosing the new logic over the dominant ‘old’ logic can dramatically decline because of this contradiction. During one interview, the interviewee expressed that he misses his motivation to move over to the new ways of thinking because the uncertainty of succeeding is too existent.

“For me, it has to be proven that a new way of approaching something actually works. Before that, I would never be the first to adapt to new ways of thinking.”

For most people, the standard daily operations are embedded in their working activities. However, the interviewee remarks that this is not the case. This situation made the interviewee come to the following statement:

"I only work here since September 2016, so the basic principles are still relatively new. If a transformation coach or change agent wants me to add activities to my current ones, I am afraid to lose the overview."

"I want to control the primary tasks first before I can make the next step. It is in my nature to strive for the best results. If I have the idea that I can execute the primary tasks properly, I will be open to adapt to new projects and transform to the new way of thinking the expedition pursues."

The interviewee declared that there is no real solution for the nonadaptability of employees to new logics. It is a process that takes a few years to develop and succeed. Moreover, an interviewee said:

"The adaption to the new ways of thinking is a process that takes years. I have experienced that, as time progresses, a growing number of people slowly join in the transformation. If a transformation manager responds to an employee's interests and slowly triggers him to transform, he will eventually act according to the new logic while not being aware of their own transformation."

4.2.3. Interinstitutional incompatibilities

The interviews proved to be a valuable research method as the researcher is able to feedback to earlier contradictions noticed during the business meetings. For example, the issue around care farm Ensink was explained in chapter 4.1.3. The interview with an expedition leader gave new insights in the development of the care farm in the neighborhood revealing new incompatibilities between different institutions.

"The municipality of Enschede agrees upon the idea to stop with Ensink and refurbish the care farm in the neighborhood, but I serve as the 'carrier pigeon' to inform the neighborhood managers what the municipality said and the other way around."

"The executive managers in our organization should communicate with the municipality directly, without using me as an intermediary. Just tell the municipality how you want to execute the idea. We really cut ourselves in the fingers if we don't get this initiative off the ground."

These quotes demonstrate that the neighborhood and the municipality of Enschede are aiming towards collective action, but they are incompatible to apply the change in a reasonable time frame.

Another clear example is about the municipality writing formal letters for inhabitants that are too hard to understand. They have created a fancy manual for the employees at the municipality of Enschede on how to write formal letters. Research has shown that 85% of the inhabitants understand the letters they are receiving. However, the problem lies in the fact that the municipality does not involve other parties in the content of the letters.

"Hundreds of letters leave the municipality, but every department invents the content of the letter itself. There is no common thing in it. The municipality should actually involve inhabitants themselves to find out when an informal letter is understandable. Furthermore, if every letter leaves little space for a small box with easy language about the core of the proceeding, we could bring the percentage to 90 or 95%."

This example of an institutional contradiction actually reached the praxis. The municipality and the neighborhood team east came to an agreement to start creating the formal letters together. Thus, the whole procedure of potential change, a reflective shift in consciousness, actor mobilization and collective action has been followed.

4.2.4. Misaligned interests

The first misaligned interest can be described as a difference in vision between an employee and their management. This employee came from a different working situation. He was told to be too persistent and to change his way of working that he used to handle during his previous job. The employee disagreed by stating:

“The organization cannot expect me to throw away all the previously followed procedures in one go. I brought this way of working with me because it worked for me. It takes a lot of time to throw the old trusted habits overboard and apply the new way of working.”

The other interview complements this conflict by adding an example of the difference in mentality of employees who originally worked for the SMD and the other employees of the neighborhood team east. The interviewee mentioned that:

“The interests of the former SMD neighborhood coaches lie in doing only social work. They don’t like to go into the neighborhood and thereby hook up to the transformation vision. They would rather stay at the office. “

“Concerning the transformation vision, all actors agree on reaching an inclusive society. How is it possible to reach that if we don’t even know what is going on in the neighborhood? That is one of the conditions if one wants to transform.”

