



Master Thesis

Clash of logics in the educational and social organizational sector in Enschede

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Management summary

In line with other municipalities throughout the Netherlands, the municipality of Enschede is attempting to develop a more inclusive society in which everyone can participate in his or her own way. Multiple institutions responsible for this change address this program as 'the expeditie', which goal is to function as the beginning of a change from the current passive welfare state to an inclusive society. This paper focuses on the progress of the 'expeditie' in the educational sector and the social organisational sector in the city of Enschede. The 'expeditie' requires a transformation in thinking, acting and cooperation between different groups in society. It has been theorized in the literature that social innovation is a complex process and involves confrontations and tensions between groups that support different logics. These effects have to be solved or at least mitigated in order to let the groups eventually embrace the new logic. The aim of this paper is to observe what kind of actions and interventions occur during the moments where different societal groups meet and their effects in society. By attending various meetings, discussions, 'vertel tafels', counselling sessions and by initiating interviews, different contradictions, clashes and related actions have been observed. It has been concluded that change agents who participate in the 'expeditie' enter an environment which is full of misunderstanding and scepticism by antagonist groups. And once the new logic is practiced by those groups, they often fall back into old practices. At the end it appears that the change agents try to change society while they are isolated between the dominant municipality of Enschede and different antagonist groups.

The observed actions and interventions that are understood as praxis, have minor effect regarding the paradigm change, due to the introductory character of the 'expeditie', the still existing dominant logic and multiple unresolved tensions. The observed positive effects were mostly on pilot schools who already worked with the inclusive paradigm for some years. Practical findings argue that district teams should concentrate less on the paradigm change and more on concrete steps that can be realized instantly. Furthermore teachers and parents should be participating in district teams and district coaches have to reconsider their own inclusive intentions. Subsequently, this Thesis provides a few theoretical contributions. Current literature hasn't focused much on the possible presence of scepticism and misunderstanding that the antagonist groups can have towards the change in logic. These subjects could be added to the existing model of Seo & Creed (2002). Moreover, observations confirm the presence of a paradox of embedded agency during the activities of the district teams, which is hard to overcome due to the skewed power relations between different societal groups. At last, this study displays that the model of Seo & Creed (2002) can be utilized in practice to observe and divide different micro- level tensions, contradictions and linked praxis's in changing environments.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Topic and relevance

An important subject in the research context of this Thesis is the international shift from a rather expensive and predominantly passive welfare state to a more participative and inclusive society described by De Gier (2007). This new paradigm highlights the importance of a society where any citizen can participate in his or her own way and feel connected to a certain group in this society (van Houten, 2008; van Regenmortel, 2009). This can be realized in domains like healthcare, sports, work, education and elderly care. Respect for diversity and the idea that everyone can be of value are of great importance in this new paradigm (van Houten, 2008). This complex shift of logic can be seen as a social innovation because of its inventive process method and the involvement of different groups to solve different social issues. Within the framework of this research design, the main aim is on the problems and contradictions in the change process of institutional logics. Institutional logics are beliefs, practices and systems that are characterized by a set of rules and attitudes that individuals create and recreate and can be used by individuals for reasoning (Curry & Guah, 2007; Reay & Hinings, 2009).

But, it is clear that this form of social innovation is a complex process and involves confrontations between different logics (Seo and Creed, 2002) and could be accompanied by tensions, contradictions and the need for resources and commitment (Van de Ven, 1999). Causes for the need of institutional change are the institutional contradictions that arise due to the current inefficient and non-adaptable welfare state. But institutional change needs more than just contradictions; it requires a shift in consciousness, actor mobilization and collective actions (Seo & Creed, 2002). In this process, different actions and interventions could be taken by actors, which are representatives of involved parties, that could let to the adoption of a new logic or to stay with the old logic (Seo and Creed, 2002).

In this Thesis the focus is on the shift from a predominantly welfare state logic to more participative and inclusive thinking in the educational and social organizational domain in Enschede. Participation and inclusion in this domain means that the lessons, curriculum and the community of the schools plus the social organizations, are focused to allow that every child can study or play in their own way and connects with the neighbourhood. This creates new sorts of institutions, schools or social organizations where nobody is excluded, where every child can perform at their very best and can participate in his or her community (Wijkteams Enschede, 2016). This goal is in line with the work of Barton (1997) who underlines that inclusion is about celebrating diversity, being open to unfamiliar voices and empowering all participating members. Contradictions in this context between different logics could generate conflicts among organizational actors (Wanderley, 2012). Due to its complexity, the possibilities of tensions and the involvement of many parties, the transformation to an inclusive society in Enschede needs government efforts. Steyaert, Bodd & Linders (2005) state that participation and commitment of citizens is the starting point to overcome these contradictions and let this transformation succeed.

1.2 Gap in the literature

Literature shows that certain thinking processes and interactions within society can be institutionalized in such a way that the involved actors are not aware of them anymore, this could impede the process of change (Zucker, 1977; Dorado, 2005; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Swidler, 2001; Seo & Creed, 2002). The educational and social organizational context has to deal with multiple overlapping fields in which existing institutional logics could clash during such innovation (van de Ven, 1999). This so called clash of logics is a point where the contradictions and tensions between two or more parties with different logics become so contradictory that it results in a clash. Clashes could arise through multiple actors, namely external actors, professional organizations or funding organizations, and through internal actors, employees and volunteers (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Seo and creed (2002) already researched clashes and change in institutional logics. They mention that at a macro level, institutional change efforts may seem like social movements. At micro level, institutional change may look like a political struggle between different actors over the alignment of different logics. Praxis's at this micro level clashes are very important because they cover a lot of actions and mechanisms through which social actors try to cultivate new institutional arrangements. Micro level Interactions in societal systems may also have major effects at macro level processes (Avelino & Rotmans, 2009).

According to Seo & Creed praxis are: 'the essential mediating mechanisms that links institutional embeddedness, contradictions and change' (2002, P 240.) In a more practical way, a praxis is a type of collective human action in an existing institutional context that attempts to influence and change that existing institutional context (Burns & Baldvinsdottir (2005). For an actor, a praxis has both a reflective moment, consisting of critical consideration, and an active moment involving mobilization and collective action. Seo & Creed (2002) link praxis with institutional change but do not specify the concrete processes actions and mechanisms through which social actors cultivate new institutional arrangements. Thus, there is still little information available concerning what happens at those specific clashes. What are the actions and interventions actors use in overcoming such clashes? And how do actors create a shift in consciousness in order to mobilize other individuals for a collective action for change? While the current understanding is low, these clashing moments could be crucial for the involved parties to either stay with the old logic or adopt the new one. This research concentrates on the praxis of actors, driven by institutional contradictions, in micro processes that could overcome such clashes and realizing institutional change.

1.3 Purpose of the study

Although the model of Seo & Creed (2002) gives a general picture of what the processes of institutional change look like, it lacks the integration of key actions, mechanisms and interventions between the different parties in the moments that matter, namely the clash between logics. Greenwood et al. (2011) points out that, while the extant literature has highlighted how different shifts in logic occur, there is less attention paid on organizational or actor experience and their response to institutional complexity. Thus, some subjects in this field of knowledge stay speculative.

Considering this, there is a need to develop insights in mechanisms and interventions during the clash between old and new logics from a theoretical point of view. Also, questions about how involved actors deal with clashes in logics and why the new logic is adopted and why the old logic has

been kept after these clashes remain. The transformation from the old welfare logic to a more participative and inclusive society will bring contradictions that need to be resolved. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to gain insight in these institutional clashes and which mechanisms and interventions are implemented or executed during this process of embracement or rejection of a new institutional logic. These clashes of logic in the educational and social organizational context are very relevant, especially at the level of social change (van Regenmortel, 2009).

This leads to the following research question:

'How are institutional contradictions resolved in the educational and social organizational sector in Enschede?'

In order to answer this research question several sub-questions are formulated:

1. What are the most important contradictions or tensions that arise?
2. When do these contradictions and tensions lead to a clash of logics?
3. What mechanisms and interventions are being used by the engaged actors in the different praxis stadia?
4. What are the effects of the mechanisms and interventions, did they led to acceptance or rejection of the new logic?
5. Why did the explained mechanisms and interventions led to acceptance of or rejection of the new logic?

The model of Seo & Creed (2002) captures a broad view of the process of institutional change and is therefore chosen to be the central model in this research. Outcomes about the contradictions and tensions that lead to clashes of logics and the mechanisms plus interventions that try to mitigate the effects will be used to strengthen the existing theoretical framework and could provide new insights in the institutional theory. The analysed mechanisms and intervention effects could be used for recommendations which could help the district teams with the further development of the 'expeditie' program.

1.4 Theoretical positioning

In this Master Thesis it is assumed that the change from a passive welfare logic to a more participative and inclusive logic in society is a change from an old logic to a new logic. Clashes between logics do not only occur between a new and an old logic, but the diversity of old logics versus the new abstract logic of an inclusive society in combination with active participation could also cause multiple clashes. The core theoretical perspective regarding institutional change, contradictions, praxis and mechanisms is based on the framework of Seo & Creed (2002). Institutional change is understood as an outcome of the dynamic interactions between institutional contradictions and human praxis. These praxis follow a process that is converted by interventions and mechanisms that could either let the actors embrace the new logic or stay with the old logic. The change in logic must always take place in existing environments or structures and has to be given enough room to grow (Bartel & Garud, 2009; Garud, Kumaraswamy & Karnøe, 2010). This process often comes with contradictions (Araujo & Easton, 2012; Loohuis, 2015). Contradictions create awareness that new logics are needed and create actor groups that will take actions to initiate necessary change (Burns & Baldvinsdottir, 2005).