“We need to get out of the role of a caregiver and become supporters. In the context of new ways of thinking, one should not act like a professional, but let the people in the neighborhood feel equal.”

This example shows that the interests of different actors are not always in line. Furthermore, the interviews did not lead to a solution for this institutional contradiction. The interviewee gave her vision about how a neighborhood coach should approach inhabitants, but this did not lead to change.

4.3 Dimensions in contradictions and tensions

After distinguishing the results of the business meetings and the semi-structured interviews by giving one elaborated tension per contradiction, table 3 gives an overview of all the contradictions and corresponding tensions (Macdonald et al., 2011). Moreover, the table is aiming to show the intensity of a contradiction and its tensions. To give a better insight in the sorts of tensions, the first column shows the different dimensions. The second column shows how often a certain tension occurred during which observation. The third column gives illustrative quotations characteristic for the tension.

Table 3: Dimensions in contradictions and tensions

Contradictions and tensions (dimensions)	Data collection moment(s) M= meeting IN= interview	Illustrative quotation(s)
INEFFICIENCY		
Working activities		
Too many business meetings	M1 IN2	"I don't feel the need to discuss three months about this matter" (M1) "The meeting took 5,5 hours to decide about a breast flask." (IN2)
Attendance at meetings	M1 M3 M6	"People do not always show up at evaluation meetings, if you are not there you can not also expect to know everything" (M1) "Why does almost every meeting has at least one unsubscribe?" (M3) "I do not plan to inform the people who do not show up at the evaluation meetings." (M6)
Information sharing	M1 M4	"We cannot look in each other's heads" (M1) "One does not share what has been discussed, so how could one hook up?" (M4)
Closing cases	M6 M7 IN1	"People don't feel by definition the common pressure of handling the cases." (M6) "We have to raise the urgency to finish running projects and set other activities on the side temporarily." (M7) "There are so many project running, that I sometime lose the overview." (IN1)
Uploading stories	M1 M4 M9 M10	"They don't listen. Only three stories were uploaded in March." (M4) "We have put a lot of energy in the tell points, but in stays a point of attention." (M9) "Uploading stories is part of the quality system within the expedition." (M10)
Organizational activities		
High costs care farm Ensink	M7 M9	"Care farm Ensink receives more subsidy ever year. They spend way too much money on it." (M7) "We have to get around the table and figure out how much money it costs and to what it was spend." (M9)
Insufficient results	M2 M7 M10 IN2	"We cannot show the municipality what we did with the money." (M2) "We have to give them more examples about our cost-reducing activities. "It could well be that the municipality pulls out the plug if we don't show sufficient results." (M10) "We spend too much time in convincing people and the municipality of Enschede that we make progress." (IN2)
Completing annual plan (A3)	M9 M10	"The A3 should function as our guideline, but it doesn't work that well." (M9) "The A3 is not even completed! It should be formulated 'SMART' and therefore we have to arrange more meetings." (M10)