1.5 Research strategy and data

The aim of this study is to develop insights in mechanisms and interventions during the clash between old and new logics from a theoretical point of view. Providing new insights for the created theoretical framework plays a dominant role. Qualitative data, where Intersubjectivity plays a leading role, will be gathered with the use of ethnographic research as described by Smets, Morris, & Greenwood (2012); van Maanen (1982). A processual analysis has been chosen, this is an analysis that states that interchange between actors and contexts occurs over time and is cumulative (van de Ven & Poole, 1995; Pettigrew, 1997).

The transformation that has been examined takes place in Enschede. There are four researchers conducting research on four different cases with the same provided framework. One is located in Enschede-east, one in Enschede-North, one will analyse clashes internally within the municipality council and this particular research is focusing on the educational sector and social organizational sector in Enschede. The researchers are frequently present in the work field and collect qualitative data through participation, observation and structured interviews that will be systematically analysed. Multiple cases are examined and transcribed using a retrospective approach. This research will be approached through a multi-level and multi-actor perspective because multiple actors are involved and they have influence in the social innovation process. This inductive research uses the collected data to eventually create more insights in comparable situations of accepting or rejecting institutional logics.

1.6 Expected contribution of the study

The expected contribution of this study can be divided into two sorts of relevance, namely practical and theoretical relevance. The practical relevance of this study is that it tries to draw conclusions on how transitions towards a more inclusive society can be managed from a micro-perspective. The theoretical relevance can be described as filling up the research gap. Existing literature shows information about which contradictions and which tensions occur during the change of logics and if a new logic is adopted or an old logic is kept, but does not focus exactly on why the new logic is adopted or why the old logic has been kept.

2 Theoretical framework / literature review

To give an insight and to avoid misunderstanding of the institutional logic concept, this subchapter starts with describing institutional logics through time. Subsequently, the change in institutional logics will be discussed. The last part of this subchapter contains a literature review about the clash between the acceptance of the new logics and the re-enforcement of the old logics.

2.1 Institutional logics through time

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 and 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 on the importance for organizations to conform to the requirements of external environments for legitimacy. DiMaggio & Powell (1983) extended this theory and stated that the choices and actions of organizations are being governed by the societal field they operate in. 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 and Rao (1997) and Thornton and Ocasio (1999, 2002) created new insights regarding institutional logics. The focus in their studies 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 behaviour and individual plus organizational actors have some influence in shaping and changing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

2.2 Defining institutional logics

A definition that is widely used in multiple researches 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).

The definition of institutional logics has developed over time (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). To give a chronological order of the evolution of this definition, this subchapter starts with an initial definition. Alford and Friedland (1985) were the first to introduce the use of the name institutional logic. They described it as the contradictory practices and beliefs inherent in the institutions of modern western societies, characterized by a set of symbolic constructions and material practices which constitute a field's organizing principles.

Second, in line with Alford and Friedland, Jackall (1988) defines institutional logic as a contingent set of rules, sanctions and premiums that women and men create and recreate in such a way that their attitude and behaviour are to some extent predictable and regularized. Moreover, knowledge about institutional logics aligns with the way a particular social world works (Jackall, 1988).

Third, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) agree on previous literature by adding that institutional logics can be defined as the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, beliefs, assumptions,

values and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize space and time and mean something for their social reality.

At fourth, Thornton (2002) elaborates on his previous study by doing research about conflicts and conformity in institutional logics. In this paper he adjusted his definition by defining institutional logics as the norms, values and beliefs that structure the cognition of actors in organizations and provide a collective understanding of how strategic decisions are formulated (Thornton, 2002).

Fifth, institutional logics provide the formal and informal rules of action, interaction and interpretation that guide and constrain decision makers in accomplishing the organization's tasks. Furthermore, they guide decision makers in receiving social status, credits and rewards in the process. Institutional logics can be seen as belief systems that individuals carry to enclose meaning to their daily activities (Curry & Guah, 2007).

At sixth, an institutional logic guides any social action within any institutional order (Misangyi, Weaver & Elms, 2008). Furthermore, the writers agree on the definitions mentioned above, but want to add that institutional logics are constituted by the relationship between material practices and symbolic systems. This relationship forms the basis on which people interact with the world.

Seventh, Reay and Hinings (2009) argue that institutional logics are also the basis of taken-for-granted rules leading people's behaviour. They also refer to the systems and practices that predominate in an organizational field. Because they refer to these systems and practices, they form the content and meaning of institutions. Thus, logics are an important theoretical construct because they guide people to explain connections that create a common purpose and solidarity within an organizational field (Reay and Hinings, 2009). At last, Dunn & Jones (2010) stated that these logics are socially shared assumptions and values that help organize time and space and form a framework for reasoning.

This Master Thesis assumes that there is a change from the outdated existing logic to a new logic in the municipality of Enschede. The old logic is based on a government that redistributed public spending with little emphasis on personal responsibility, which has been institutionalized through the years. The new logic emphasizes the active role of the citizens and the importance of personal responsibility (De Gier, 2007). It is assumed that confronting people to adapt to this new inclusive logic could create contradictions, tensions and eventually clashes. This paper examines the old and new institutional logics to eventually contribute to the existing literature by adding the reason why one would accept the new or re-enforce the old institutional logic.

2.3 Change in institutional logics

Institutional change usually occurs in combination with introducing and providing the opportunity to accept or reject a new institutional logic in a certain environment (Lounsbury, 2002). Moreover, institutional change creates the shape of how societies and people evolve over time and thus, is the key to learn how to comprehend historical change (North, 1990). The change in dominant logic can be seen as the fundament of the institutional change concept because the change provides more insight and understanding in the process (Reay & Hinings, 2009). Examples of environments in which an introduction of a new logic could take place are hospitals, schools and sports clubs. The way people interact and treat each other will change. The process of letting go of the outdated logic and

embracing the new logic can therefore be interpreted as the change process. This change process could also be described as the movement from a dominant logic to another logic (Greenwood et al. 2002). Even though there are multiple existing logics, it is the dominant logic that guides certain behaviour. For example, the way students and professors treat each other at universities can be described as quite formal and with professional purposes. Other less formal institutional logics are also available to carry out, but because of the dominance of the formal institutional logic, this would not happen very often. Certain logics can be reproduced over time, but this is only possible when these logics are supported by certain resources and existing societal groups (Misangyi, Weaver & Elms, 2008). When this is not the case, the probability of a change in institutional logics will increase because resources cannot limitlessly provide on durability of certain institutional logics.

But, it is not simple to realize institutional change within organizations or society because of the possible presence of a well-known paradox, the paradox of embedded agency. This paradox can be described as how institutional change can be realized when the actors' intentions, actions and rationality are conditioned by the institutions they wish to change (Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002). Multiple researchers examine this paradox of embedded agency. Some researchers have reaffirmed the ability of actors to escape from the power of institutions (DiMaggio, 1988; Rao, 1998; Beckett, 1999; Carney & Gedajlovic, 2002). This paradox could also be present in the context of this research. To overcome this paradox, it is necessary to look under what conditions actors are enabled to act as institutional change agent to eventually trigger institutional change (Battilana, 2006). According to Battilana (2006) the individual's' social position, for example, is a key variable in how someone is enabled to act as an institutional change agent despite institutional pressures.

Besides the individual's' social position, literature also looked into the role of institutional work in the transformation of organizational fields (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). Two types of work are distinguished. Practice work can be seen as the work of actors to create, maintain and disrupt the practices that are considered as legitimate in a field. Boundary work can be interpreted as the boundaries between sets of individuals and groups. In this context, it can be viewed as the work done by the management teams, neighbourhood coaches and consultants. According to Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) both these forms of work underpin cycles of institutional innovation, conflict, stability and re-stabilization. It is stated that these cycles are triggered by combining three conditions, namely the state of boundaries, the state of practices and the existence of actors with the capacity to undertake both kinds of work of a different institutional process (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010).

Institutional change can be incremental or radical. Incremental change represents an extension of the status quo, in this case, adjustments or refinements in current practices (Dewar & Dutton, 1986). Radical change goes beyond augmenting the status quo, requiring a shift to fundamentally different practices. It involves adopting a different paradigm, a step that typically disrupts the established pattern of understandings and interests (Dewar & Dutton, 1986). In this research context there is a shift between paradigms, namely the shift from old casus thinking to new issue thinking. This can be interpreted as a radical change, but it is executed in the social field in an incremental way to not dislocate the work environment. Organizations that expose their practices to societal influences are

likely to experience regular incremental change that maintains their legitimacy, rather than threatens it, and ensures that insiders' practices are in line with societal norms (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

While older literature emphasizes on the importance for organizations to integrate and meet the institutional requirements to achieve legitimacy, new research is elaborating on the importance of actors and change in institutions. According to Reay & Hinings (2009) macro-level changes can be started and produced by micro-level actors, however their actions will cost significant time and energy to result in institutional change. Although this process tends to be slow, overall change can be significant and important. This incremental change has to be implemented in different layers of the society by different actors. Therefore, a multi-perspective approach is applicable which takes multiple actors into account. Examples of different actors in the context of this research are citizens, parents, neighbourhood coaches, the municipality, (sport) clubs and school staff.