NONADAPTABILITY		
Not able to adapt		
Dexterity of transformation	M1 M6 IN1	"There are many people who want to adapt, but they are searching for a way how" (M1) "Our colleague cannot make the step to go into the neighborhood." (M6) "I would never be the first to adapt to new ways of thinking." (IN1)
Recognizing leads	M2 M8	"I do not always see the hooks myself, but when I hear someone else describing one I immediately recognize a hook." (M2) "He doesn't have a diploma in psychology, so how could he even see that?" (M8)
Working with new technologies	M11	"We are talking about uploading things on YouTube, but it seems that no one knows how YouTube works." (M11) "I only use two of the 100 functions my mobile phone has, I'm totally not into technology" (M11)
Not wanting to adapt		
Uploading stories	M6 M11 IN1	"People think of their own consequences, that's why they often do not want to fill in the stories." (M6) "The people are not motivated to fill in the online stories" (M11) "If a transformation coach or change agent wants me to add activities to my current ones, I am afraid to lose the overview." (IN1)
Responding to annual plan (A3)	M4 M10	"How is it possible that only one of us responded to the A3?" (M4) "We don't do anything with the A3"
Attendance to movie	M9 M10 M11	"It was too easy to unsubscribe for the movie, while it should be social moment and a nice affair." (M9) "We now have 33 cancellations and 10 registrations from a total of 231 invitations." (W11)
INTERINSTITUTIONAL INCOMPATIBILITIES		
Municipality clashes		
Vs. neighborhood team	M1 M2 M4 M8 M10 IN2	"Social return can not be measured." (M1) "We are being flown back by the municipality every time we want to implement a new idea." (M2) The hierarchical management doesn't want to implement any of our suggestions." (M4) Good ideas are stuck by traversing too many organizations." (M8) "It could well be that the municipality pulls out the plug if we don't show sufficient results." (M10) "I serve as a 'carrier pigeon' to inform the neighborhood managers what both parties said." (IN2)
Vs. inhabitants	M3 M4 IN2	"Some people receive letters from the municipality, but they don't understand the content." (M3) "Introducing a box with easy language about the core of the proceeding would really help." (M4) "Hundreds of letters leave the municipality, but every department invents the content of the letter itself. They should involve inhabitants themselves to find out when a letter is understandable." (IN2).
Neighborhood team clashes		
Managers vs. coaches	M5 M6 M7	

East vs. west	M4 M9	<p>“We will let her reintegrate in the other team, because that’s better for her development.” (M6) “Are we capable enough to do the right things?” (M7)</p> <p>“You give your vision, but you don’t clearly indicate how to execute that concretely.” (M4)</p> <p>“For me, it looks like team west is only doing fun things” (M4) “The organization is team east is not a democracy.” (M9)</p>
Other		
Matter of legislation	M4	“The legislation froze the law regarding the participationcrashes.” (M4)
Contact with UWV	M5	“I have tried to get in contact with the UWV three times this week, but they don’t answer. Initiatives never come from the UWV” (M5)
<hr/> MISALIGNED INTERESTS		
Different mindset		
Daily operations	M2 M7 IN2	<p>“We have to go into the neighborhood, start conversations and build relationships!” (M2) “People have a wrong interpretation of being a caregiver. The vision needs to be clear, don’t assist but support.” (M7) “We are still too much in the old thinking. We need to get out of the role of a caregiver and become supporters.” (IN2)</p>
Employees	M6 M8 M10 IN1 IN2	<p>“They act and answer for their own safety.” (M6) “Do we see a person as a customer or as a man?” (M8)</p> <p>Often, employees don’t think long-term but too much at short notice.” (M10) “The organization cannot expect me to throw away all the previously followed procedures in one go.” (IN1) “The interests of the former SMD neighborhood coaches lie in doing only social work. They don’t like to go into the neighborhood and thereby hook up to the transformation vision.” (IN2)</p>
Transformation	M4 M7 M11	<p>“One should change their motivation and get rid of certain ideas.” (M4) “If you want stability, you have to build reciprocity.” (M7) “Do I also need to fill in those online stories besides all the work I’m currently doing?” (M11)</p>
Different understanding		
Terminology	M2 M9	<p>“If we use terms of transformation, some employees don’t even understand what we mean.” (M2) “Who actually pulls the car within the SKJ?” (M9)</p>
Reintegrating a person	M5	“Why do you want her in the other team while I guided her the past few months?” (M5)

Table 3 shows us that each contradiction has several tensions to divide into dimensions. Moreover, many tensions came back in multiple meetings or interviews, meaning the actors often discuss about the same topic. The most common tension is the clash between the municipality of Enschede and the neighborhood team. This tension was recognized during five business meetings and one semi-structured interview. However, there are four tensions that only occurred during one observation.

4.4 Mitigating tensions

This chapter elaborates on the recognized tensions by adding the intensity of the tension, the actors' actions to mitigate the tension (Table 4). Continuously, these actions allowed the researcher to indicate to what extent a praxis has been reached during the time of observation. The table below helped the researcher to get a better insight in how actors mitigated tensions in a short time frame.

Table 4: Intensity, actions to mitigate tensions, and stage of reached praxis

CONTRADICTION (SEO & CREED, 2002)	DESCRIPTION OF THE TENSION	INTEN SITY	ACTIONS TO MITIGATE TENSIONS	STAGE OF REACHED PRAXIS
Inefficiency	Too many business meetings	**		
	Attendance at meetings	****		
	Information sharing	*****	Create a website with all the current affairs	1
	Deployment of professionals	****		
	Closing cases	**	Implement reward system	
	High costs care farm Ensink	***	Expand care farm in the neighborhood	3
	Insufficient results	*****	Cost cutting projects	3
	Fellow worker visits the same address	*	Combine SMD and neighborhood team network	1
	Annual plan (A3) is not complete	**	Create SMART goals and plan a meeting once every three months	3
	Not uploading enough stories	***	Assign 1 employee for 9 hours a week to force others to fill in stories	3
Nonadaptability	Dexterity of transformation	***		
	Recognizing leads	**	Combine leads and compare differences	2

	Ability to change	*		
	Not uploading enough stories	***	Let every employee upload stories 1 hour a week	2
	Only 1 employee responded to the annual plan (A3)	**		
	E-mail and links disappear in the garbage can	**		
	Very few people attend to watch a movie about transformation	****	Make it obligatory	1
	Not able to work with new technologies	*	Simplify manuals	1
Interinstitutional Incompatibilities	Municipality versus neighborhood teams	*****	Show the municipality positive financial numbers	2
	Municipality versus inhabitants	****	Create formal letters together	4
	Neighborhood team managers versus neighborhood coaches	***	Get closer to each others ideas	1
	Neighborhood team east versus west	*	Arrange shared meetings Website current affairs	1
	Legislation stopped participation crashes	*	Search for alternatives	1
	Hard to get in contact with the UWV	*		
Misaligned interests	Wrong mind-set about daily operations	**	Ideas to get into the neighborhood more often	3
	Mind-set former SMD employees versus regular employees	**	Arrange a meeting to align these interests	3
	Employees that do not want to hear about transformation	***	Respond to their personal interests	2

Different understanding of terminology	*		
Dividing a reintegrating person in a team (mind-set team manager and neighborhood coach)	****	Give her responsibilities in a different team to boost her confidence while neighborhood coach keeps her under her wings	3
Employees act and answer for their own safety, not sincere	**	Interview them anonymously	2
Different understanding of core business	****	Raise the urgency of transformation	3

- 1 = Potential change agents
- 2 = Reflective shift of consciousness
- 3 = Actor mobilization
- 4 = Collective action

5. Conclusion

The responses of change agents of the neighborhood team east are analyzed using the four stages of praxis of Seo and Creed (2002). The researcher identified several dimensions within the noticed tensions. First, the institutional contradiction inefficiency was divided in two dimensions namely; tensions arising inside working activities and organizational activities. Second, nonadaptability distinguished tensions arising from situations wherein actors were not able to adapt or not wanted to adapt. Third, tensions concerning interinstitutional incompatibilities could be divided into municipality clashes, neighborhood team clashes and other clashes. At last, misaligned interests arose from tensions concerning a different mindset or a difference in understanding.

Not every tension noticed during the business meetings and semi-structured interview is followed by an action to mitigate this tension. During business meetings, actors sometimes ignored the tension while quickly skipping to a different subject. Subsequently, during the semi-structured interviews, the actor sometimes could not explain how to mitigate the concerning tension. Furthermore, despite the short time frame, some tensions are mitigated or solved during the observation period. In this case, the last stage of praxis has been reached, meaning the actors performed a collective action.