2.4 Institutional contradictions as drivers for institutional change

Institutional contradictions are the fundamental driving force of institutional change. Institutions can develop contradictions between their environments, other institutions or elementary social behaviour. These contradictions can disrupt the reproduction of the old logic (Seo & Creed, 2002). Strong boundaries around fields leads them to become remoted or unresponsive to changes in the broader external environment. This creates contradictions between the norms and practices that are accepted in the fields and those who are legitimate in the broader environment (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). According to Wanderley (2012) The concept of contradictions is the key to the framework of Seo & Creed (2002), because it explains when, how and why actors who are embedded in an institutional scenario might come to action and try to change their and others taken-for-granted beliefs and actions. In other words, contradictions between different institutionalized logics contains the seeds of institutional change (Wanderley, 2012).

Seo & Creed (2002) identified four contradictions in their theoretical framework: (1) conformance to institutional arrangements might be at the expense of technical efficiency. (2) contradictions can arise from non-adaptability to the external environment. Practices and structures become taken-for-granted and deeply embedded and thus, institutional arrangement that happen will stay unquestioned. Efforts to change these institutionalized practices and structures are often resisted because they are seen as threats, loss in security and too complicated to process (Wanderley, 2012). (3) Conformity to specific institutional arrangements in one group often leads to conflict with alternative institutions. This creates intra-institutional incompatibilities (Wanderley, 2012). (4) Actors whose ideas and interests are not served by the existing social arrangements in the social field they inhabit, can act as potential change agents. They become conscious of the institutional conditions and their negative impact and try to change it (Seo & Creed, 2002). It is clear that current literature sees these contradictions as causes for change. Contradictions generates tensions conflicts and clashes within and across social systems, which then could shape consciousness and action to change the present order by involved actors.

An important point in this research is the outcome of contradictions, the clash between the choice of accepting the new logic or re-enforcing the old logic. The inconsistencies created by several contradictions within established arrangements can incite tensions and conflicts who ultimately clash and may mound into human consciousness and action towards change. These attempts often contradict with one of the most central assertions in the institutional theory, namely, actors and

their interests are themselves institutionally constructed (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). In this case, the term contradiction is defined as the inconsistencies and various breaches both within and among the organized social agreements. For example, a conflict between an organization's structure and strategy and the prevailing institutional logic, can cause a less legitimate and competitive organization. As a result, the organization is more subjected to change pressures (North, 1990; Oliver, 1991).

Burns & Baldvinsdottir (2005) used the framework of Seo and Creed (2002) in their research about institutional change in accounting firms. Their findings also underline that several contradictions in the company created awareness that a new way of thinking was needed and new groups should be empowered to design and enact to the necessary change. In order to create such awareness, underlying inefficiencies and outdated business logic who normally would be taken for granted were made more transparent and exposed as problematic. This created a movement where newly empowered groups create a new logic that they collectively believed in. Wanderley (2012) also used the framework of Seo and Creed (2002), he concludes that a successful change is possible when it is motivated by strong institutional contradictions. When there are weak or apparently no institutional contradictions, tensions and conflicts present, the outcome inevitable will be an unsuccessful change in logics.

2.5 Clash between acceptance of new logics or re-enforcement of old logics

Although contradictions may create a clash of logics which subsequently creates openings for institutional change, it is the connected praxis that captures the 'doing of change'. Whereas contradictions explain when, why and how change agents or actors come to question existing institutional arrangements, the praxis's are the actual mediating mechanisms that links institutional embeddedness with contradictions and change (Burns & Baldvinsdottir, 2005). Praxis defines human agency as political of nature which, however it is embedded in institutional arrangements, attempts to influence and secure change in those arrangements. According to Seo & Creed (2002, p. 230) praxis has three component parts: (1) actors self-awareness of the existing social conditions in which their interests and needs are unmet; (2) actors mobilization, inspired by the new collective understanding of the existing social conditions; and (3) actors collective action to reconstruct the existing social arrangements and themselves. Based on the article of Seo & Creed (2002) the following four praxis in table 1 are distinguished and will be analysed further in this Thesis.

<u>Collective actions</u>
<i>Clearing dissension, changes in relative political positions, combining different resources for action</i>
<u>Actor mobilization</u>
<i>Actions to mobilize commitment and resources for political action. Requires actors skill at mobilizing alternative actions available and relevant for the broader society. Thus, most of the time result in a political contest in rules and resources.</i>
<u>Reflective shift in consciousness</u>
<i>Institutional inhabitants will achieve a critical perspective on the disadvantageous social arrangements and form their critical understanding due to inefficiency, non-adaptability, Interinstitutional incompatibilities and potential praxis by change agents</i>
<u>Potential change agents</u>
<i>Change agents are persons whose ideas and interest are not served by the existing social arrangements. They become conscious of the negative institutional conditions and take actions to change the current logic</i>

Table1: Stages of praxis

When contradictions build up tensions between different groups or actors, they could create conflicts and clashes (Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014). Clashes between old and new logics coexist during transition moments, until one of the sides wins and the area regenerates around the winning logic (Thornton, 2002). Moreover, the organizational fields are organized by this dominant institutional logic even though two or more institutional logics may exist at the same time (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Reay & Hinings, 2009). Seo & Creed (2002) describe four praxis. In order to mediate between those clashes and institutional change, these are described in table 1.

It has been theorized by many researchers that praxis by actors, driven by institutional contradictions, can overcome clashes between logics and realizing institutional change. A lot of actions, processes and interventions happen between the different actors who each support different logics (Fligstein, 1997; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). Zietsma & Lawrence (2010) describe some intervening practices that involve reframing practices and their actors as illegitimate compared to their supported new logic. But in contrast, there are also practices defending and maintaining the old logic by actors supporting the old logic exists. These maintaining practices can be qualified into two main actions: (1) actions to ensure that rules systems are being respected and (2) actions involving the reproducing existing norms and belief. Fligstein (1997) states that political processes and power are considered to be rules and resources. The social skill of actors is a mechanism that can manipulate rules and resources in order to challenge or reproduce logics. The combination of these subjects creates more politically powerful actors. A crisis intensifies the role of social skilled and powerful actors in the reproduction or in the change in logics. The political and social processes in this stadium are in line with Zietsma & Lawrence (2010). They underline the importance of mobilizing connected actors, forming networks of outsiders to challenge the old logic and position the new one. Actors could respond to actions of others in the field by tactics that have been proven successful in the past (Fligstein, 1997). But if they fail they have to search for alternative actions.

Although a great variety of researchers describe several mechanism and interventions, we don't know why this happens and which concrete micro-processes occur during this realization of new institutional arrangements through these four praxis (Seo & Creed, 2002). From a micro-level perspective, reactions from different involved actors can be very diverse. In the research of Townley, (2002) there have been some violent reactions on a radical institutional change. The reactions from the actors on these outbursts were mostly pragmatic and if these reactions were irrational, they ignored it. In order to create more acceptance, actors tried to play down the effect of the institutional change when communicating with employees. In the study of Lüscher and Lewis (2008) the focus lies on the process of making sense of the institutional change by the actors. They highlight the importance of the awareness of paradoxes and their interactions with sense making and institutional change. In this process actors need to understand the paradoxes of contrary managerial demands and have to find, in that paradox, a more workable certainty. This is in line with Van Dijk et al. (2011), because they stated that that innovating actors seek to identify certainties to proceed with their innovations. This example is relevant for this research, because it shows that actors can realize institutional change by creating more sense and utilizing paradoxes for a better understanding. Sense making and the understanding of paradoxes are required in order to let the institutional change in logics succeed in this research context.

A graphical representation that old and new logics can cause contradictions and tensions that eventually leads to an adoption of the new logic or the decision to stay with the old logic is shown in Figure 1.1.

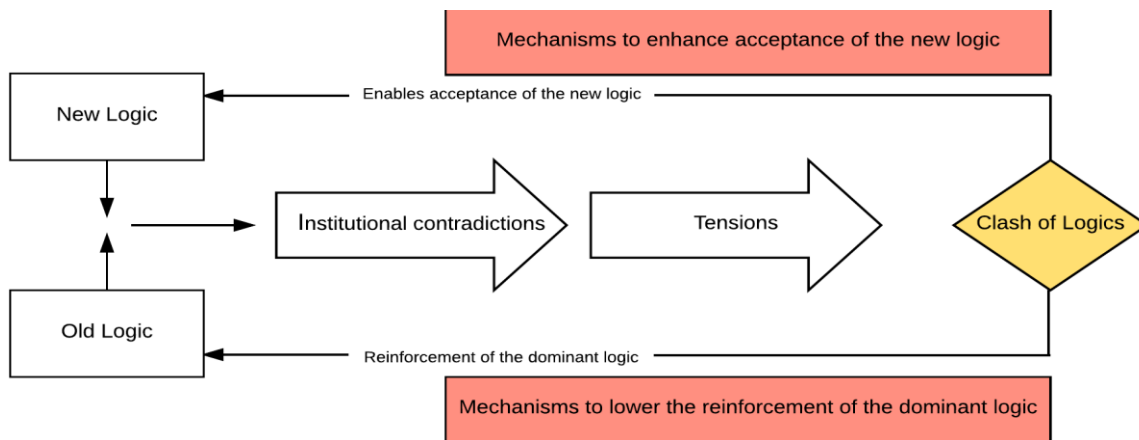


Figure 1: Conceptual model of the adoption of old or new logics.

Although the new dominant logic can change at the field level, individuals can still continue to act in accordance with the old logic, while the majority has accepted the new logic (Reay and Hinings, 2009). Some actors claim they embraced a new logic while still acting according to the old logic. Moreover, this could occur because of the poor interaction between top management and lower management. So, while lower management looks to their managers to give sense to make changes, the managers themselves struggle for understanding (Lüscher & Lewis, 2008). Thus, this paradox has to be taken into account in the research. Also, an important contribution by Reay and Hinings (2009) is that they underline that institutional change is not only a replacement of a dominant logic with another as a indicative of institutional change. They propose that institutional change may occur when actors develop mechanisms of collaboration that supported the coexistence of competing logics. Different groups of competing logics can work together effectively in creating acceptance of a new logic, even when it is not their preferred option.

A great variety of scientific research presented in this chapter is focusing on contradictions and which tensions occur during the change and if a new logic is adopted or an old logic is kept. But the literature does not focus exactly on why the new logic is adopted or why the old logic has been kept. Moreover, current literature doesn't mention the praxis in combination with micro processes that could lead to the embracement of a new logic, or a rejection. Regarding this research, the red squares in figure 1 represent these specific moments where change agents try to enhance the acceptance of the new logic or to lower the reinforcement of the dominant logic. In these crucial moments, individuals decide to stay with the old logic or adopt the new one. The main goal of the research is to illustrate what kind of praxis occur and what their effect could be on the progress of the 'expeditie'.

3. Methodology

3.1 Case and setting

Neighbourhood teams in Enschede and the municipality of Enschede, are linking a vision with the desire to transform towards a more inclusive society. There is a shift in thinking, from exclusion to inclusion that fits to the change that the transition wants to achieve. Currently the municipality of Enschede has introduced several initiatives, namely 'Expedition Enschede', 'de inclusieve stad', 'de onderwijsexpeditie' and 'coach 053'. The education 'expeditie' started in November 2016 and its target group consist of all scholars from pré-school till high school, coach 053 started in April 2017 and its target are all association and (sport) cubs in Enschede. All these individuals or organizations involved in this particular research setting can be seen as actors. An actor is a social entity, which could be a person or organization, which is able to act on and influence institutional logics (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016).

These initiatives want to contribute in realizing a transformation in the social domain by bringing together different groups of people so that they can cooperate in a sustainable way within multiple domains. This overall transformation is of such size that it could be interpreted as a social innovation which involves a great number of parties and actors. Parties and actors that are involved are citizens, professional or non-professional volunteers, the municipality of Enschede, clients, team coaches, directors, managers, transformation coaches, policy makers, neighbourhood coaches and consultants. The goal is an effective cooperation between the different domains.

In line with the idea of a more inclusive society is the new educational expedition and 'coach 053' that started in several districts in Enschede. Focusing on scholars from pré-school till high school, and several (sport) clubs in the Municipality of Enschede. District teams wish to transform the way of thinking and want to generate more inclusion and participation at those institutions. To succeed, the district teams are dependent on the extent to which the schools, clubs and its surroundings are willing to embrace diversity and their effort to provide all students with a proper education and leisure activities. This also includes children with serious challenges in terms of behaviour, autism, disabilities, language delay, or illness. In order to realize this, participation and help is needed from parents, students, residents, clubs, the neighbourhood and employees instead of primarily the neighbourhood teams and professionals. It means that they have to reset their current thinking and try to implement a new logic to develop a more inclusive system at schools and (sport) clubs (Wijkteams Enschede ,2016).

3.2 Method typology

The purpose of this research is to gain insights in occurring institutional clashes and to observe which mechanisms and interventions are implemented or executed during this process that could either embrace or reject certain institutional logics. The research is explorative in nature, it tries to examine relationships between tensions, contradictions and clashes. Moreover, it tries to show the effects of different actions and mechanisms on perceived contradictions and if it leads to an embracement of the new logic or a rejection.

There are many actors involved, so it is important to get clear insights of these complex network characteristics. This research will therefore focus on the work field of the neighbourhood coach and will approach this from a multiple actor perspective. In order to get a comprehensive overview, the researcher observed the actions and interactions of the actors by participating in meetings, discussions, 'vertel tafels' and counselling sessions. This process provides the researcher with a lot of insights concerning the key activities, problems, clashes and aspects between the neighbourhood coach and the key actors in the 'expeditie'. Thus, it is a good method to capture the micro processes in institutional change.

Furthermore, the researchers conducted semi-structured interviews after the meetings were analysed. The interviews included the neighbourhood coach and other actor that are either direct or indirect involved in the educational or club context. This multi actor perspective highlights the daily affairs between different societal groups and gives clear insights in the process of the change in logics.

This research takes an event-driven approach, which is associated with a process theory of change in organizations. This process theory method analyses how change unfolds, described by Van de Ven & Poole (p.4, 2005) as: *"a narrative describing a sequence of events on how development and change unfold"*. In this paper it means that the sequence of the institutional change process, that unfolds in the municipality of Enschede, will be examined through observation and semi-structured interviews. First, the tensions, contradictions and clashes will be described as a narrative sequence of events. Additionally several actions and interventions, who are branched under the four different praxis, have been coupled with the clashes which they try to mitigate. Not only the whole process has to be described, micro processes like actions and activities that occur in the research context are also important. In order to capture and analyse this data, a process study of organizing typology should be applied. 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 endeavours unfolds. The choice of a particular process typology depends on how the researcher is focused on a specific case. The researcher may have a retrospective process focus or a real-time process focus (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005).

3.3 Operationalization and data collection

The researcher is present at various meetings, discussions, 'vertel tafels' and counselling sessions to collect data. These settings include a great variety of actors that are either directly or indirectly involved in the educational or club context. Processes of institutionalization cannot be fully understood without understanding their interactions, communication and cognition of individuals at the micro level (Bitektine & Haack, 2015). Thus, it is important to gather these actions and interactions by being present in various meetings.

In order to capture all valuable information in each meeting, an observation scheme is created which is based on the model of Seo & Creed (2002). The scheme follows the same path as the model that Seo & Creed (2002) formulated and gives the researcher more clarity in formulating different tensions, clashes and interventions. It is divided into four different subjects which also corresponds with the sub-questions. An abridged version of the observation scheme (Appendix B) is given below:

1. Current institutional logics and drivers for change: What are the most important institutional logic(s) that can be distinguished per group in the context of this research and what are their main characteristics and where does the institutional change come from?
2. What are the contradictions or tensions that occur and how do they clash ?
 - (1) Inefficiency
 - (2) Non-adaptability
 - (3) Interinstitutional incompatibilities
 - (4) Misaligned interest
3. What interventions and mechanisms help participants to more easily identify, maintain and create acceptance of the new logic? And do these interventions and mechanisms result in the rejection of the logic in the various praxis levels?
 - (1) Potential change agents
 - (2) Reflective shift in consciences
 - (3) Actor mobilization
 - (4) Collective actions
4. When, why and how do actors recognize their influence in the change process and when will organizational actors decide to (collectively and / or individually) change an institution when they are embedded in existing institutional agreements?

After an observation period, the follow up semi-structured interviews with different involved actors took place. Qualitative interviews have been categorized multiple categories by existing literature, with many contemporary texts loosely differentiating qualitative interviews as unstructured, semi-structured and structured (Crabtree and Miller, 1999). In this paper the focus lies on semi-structured interviews. During the observation phase some key informants have been chosen to be interviewed, these actors are selected for their knowledge and their role in the change process. The interviews took place in an individual setting with only the researcher and the interviewee, in order to gain as much as possible useful qualitative data.

The questionnaire for the interviews is the same as the observation scheme. This is decided because the goal of both the observation part and the interview part is the same. Interviews didn't had the goal to broaden the theme, but had to dig deeper into the subject of contradictions and clashes. This has been done by asking different change agents and school staff about their experiences in the 'expeditie' so far. The difference between the interview and observation part is the fact that the researcher can intervene and asks questions. So interviews are also used to let different actors reflect on the 'expeditie' and their performance in it. Also the questions may be the same, the interviews gave insight in what different individuals think about contradictions, clashes etc. instead of multiple groups. The semi-structured interviews not only contributed to a better understanding of the contradictions and their corresponding tensions during this transformation process, but also provided certain gradations of different tensions in various levels.