First, after combining the results of the business meetings and semi-structured interviews, one can state that most tensions arise from inefficiency matters. The actions to mitigate these inefficiency tensions mainly reached the third stage of praxis. Moreover, the change agent is trying to mobilize other actors to convince them of their solution to the tension. Second, tensions arising from nonadaptability matters did not go beyond the second stage of praxis meaning a reflective shift of consciousness was reached but no significant solution has been implemented. Thirdly, change agents succeeded to mitigate an interinstitutional incompatibility by arranging collective action between the municipality of Enschede and neighborhood team east. At last, change agents responded to tensions arising from misaligned interests by mobilizing other actors.

Many actors see the transformation as a project, but it is a continuing process. Subsequently, to mitigate the tensions within the neighborhood team east, change agents create an intervening logic, between the old and new logic, to get the transformation going.

6. Discussion

This article deployed a micro-perspective to resolve the contradictions and tensions arising within the neighborhood team east. Moreover, the purpose of this research was to contribute to the understanding of the praxis that change agents use in resolving tensions that are caused by contradictions from a micro-level institutional change perspective. Therefore, this chapter reflects the results of the qualitative research to the theoretical background of previous research.

The first and most used existing literature during this research is the paper of Seo and Creed (2002). They distinguished four types of institutional contradictions and four stages of praxis. Moreover, these contradictions and stages of praxis functioned as the guideline through this research while making observations from a micro perspective. As a result, this research complements the existing literature through the identification of individual solutions gathered in an explorative way.

This research has shown that actors with a relatively low function can implement a new way of thinking and thereby trigger a change on a large scale. The collective action to write formal letters for inhabitants is an example of an idea originating at micro-level which has been achieved at the whole municipality of Enschede. Moreover, this was already mentioned by Reay and Hinings (2009) by stating that micro-level actors can cause macro-level institutional change. However, they also explained that those micro-level actions will cost considerable time and energy investment to result in institutional change. This research complements their argument because most of the actions started to mitigate the tensions did not reach the stage of actor mobilization or collective action in the time frame of the researcher.

Some researchers have reaffirmed the ability of actors to escape from the power of institutions (DiMaggio, 1988; Rao, 1998; Beckert, 1999; Carney & Gedajlovic, 2002). However, this research context clearly denies previous research because every time a change agent wants to implement a change within the organization or working activities, they need an approval of the municipality of Enschede. This shows that actors within neighborhood team east cannot escape from the power of institutions. On the other hand, other researchers suggest that institutional change occurs because of accumulation over time of acting not necessarily directing to generate it (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Giddens, 1984). Battilana (2006) did research about under what conditions actors are enabled to act as institutional entrepreneurs to eventually trigger the institutional change. This study contributes to their study by adding qualitative research performed by one researcher attending business meetings and performing semi-structured interviews. Furthermore, the researcher gained insights in how change agents and other actors are able to mitigate the tensions immediately or during a small period of time. This is in line with the statement of Lounsbury (2002), as they described that the process of institutional change occurs in combination with introducing and providing the opportunity to accept or reject a new institutional logic in a certain environment.

The mobilization of actors to close care farm Ensink and start working with a care farm in the neighborhood can be seen as a radical change but executed in the organization in an incremental way. The radical change goes beyond augmenting the status quo, requiring a shift to fundamentally different practices (Dewar & Dutton, 1986). Moreover, by making the radical decision to quit investing in care farm Ensink, neighborhood team east tries to shift to a fundamentally different practice in the

neighborhood. Furthermore, this complements to the new way of thinking within the transformation Lounsbury described (2002).