1	Meeting	Transformation coach	Introduction / interview	unknown
2	Meeting	Stichting Sportaal	Meeting	60 min
3	Meeting	Youth worker	Meeting	50 min
4	Meeting	District coach	Consultation school (1)	75 min
5	Meeting	Meeting 'Stuurgroep'	Progress meeting	29 min
6	Meeting	Meeting 'Stuurgroep' and district coaches	Meeting district coaches	63 min
7	Meeting	Youth workers, school directors, District coaches, municipality	Evaluation Expedition	77 min

8	Meeting	District coach	Consultation school (2)	34 min
9	Meeting	District coach / school	Consultation internal supervisors	30 min
10	Meeting	Meeting 'Stuurgroep'	committee consultation (1)	49 min
11	Meeting	Stichting Sportaal	Discussion progress	95 min
12	Meeting	Municipality	Consult measurement results	55 min
13	Meeting	Meeting 'Stuurgroep'	committee consultation 2	65 min
14	Meeting	Schools, district coach, transformation coach	Consulting session	185 min
15	Meeting	Sport club	Intro expedition at Avanti	70 min
16	Meeting	District coach	Introduction / interview	unknown
17	Meeting	District coach	Introduction / interview	unknown
18	Meeting	District coach	Introduction / interview	unknown
19	Meeting	Municipality, district coach	Internal meeting	55 min
20	Meeting	District coach, municipality	Consult measurement results (2)	30 min
21	Meeting	District coach, municipality	Consulting session	30 min
22	Meeting	District coach, municipality, clubs	Training Coach 2.0	75 min
23	Interview	School director	Interview school	71 min
24	Interview	District coach	Interview District coach	34 min
25	Interview	District coach	Interview District coach	59 min
26	Interview	District coach	Interview District coach	90 min
27	Interview	Transformation coach	Interview Transformation coach	65 min

Table 2: Overview of the data collection moments

3.4 Data analysis

After conducting the actual research, including the observations as well as the semi-structured interviews, the results have been analysed. All interviews and observed meetings have been recorded and written down, with the exception of four meetings due to privacy issues. All initial observed data is in Dutch and is later translated into English. The data is then described in a narrative style with the help of the work of Czarniawska (2004).

In the analyzation period, the researcher characterized five different groups that have more or less the same institutional logic. These groups are: (1) schools and their employees, (2) the municipality of Enschede, (3) district teams, (4) (sport) clubs and (5) parents / residents that are involved in schools or clubs activities. Tensions, contradictions and clashes that have been described are also coupled between two or more of these groups. The basic principle is that in this case there is always a group that want to facilitate change (protagonists) and a group that has to be changed (antagonists). Change agents, like the district teams, are the protagonists in this research while the clubs, schools, parents and residents are the antagonists. It could be possible that one group has embraced the new logic and becomes a protagonist group, but this isn't occurred in the context of this research. Also, the municipality of Enschede is sometimes the antagonist and sometimes the protagonist in this research. By dividing groups into either a protagonist or an antagonist groups, the main focus of this Thesis becomes more understandable and prevents countless repetitions of the involved groups.

The actual data analysis is done in Excel by summarizing every contradiction that has come up during the observation moments as well during the interviews. These contradictions have been translated

and eventually grouped into superordinate contradictions. The grouped contradictions are linked to the clashes that they cause and the actions of change agents that try to mitigate the same contradictions accordingly. These actions have been grouped under one of the four praxis. The total effect of these praxis are rated on a scale from 1-5, a low ratings means that the total interlinked effect is either low because the contradiction is complex, the clashes are powerful or the mitigating actions couldn't solve these contradictions.

Two tables in the data analysation part provides a narrative sequence of the most important findings in the 'expeditie' meetings between protagonists and antagonists groups and in the interviews. The underlying goal was to find the best practices in the clash of logics that could mitigate its effects and would offer space for change. But, in the course of the data analyzation, more and more interesting contradictions were observed and changed the direction of the research. The 'expeditie' in the educational sector in Enschede started in November 2016, which means by the time the data collection begun it was introduced 8 months ago. For this research it means that in this short time several actions and interventions have been occurred, but in terms of social change this is a very short period in which initiations and actions by change agents may have little to no effect. Due the lack of ground-breaking practices that would mitigate the effect of contradictions, the focus of this research partly shifted to analysing the strong contradictions that play in society and why they are so hard to mitigate.

4. Results

4.1 Old dominant logic

The last decennia the Dutch welfare state, that is still present in many sectors in the society, has been formed. Every Dutch citizen has, in greater or lesser extent, dealt with this welfare state and that is why it is greatly embedded and has become a dominant logic for inhabitants, systems processes and guidelines (De Gier, 2007). An important part of the outdated dominant logic in the educational sector is casuistry thinking by its inhabitants. Casuistry thinking is predominantly aimed at solving a person's problem and is less connected to the background of the problem's context. The process of solving problems often consist of questionnaires and large-scale solutions for individual problems. But most of the times these individual problems have a connection in society and can be classified as structural barriers. In this old case thinking these problems stay invisible (Expeditie Enschede, 2016).

District coaches, youth workers and other professionals work within protocols, secluded from other domains and mostly in a bureaucratic environment. Schools are hierarchical institutions, think in individual solutions and are problem oriented. From the interviews with district coaches, teachers and school boards it became clear that this old logic has a lot of influence on the schools and parents that are associated with the educational domain.

According to the transition advisor at the municipality of Enschede:

"Schools and school management work from the paradigm of improving the education of a child and are not always aware of the broader context of schools".

4.2 Perceived new logic

The new inclusive logic in the educational sector originated from the 'Aarhus-model' which is an educational model used in Denmark. In this model district teams are in the midst of a changing society with new tasks and roles for everyone. They work from the vision of an inclusive society. "A society to which everyone can participate, regardless of age, cultural background, gender and without limitations".

This new logic elaborates four indispensable key factors: (1) co-creation, which means that social workers won't have to think for anyone, but have to think together with the client to create solutions. (2) 'working evolution' not wasting time negotiating and planning initiatives, but actually create initiatives and experiment in practice. (3) focusing on positive energy and emphasise especially on people who want to participate. (4) Social workers have to be congruent and have to search for consensus between the client and themselves (Wijkteams Enschede, 2016).

By working with this model, the municipality of Enschede wants to create a society where citizens have control over their own life and their decisions. They try to enable people and organizations to be part of a strong social networks that offers sustainability. Differences are seen as a rich source for development. Neighbourhood initiatives, companies, schools, clubs and associations reflect the diversity of all residents in the society. The position of schools and clubs in this logic would be in the middle of society, as a place to grow up and as a meeting place.

Although this change is very desirable for the municipality, it is difficult to create according to the transition advisor at the municipality of Enschede:

“The overall ambition of the ‘Expeditie’ is very complex and broad, thus it cannot be achieved only by the district coaches and the district teams. They are important to start this movement, but later on they need to be supported and eventually replaced by involved citizens in the society”.

4.3 Dominant logics within population groups:

4.3.1 Parents / residents:

In the context of this research, residents or parents with children are the individuals who are involved in the society surrounding schools or clubs. It is an important group because they are the backbone of society. The ‘expeditie’ is designed for this group to take action and to be owner of their own problems with the help of social workers. However individually, parents still are stuck in old logic thinking and are often unable to deal with their problems according to the district coaches, schools and transformation coaches. One district coach elaborates that:

“Most parents don’t think that a school is an entity that takes a broader position in the society than just a school, in reality a school takes a much more complex position than just that”.

she also remarks that:

“Parents are stuck in old thinking norms, they are used to think that the municipality takes action for them instead of taking action themselves. As a result, participation remains low and individual problems are often passed on to social workers or the government”.

It will be very difficult to let this societal group embrace the new logic because it is a complete new level of thinking. District coaches often encounter difficult problems because parents are still used to deal with problems from the old logic perspective. District coaches explain:

“Parents find it hard to communicate about their problems with social workers because they are not used to openly talk about their situation. This makes it difficult to map the true underlying problems of parents, which is the first step in the ‘expeditie’. Without prompt recognition, societal problems will only be resolved when they have existed for some time and requires greater effort to solve”.

4.3.2 Schools / (sport) clubs

In the ‘expeditie’ program the schools are seen as crucial entities to convert the inclusive logic from social workers and district coaches to the parents and children. Teachers, teaching assistant and school boards have a major influence on the involved parents. The first step in the ‘expeditie’ is to create change agents on schools. It is important that the complete school staff embraces the new ‘expeditie’ logic.

First, schools were very case centred instead of solution oriented. Teachers were focusing too often on problems that children and parents endure instead of thinking of appropriate solutions. Also school staff think for others instead of with parents or children. The problem is that district coaches and schools act as professionals and already direct people to a certain preferred solution. Since the start of the ‘expeditie’ in the educational sector, some pilot schools have started to work with the new inclusive paradigm. Change agents in the form of district coaches first discussed their vision and

intention of the 'expeditie' and tried to convince teachers and the schools to adopt this new kind of thinking in their day-to-day activities. On certain pilot schools this new paradigm received much support by the school staff. The school state that:

"This group of teachers already knew the Aarhus model and have experienced its positive outcomes for both children and parents. They were already convinced about the 'expeditie' paradigm so it wasn't hard for the district coaches to motivate them to participate".

Teachers who have been working with the new paradigm for quite some time state that it corresponds with their perception on how one should act professionally in the educational sector:

"School staff in general already thought in terms of inclusion, in bringing out the best in children and participation as professionals, but they failed to give it a name. Now that they work more often with this new initiative, which corresponds with their perception of 'best practices, they become more aware and gives them a frame of reference to act upon".

However not all schools have this kind of pro-change attitude. According to several district coaches:

(1) "Schools often fall back to into old case thinking when confronted with certain problems. Teachers feel more comfortable working with old methods which are more recognizable to them. Schools continue to offer supply-oriented help, individual solutions for individual problems and think for parents and children instead of thinking with them".

(2) "Teachers indicate that they are too busy with their day-to-day activities and suppose that this new logic is an extra task, which means spending extra time and energy".

At schools, where the expedition has been in progress for some months, new thinking has not yet fully embraced and executed in day-to-day activities. Teachers, school board and school directors often relapse in old habits like supply oriented assistance, individual casualty and problem based consultancy instead of solution based.

4.3.3 District coaches:

The district coaches who form the 'expeditie' can be seen as the first change agents whose tasks is to make the first step into the total paradigm change. Being the first to facilitate a rigorous change in society is very challenging and comes with a lot of obstacles and reflection moments. After the first months most of the district coaches roles were unclear and individual coaches needed many meetings and consultation moments to discover their role in the whole 'expeditie' process. According to the transformation coach:

"The teams were composed based on individuals who believed in the 'expeditie' and who are more changeable than others. The educational district coaches goals and interest are aligned and that results in an atmosphere of co-responsibility and trust in each other".

Various meetings involving district coaches from the 'expeditie' showed that there is consensus in the way of thinking of the total process between the individuals. The current state of the team is a result of teamwork and continuously experimenting which approach fits the best. They all stand for the same goal: more focus on listening to people and finding solutions by experimenting with a solution

based approach. However, some district coaches noticed that teams which consist of individuals with more or less the same personalities, comes with some downsides:

“Our team consist mostly of people with the same profile, they are likely to go along with changes, are broad thinkers and can picture a problem from multiple points of view. The consequence is that it creates an team with only a few people who can think in a more practical way, this leads to the fact that putting the inclusive ideas into practice can sometimes be difficult”.

4.3.4 The municipality

In the municipality the old paradigm is still the dominant logic in everyday activities, which results in certain projects that are being measured in numbers, while the effects of the ‘expeditie’ can’t be explained in numbers. Some policy makers aren’t well informed about the ‘expeditie’ or don’t understand the purpose of it.

The way the results are being monitored is unknown, so the real effects stay unclear. If measurement is unclear the district coaches don’t know when a certain goal is met. In several meetings district team underline the role of the municipality in the expedition:

“From the higher levels, the start of the ‘expeditie’ has been poorly executed, like the Denmark trip. This trip was intended to let some actors experience the educational systems in Denmark. The problem was that the travel company only consisted of high-level managers, executives and school boards. This created differences between groups before the ‘expeditie’ even started”.

4.4 contradictions

Chapter 4.3 highlights the contradictions that have been analysed in the business meetings and interviews. Most of the time different groups and institutions came together and discussed the process of the ‘expeditie’. These contact moments are a source for disagreements, tensions and contradictions. The classification is based on the four contradictions described in the dialectical model of Seo & Creed (2002). The reason for this classification is that it gives a more clear view of the different contradictions. Each contradiction type is explained and the reason why these contradictions exists, is elaborated. Although the contradiction types are all grouped under one of the four contradiction groups, it isn’t the case that these contradictions are separate objects. Most of the contradictions have a clear connections between one another and could be grouped into multiple groups.

4.4.1 Inefficiency

Inefficiency in the context of this research can be described as: conformity to institutional arrangements that causes inefficient processes like bureaucracy, too many rules and insufficient cooperation. The municipality of Enschede was more than once a subject of discussion when the inefficiencies of the ‘expeditie’ were argued. District coaches explain that the goal of the ‘expeditie’ is to create more inclusion and ultimately create an active, self-sustaining society. Thus, it is basically an effect that it should create in society. But when it comes to measuring the results, the municipality looks at the total funding and the amount of time it took to set up initial processes.

District coaches complain that:

(1) "New initiatives derived from the 'expeditie' are formed within the new paradigm but the measurement of results from these initiatives are done the old way by the municipality, they look at numbers instead of the effect of the initiatives".

(2) "Because monitoring isn't performed or is done incorrectly, we don't know exactly in what step of the process we are and if we can continue to the next phase."

Another source of inefficiency is the amount of institutes, social enterprises and municipal professionals that are involved in an individual case or neighbourhood. Especially schools and clubs complain about this issue, while also district coaches admit that improvement is possible concerning the cooperation between different institutes. Schools notice that:

"All municipal agencies are connected to each other but they work independently, which is very confusion and frustrating for us".

Not only the cooperation is an issue, the fact that many institutes need to be involved in school processes, club decisions and individual cases creates a lot of confusion in society. According to the district coaches:

"There are many different parties who technically want to achieve the same change at (sport) clubs. But most of the institutions don't know each other and therefore don't know which one is acting at which (sport) club".

At last the safeguarding techniques are discussed. The goal is to maintain certain activities, results and processes at schools and clubs, but most of the time these little changes are not preserved. District coaches, schools and clubs often question how to maintain those changes, they point out:

"How do you secure positive results, activities, initiatives at schools and clubs? most of the time this is done poorly! A lot of activities have been proposed and performed successfully but not safeguarded, so the positive effects will fade away after a while".

District teams seem to be stuck and progress can't be realized:

"At this moment phase one of the 'expeditie' has been completed, but how to close phase one and move on to phase two and at the same time secure the results from phase 1? Has the idea landed enough in the society? we don't know yet".

Conclusion inefficiency

Although these inefficiency contradictions have their effects on the 'expeditie', these are not the most important contradictions that need to be resolved. The source of these contradictions are the shortcomings that different actors perceive in the dominant logic and not the expected shortcomings in the new logic. Therefore, these inefficiency contradictions can be viewed as irritations that occur because one group is still acting based on the 'old way of thinking' and makes inefficient choices when viewed by the 'new logic' standards. It is interesting that these contradictions also would arise without the existence of the 'expeditie' because they all exist for a long time and are not linked particularly to the 'expeditie'. In other words, the 'expeditie' and its change agents have to solve contradictions that occur beyond the paradigm change.

If we look further in the process of social change, these contradictions are no typical drivers for change in society, it is more a reason for change at municipality level. The municipality is seen by society as a unchangeable institution that is stuck into old thinking. Policy makers should be aware that if society has to change, their own institution also needs a transition regarding the overall experiences with the municipality on micro level by antagonist groups.

4.4.2: Non- adaptability

Non-adaptability in the context of this research can be described as: the inability of antagonist groups to change or the refusal of antagonist groups to change. Change agents had to deal with a lot of non-adaptability in their effort to introduce the 'expeditie' paradigm to schools and (sport) clubs. According to schools and district coaches:

(1) "The old welfare based logic is still deeply implanted in society. That is the reason why schools are having trouble embracing the new paradigm, even after a couple of months of negotiation and performed meetings".

(2) "After completing phase one, schools and clubs are familiar with the new paradigm and small initiatives have been formed. But it is still too soon to state that they embraced the idea, this needs much more time, patience, funding and effort".

(3) "The municipality of Enschede thinks in an entirely different way about the expedition in terms of goals, time and funding. For instance, opportunities of financing certain initiatives that could help the 'expeditie' a lot are being rejected because of the high costs".

The assumption that a great variety of institutions in society are still stuck in 'old welfare thinking' has a direct relation with other non-adaptability contradictions. Municipality and district teams recall that:

(1) "Schools fall back into old ways of handling day-to day activities. They look convinced about the new 'expeditie' paradigm and it seems like they act in accordance with this new thinking, but this decreases after a certain amount of time".

(2) "Schools are used to the systems the municipality created themselves. These old logic processes are really strong embedded in the day-to-day work activities that it clashes with practices based on the new logic".

(3) "The beginning of the 'expeditie' focuses on collect stories and underlying problems in society. But due to the current paradigm clubs, and to a lesser extent schools, are not open in what they are lacking. They are really busy with their status and are afraid that if they are too open in what they are lacking, other institutions will question their professionalism".

Conclusion non-adaptability

The non-adaptability contradictions show that old term thinking is still present in today's society and is harder to change than expected. This conservative look is a threat for social change and creates space for even more contradictions. The difficulty is that it is not present at only one particular group or institution, but in the whole society. The 'expeditie' is starting to look isolated when it is trying to change a society that is stuck into old term thinking. District teams that are embedded in an institutional field are able to envision new practices and adopted them, but how do they get others

to adopt to this logic? Change agents may have the incentive to create and carry out new practices but often lack the power to change institutions.

4.4.3. Interinstitutional incompatibilities

Interinstitutional incompatibilities in the context of this research can be described as: Multiple and contradictory Institutional arrangements between different societal groups that are hard to align with each other. While attending multiple meetings, discussions and counselling sessions one of the most observed phenomenon was that the 'expeditie' itself is constantly misunderstood. The constant lack of understanding had his influences on the total progress of the 'expeditie'. District coaches remark:

(1) "School staff constantly ask what role they have in the process, even after several meetings and counselling sessions. Some resist against the 'expeditie' which causes more and more tensions, only because the new logic is not clear to them. When schools are asked to explain the 'expeditie' themselves, they often reply with vague or difficult answers".