Following the paper of Seo and Creed (2002), this research contributed by demonstrating the possibility of analyzing micro-level information using qualitative research methods. By attending business meetings and recognizing contradictions and corresponding tensions, the researcher was able to assign tensions to institutional contradictions already mentioned by Seo and Creed (2002). Furthermore, this research contributed to their research by also recognizing if an actor immediately acts to mitigate the tension or if it takes time to mitigate and eventually resolve the tension. Continuously, Seo and Creed mentioned there are four stages of praxis to reach in order to achieve a form of institutional change. The results of this research showed that every action to mitigate a tension reached different stages of praxis. To refer to the previous example of care farm Ensink, this idea was initiated by a manager who manages the neighborhood coaches. This is in line with the statement of Dorado (2005), explaining that the nature of the agency can affect the reaction of the actors involved. Moreover, certain change initiatives could be attained by employees through multiple layers of the organization such as management or potential change agents on the work floor who already passed through a reflective shift of consciousness (Dorado, 2005).

Reay and Hinings (2009) suggest that institutional change, in this case the transformation, may occur when actors develop mechanisms of collaboration that support the co-existence of competing logics. This research complements their argument by referring to the example of the misaligned interests between former SMD employees and other employees of the neighborhood team east. In this case, there is a clear co-existence of competing logics as the former SMD employees want to stick to the old logic of doing social work only, while the new logic supports the employees to go into the neighborhood and hook up to the transformation vision.

To conclude the discussion, the researcher expected that more tensions would have been solved during the observation period. Only one tension was completely mitigated by reaching stage four of praxis. Furthermore, the researcher did not expect that it would be so difficult to implement a change. Every possibility to change must be approved by the municipality of Enschede before it can be implemented. On the other hand, the researcher's choice of research methods turned out to be successful. Moreover, combining the research methods with the research of Seo and Creed (2002) yielded a fortunate partnership. Therefore, this study has provided important micro-perspective insights in how change agents try to mitigate the institutional tensions and contradictions in the neighborhood team east.

7. Limitations and future research

After discussing this research, this chapter elaborates on the limitations of this study. During this research, the researcher identified tensions using literature about institutional change (Seo and Creed, 2002). Therefore, the researcher is aware of the fact that there are different insights and other ways to analyze tensions. This might be perceived as a limitation. However, the researcher specifically chose to leave the other theories out during the execution of the research methods by focusing on institutional change on a micro-perspective only. Moreover, the operationalization of Seo and Creed's model is very useful for qualitative research. The qualitative research consisted of attending business meetings and conducting interviews. However, if a researcher wants to completely capture the sources of institutional contradictions he requires well-trained interviewing skills. Subsequently, the next limitation appears because the researcher had no well-trained interviewing skills to demonstrate.

Furthermore, as the data gathering period consisted of only two months attending 11 business meetings and two semi-structured interviews, generalization is hardly possible. The short period of observation stopped the researcher from observing if a tension was mitigated to a higher stage of praxis. Many examples can be found in the correspondence analysis table, where one can see that only one tension reached the final stage of praxis. This time limitation also explains the big difference in attended meetings and conducted interviews. Furthermore, the data is collected in the neighborhood team east only. This implies that the results of this research may not give an accurate reflection when comparing them with other regions. Moreover, this research is exploratory in nature meaning it is based on qualitative data that is interpreted by the researcher. At the center of interpretive research is a human subject. This is a thinking and self-aware person capable of sophisticated communication through a spoken-written language (Shipman, 1997). In this case, there is always a certain bias because the results could be deviant if another researcher would have conducted the same research methods. Another circumstance that could have changed the data input is the presence of the researcher during the business meetings. The researcher attended every business meeting while sitting at the same table as the involved actors.

The limitations above immediately give the input for future research. As the actors were aware of the researcher's presence, the next researcher could use a recorder only while not attending the meeting in person. Continuously, the actors are not bothered by the presence of the researcher. Furthermore, many actions to mitigate tensions reached the stage of actor mobilization or a reflective shift of consciousness. Future research could investigate if these tensions reach a collective action by conducting comparable interviews by using the correspondence table of chapter 4.3. At last, an interviewee clearly stated that it takes years to convince every employee at the neighborhood team east of the transformation to the new ways of thinking. Thus, future research could take a look at the neighborhood team again and find out if more employees have actually transformed.

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Appendix I

Coding scheme business meetings and semi-structured interviews

Institutional Contradictions:	
Inefficiency (niet doeltreffend, niet efficient)	X (corresponding minute in recording) (tension described)
Nonadaptability (Niet willen/kunnen aanpassen)	X (corresponding minute in recording) (tension described)
Interinstitutional incompatibilities (Organisatorisch onvermogen)	X (corresponding minute in recording) (tension described)
Misaligned interests (verkeerde, niet goed uitgelijnde belangen)	X (corresponding minute in recording) (tension described)

Meeting #...: (Date) / (Time) @ (Location)
(Actors involved)

(corresponding minute in recording) (tension described)

(corresponding minute in recording) (tension described)

...

Appendix II

Questions and topics semi structured interview (phase 2)

This appendix is written in Dutch, because the main language spoken during the execution of the interview is also Dutch.

We gaan het vandaag hebben over de informatie die we hebben opgedaan tijdens de vergaderingen. Hierbij hebben we specifiek gekeken naar de spanningen en tegenstellingen die er zijn binnen en buiten de organisatie. We kijken hiernaar vanuit een multi-actor perspectief, zodat we de situatie onderzoeken vanuit meerdere oogpunten. Nu wil ik tijdens fase 2 van het onderzoek, aan de hand van dit interview, onderzoeken of u zich herkent in de gevonden spanningen en tegenstellingen en hoe er vanuit uw oogpunt het best mee om kan worden gegaan.

Interview fase 1:

Allereerst zullen de 4 institutional contradictions kort worden besproken en vervolgens zal met behulp van enkele voorbeelden worden gevraagd hoe hier volgens u het beste mee om zou kunnen worden gegaan.

Contradiction 1: Inefficiency (niet doeltreffend/niet efficiënt)

Korte uitleg en vragen of dit wordt ervaren tijdens de dagelijkse werkzaamheden en zo ja, op welke manier?

Vb: Te veel vergaderingen. Te vaak mensen afwezig.

Contradiction 2: Nonadaptability (niet willen/kunnen aanpassen)

Korte uitleg en vragen of dit wordt ervaren tijdens de dagelijkse werkzaamheden en zo ja, op welke manier?

Vb: Vertrekken van collega. Andere voorbeelden van tijdens vergaderingen?

Contradiction 3: Interinstitutional incompatibilities (organisatorisch onvermogen (tussen verschillende lagen))

Korte uitleg en vragen of dit wordt ervaren tijdens de dagelijkse werkzaamheden en zo ja, op welke manier?

Vb: Belemmeringen tussen de organisaties. Te formele taal in de brieven

Contradiction 4: Misaligned interests (verkeerde, niet goed uitgelijnde belangen)

Korte uitleg en vragen of dit wordt ervaren tijdens de dagelijkse werkzaamheden en zo ja, op welke manier?

Vb: Mensen blijven te veel op kantoor, terwijl ze juist de wijk in moeten

Interview fase 2:

Vervolgens zullen we nog wat dieper ingaan om de eigen werkzaamheden binnen de organisatie aan de hand van de volgende vragen:

Als expeditieleider kunt u te maken krijgen met verschillende afdelingen binnen de Expeditie. Nu is de vraag met wie/welk gedeelte binnen de organisatie u zich verbonden voelt en met wie misschien juist niet?

Wat kan er verbeterd worden tussen de verschillende afdelingen?

Waar vullen de verschillende afdelingen/mensen elkaar aan?

Wat zijn in uw ogen de sterke punten/positieve aspecten van uw werk voor Expeditie Enschede?

Ziet u verbeterpunten om uw eigen werk te verbeteren ten behoeve van de Expeditie (wijkteams Oost)?

Ziet u verbeterpunten om andermans werk te verbeteren ten behoeve van de Expeditie (wijkteams Oost)?

Topics:

Tensions

Contradictions

Change

Solutions

Micro-perspective