(2) "School staff members are unaware of their exact role in the 'expeditie', so the process is slowed down and less effective because of a lack of action. In the eyes of the schools, the district teams have the lead in the total process while the basic principle of the new logic is that schools have to take actions themselves in finding fitting solutions".

Schools on the other hand state that:

(1) "We (Teachers, school boards and directors) have the feeling that it is our task to find out what needs to be done. We feel a bit abandoned in this process by the district teams".

(2) "This also has its effects on the parents because when it is not clear for the school what to do, it is surely not clear for the parents".

Eventually, the 'expeditie' has to be embraced by the residents of Enschede. Schools and district teams have their differences and contradictions to solve, but are working together towards a mutual goal. This is, compared to the involved residents / parents, a better starting point. According to the district teams and schools:

"We see that parents are really struggling in what they can contribute to the school and to the neighbourhood. The 'expeditie' is something new for them and most of them have never thought about it this way".

While the lack of understanding is hard to resolve, it is one of the causes for an even worse contradiction. In almost every meeting, counselling session and conference there was a form of ambiguity and scepticism present at the antagonist groups. This leaves district teams in a difficult situation, schools are stuck in embedded institutional processes, they misunderstand the 'expeditie' and they act defensive against it. District coaches elaborate that:

(1) "In several meetings we faced a lot of counteractivity varying from showing no opening for change to rejecting new initiatives created in the 'expeditie' process, especially in the beginning of the process".

(2) "Schools are reluctant to change, they see the 'expeditie' often as one of the many municipality projects what were organized before and failed. Those projects did not have any benefits for them in the end, so their first reaction is rather sceptical".

(3) "We stumbled on a lot of resistance even after several contact moments with schools. Most of the time schools think they know it better and have the tendency to use counterwords like: 'yes... but... so what...?' They act like they don't need the 'expeditie' to improve their position in society.

(4) School staff thinks in barriers instead of the benefits when it comes to change. They have the irrational fear that old practices that have been proven to be good, need to be replaced by new practices that fit the 'expeditie' paradigm more, which is absolutely not the case".

Parents and residents, that are involved in school activities, are also reluctant to change just like schools. Contradictions that parents and residents encounter resembles those of schools and (sport) clubs. Although in the case of parents / residents, the incomprehension between them and the protagonists groups is more or less a driver for more contradictions. District coaches get confronted with:

(1) "Parents and residents are usually sceptical about district coaches and youth workers that want to help them. They associate the neighbourhood teams and youth care with misery and displeasure instead of professionals that actually want to help them".

(2) "Scepticism is really an issue here because parents feel that they are ignored by municipal institutions and social workers and don't believe that the 'expeditie' will change that. This makes them less interested in participating actively in new initiatives".

(3) "Moreover, Only a few parents actually experienced the entire 'inclusive' process. And even if they have experienced it, it doesn't mean they go along with this new paradigm".

School staff experience that:

(1) "Parents don't have confidence in the district coach, they say that social workers are perceiving problems from their own living world, and thus parents feel unheard".

(2) "This feeling is strengthened by the idea that some parents / residents with complex problems have. They experience that complex problems in society are avoided and more simple and obvious problems are being solved. This creates more distance between groups that receive much help from municipality institutions and individuals that feel subordinate".

At (sport) clubs different Youth workers underline the same developments at schools. The main difference at (sport) club is, according to the club manager from Avanti:

"Sport clubs are more competitive than other institutions and most of the time dependent on volunteers. This means that the ideas and the way of thinking are rather different than youth workers or district coaches. They also have a wait-and-see attitude and would be more open for change if another club shows positive results thanks to a new initiative".

District teams also encounter another Interinstitutional incompatibility in their day-to day activities. While it is not totally a counteraction, it is more a inability to see the need of change. District coaches often detect that:

(1) "Contradictions are often experienced as not high enough to act upon, so support actions that would help to make a change possible aren't initiated".

(2) "Parents are too busy with day-to-day activities, they are aware that something has to change but there are no contradictions that drive parents to the point that they actively strive for change. They are more focused on short-term solutions and if they want to change something they want to see instant results".

Conclusion Interinstitutional incompatibilities

This chapter shows that many different antagonist groups in society are incapable to accept and adopt a new way of thinking that is introduced by an institution that raises a lot of sceptical feelings beforehand. Unfortunately for the district teams, most of the causes for the lack of understanding and the sceptical attitude lies in the non-adaptability together with negative experiences with previous community initiatives. So it isn't easy to mitigate its effects because the core of the problem lies much broader than the 'expeditie' initiative itself.

Furthermore, these incapability's not only reveal the complexity to change the antagonist groups, it also displays some reflection for the protagonists itself. First, it becomes clear that change agents are peripheral players at the moment, as described by Maguire (2007), who may have the incentive to distribute the new idea and create new practices, but lack the power to change institutions. Second, incapability to change creates a paradox which is called the caregiver paradox. It suggests that caregivers and change agents have to work with antagonists to let them speak about their problems and motive their self-chosen answers. But in practice caregivers and change agents drive them in a direction (intentionally or unintentionally) to own-thought solution. On the one hand district coaches need to work more informally with antagonists, but on the other hand they have to act as professionals. Third, the municipality of Enschede is an institution which is also in the middle of a transition itself. internally there is also a lot of scepticism and uncertainties regarding the 'expeditie', which causes that it looks like an isolated social innovation initiative. Thus, it is assumed that the paradox of embedded agency is present in this case.

4.4.4 Misaligned interest

Misaligned interest in the context of this research can be described as: differences in interest between existing social arrangements and the interests and needs of change agents who support the new logic. Although it is not immediately visible, a great variety of contradictions have their origin in the mismatch of interest of different groups in society. Most of the contradictions are therefore connected to the other three groups. District coaches encountered that:

(1) "Schools and (sport) clubs are resistant to the 'expeditie' because they are focused on their day-to-day activities and look less at the broader context of the 'expeditie'. In meetings and counselling sessions they refer to the 'expeditie' as vague, without any practical benefits for their day-to-day activities".

(2) "Terms like inclusion, participation etc. are really annoying for schools and especially (sport) clubs. They are far more interested in concrete outcomes and are not embracing the new idea without it".

A youth worker noticed:

“The municipality, youth workers and district coaches are all the same for (sport) clubs. They could declare that their interest are the same than clubs, but I doubt it and the clubs too”.

Conclusion misaligned interest

Even though the protagonists may assume that antagonist groups think on the long term, in multiple meetings it became clear that the day-to-day activities are the subject of discussion. This requires a different introduction of the ‘expeditie’ and a different way to show results. However, this type of introduction is shown too less in the work field. Moreover, the internal interests of the protagonist groups are also not aligned. At the end, the underlying goal of the ‘expeditie’ is cost reduction. This is a long term goal, but sometimes it appears that the municipality is more focused on short term goals. Various initiatives may involve some short term expenditures but could pay off on the long term.

4.4 Clash of Logics

In order to illustrate which contradictions lead to a clash of logics between protagonist groups and antagonist groups each contradiction is summed up and combined with the reciprocal clash(es) it generates. Some contradictions cause multiple recorded clashes between a great variety of groups. Groups that are involved in these observed clashes are mentioned in the last column.

The mentioned contradictions in the observation period already showed some characteristics of a clash in logics. Most of the contradictions are entwined with the clashes and could not be separated from each other, therefore the below table could display some overlap in the contradiction and their resulting clash(es). However, the clash part in table 3 provides more context to the existing contradictions to make the real problems in the ‘expeditie’ case more visible.

Table 3: Contradictions and clashes in the context of the ‘expeditie’

Contradiction	No.	Clash	*Societal groups involved
Inefficiency: The way of measuring the results from the 'expeditie' initiatives are not in line with the goals of the district coaches	1	The municipality is more focused on numbers and budgets while for the district coaches the effects of the ‘expeditie’ are far more interesting. Because monitoring isn’t done or in the wrong way, district coaches and youth workers don’t know in what phase of the process they are and can’t critically assess the last phase.	DC / M <> DC / M
Inefficiency: The cooperation between municipality institutions, district coaches, district teams and youth workers is insufficient to make the ‘expeditie’ successful	2	All parties must be on one line (IBer, school, SMD, district coaches, teacher, (sport) clubs and eventually parents / residents) to make the ‘expeditie’ succeed. But each party gives their own definition to the ‘expeditie’ which is mostly based on ‘old term’ thinking. Thus, all parties won’t act as a unity and their visions are not aligned. Furthermore, there is insufficient cooperation between different government agencies, which lead to further inefficiencies and confusion.	DC <> S / S, P <> DC, M
Inefficiency: There are so many different organizations participating in one process or one institution that it creates confusion for the people and	3	All those institutions that are founded to help the residents have different approaches, services, visions and interest because they often act separately. Schools / (sport) clubs and residents experience a lot of trouble finding out which institution they should contact for a problem. This creates more confusion and scepticism.	S, P <> DC, M

professionals involved			
Inefficiency: Safeguarding the results, activities and initiatives at schools and clubs is done poorly	4	A lot of activities have been proposed and performed successfully, but are not safeguarded and the effects are not mapped and secured. This leads to relapse into old term thinking and more scepticism.	DC <> S
Non adaptability: School often relapse in old habits	5	School often relapse in old habits like supply oriented assistance, individual casualty and problem based consultancy instead of solution based. Schools are still very case-centred rather than problem-oriented because the new logic is not embraced enough.	DC <> S
Non-adaptability: The Municipality is still stuck in the old 'welfare' way of thinking	6	Schools noticed that the transition within the municipality is still ongoing. It is noted that it is not yet clear how to carry out the 'expeditie' by both the municipality and the district coaches which results in confusion at schools.	S <> M, DC
Non-adaptability: The old welfare based logic is still deeply rooted in society and is difficult to change	7	If parents / residents / schools and clubs encounter unsolvable problems they are likely to forward it to the district coaches / youth workers / municipality. Instead of thinking or taking actions themselves. It is very hard for change agents to transform this paradigm.	DC, M <> P, S, C
“ “	8	Schools are still very hierarchical and authoritarian. To change something from below (which is the goal of the 'expeditie') is difficult because of the pressure from above. A lot of approval is required from higher management which limits the overall flexibility and creativity	DC <> S
Non adaptability: Schools and clubs are not open in what they are lacking because it challenges their professionalism	9	This clashes with the process of the 'expeditie' because schools have put themselves into a more vulnerable position in order to reveal what they are really lacking in order to let the district teams resolve those shortcomings. But schools feel that it challenges their professionalism and resist, which means that problems stay unnoticed and unsolved.	M > S
Inst. incompatibilities: There is a lot of ambiguity / scepticism between schools and district coaches in the 'expeditie' process and the use of its initiatives	10	Schools / clubs fear that old practices that have been proven to be good, need to be replaced by new practices that fit the 'expeditie' paradigm better. They have a black / white vision regarding change and what is supposed to be a 'good' practice. These tensions create resistance / scepticism towards change at schools / clubs.	S <> DC
“ “	11	Some new initiatives that are invented in the new 'expeditie' process are not supported by the actors that have to carry them out. Or those initiatives were already tried and failed, so the overall support of the 'expeditie' decreases.	DC <> S
“ “	12	Schools are resistant to change: they see the 'expeditie' as one of the many municipality projects / Initiative that came before and failed. Those projects did not have any benefits for them. This creates scepticism and trust issues	DC <> S
Inst. incompatibilities: There is a lot of ambiguity / scepticism between (sport) clubs and district coaches in the 'expeditie' process and the use of its initiatives	13	(Sport) clubs are resistant to change: they have had negative experiences with municipality initiatives, change projects and social workers. And are therefore very sceptical and doubtful about the 'expeditie' and change agents.	C <> DC
Inst. incompatibilities: There is a lot of ambiguity / scepticism between parents and district coaches in the 'expeditie' process and the use of its	14	Parents / residents that are feeling disadvantaged and unheard for decades suddenly hear terms like inclusion, listening and initiatives that they can participate in. This creates scepticism: “after all those years of feeling subordinate now the municipality wants to listen to us”?	DC <> P

initiatives			
“ “	15	Fear for the new and unknown ‘expeditie’ by parents. Parents are still embedded in old welfare thinking and are sceptical towards the ‘expeditie’ because they haven’t experienced practical results and associate district coaches with ‘misery’ and negative experiences. This results in more incomprehension and skewed propositions.	DC <> P
Inst. incompatibilities: Even after months of cooperation, the exact role of the schools in the ‘expeditie’ is still unclear to them	16	Because the role of the schools / teachers / school boards is unclear, there is a lack of clarity in who should take the lead. Schools think that the district coaches should take the lead while according to the district coaches this is ‘old thinking’ and believe that schools themselves have to actively seek and experiment in finding fitting solutions for their problems first.	S <> DC
Inst. incompatibilities: Parents do not know what they can initiate in the ‘expeditie’ and what they can add to the society	17	Parents want to do something meaningful, but are unconscious about what they can add to society. This clashes with the idea that they can do all kind of chores according to the district coaches.	S / P <> DC
Inst. incompatibilities: Caregiver paradox: on the one hand district coaches need to work more informally with residents, parents etc. but on the other hand they have to act as professionals	18	1: For the ‘expeditie’ it is required that district coaches collect underlying problems in society, but parents / residents hesitate to talk informally about their problems with district coaches because they create distance with their professional appearance. 2: District coaches don't think with the schools / parents / clubs to come up with solutions, but drive them in a direction (intentionally or unintentionally) to a self-thought solution. The ‘expeditie’ requires that district coaches think together with the dependent individuals.	S / P <> DC
Inst. Incompatibilities: Contradictions are often experienced as not high enough to act upon and to support change according to parents / residents	19	Parents do not see their own problems or do not want to see it. They often tell that nothing is going on. Contradictions experienced by parents / residents are often not high enough to support change.	DC <> P
Inst. incompatibilities: Clubs / schools and parents with a lot of problems look sceptical at other entities were different (municipal) organizations deploy a great variety of initiatives and projects.	20	It is easier to deploy certain initiatives at a more or less trouble-free club / school / neighbourhoods instead of institutions with a lot of problems. The bigger problems are being skipped. This creates a lot of scepticism between different antagonist groups.	C, S, P <> M, DC
Non-adaptability: Schools / clubs are keeping distance and resistance to the ‘expeditie’ because they are focused on their day-to-day activities and look less at the broader context of the ‘expeditie’	21	Schools / clubs look less at the broader context of the ‘expeditie’ and find their day-to-day activities more important. They associate the ‘expeditie’ with extra workloads and thus keeping distance and resistance towards the new paradigm.	DC <> S, C
Misaligned interests: Municipality has other interest than the district coaches	22	The ‘expeditie’ is an long-term process, while the municipality often wants to see results in a short given time. The way the municipality of Enschede looks at the ‘expeditie’ in terms of goals, time and funding clashes with the way district coaches sees it.	M <> DC

“	“	23	Municipality is resistant against new sorts of initiatives that involves additional funding while it could help the ‘expeditie’ a lot. The municipality does not think about what the society really needs.	DC <> M
“	“	24	Schools note that the transition within the municipality is still ongoing. It is observed that it is not yet clear how to carry out the ‘expeditie’ by both the municipality and the district coaches which results in confusion at schools.	S <> M, DC
Misaligned interests: Schools are more interested in concrete, tangible outcomes instead of a vague story containing terms like inclusion, participation etc.		25	District coaches create little support at schools for the ‘expeditie’ because they have not yet experienced any positive effects and because the whole ‘expeditie’ idea is often too vague.	S <> DC
“	“	26	District coaches are talking about development, new paradigms, success stories etc. but schools want concrete outcomes, tangible outcomes that will help them.	DC <> S

**Explanation: DC: district coaches, S: Schools, P: parents / residents, M: Municipality of Enschede, C: (Sport) clubs*

Conclusion clash of logics

Altogether, the various interviews and contact moments provides a large number of contradictions and various clashes of logic. Table 3 displays a comprehensive overview, which is the basis for further analysis. While the overview is basically a summarization of contradictions and clashes, it gives some insights in important linkages among the different topics. Various contradictions and clashes are intertwined, they can strengthen each other or can cause even more complications in the total process. By linking the most important subjects that have been observed, five dominant phenomena can be recognized.

(1) Observed mutual misunderstanding in the total process. While the ‘expeditie’ has been introduced in October 2016 at schools and April 2017 at (sport) clubs, there is still no real alignment between the vision of the district coaches and most of the schools regarding the ‘expeditie’. Various meetings and counselling sessions underline that the role of the schools / clubs in the ‘expeditie’ remains unclear, they pay less attention to the broader context and focus on day-to-day activities and associate the ‘expeditie’ with extra workloads. While it is assumed that this new paradigm can be made understandable in the foreseeable future, it is crucial for the total process to create a mutual understanding. The change of logics cannot succeed while the underlying meaning isn’t understood by the antagonist groups.

(2) Observed sceptical perspective of the antagonist groups. Groups that need to be convinced are not open for change which is initiated by governmental institutions. Schools and clubs state that they won’t blindly follow the district teams with this new inclusive initiative. They may have had negative experiences with earlier initiatives, don’t trust the social worker, want to see practical results first and feel superior above the district teams or they don’t want their professionalism to be damaged. A lot of these contradictions are also encountered by parents and residents, they are feeling disadvantaged or feel unheard for decades and they suddenly hear terms like inclusion, listening and initiatives that they can participate in. This is unknown for them and creates scepticism. It is assumed that this is one of the biggest threats of the ‘expeditie’, district teams have to use all their social skills to solve or to mitigate these tensions.

(3) Multiple clashes of logic caused by the entrenched 'welfare logic' as the dominant logic in society. Antagonist groups often relapse in old habits and are still very case-centred rather than problem-oriented, which indicates that the logic is not embraced enough. A lot of activities have been proposed and performed successfully but not safeguarded and the effects are not mapped and secured. This leads to a relapse into old term thinking and more scepticism. Consequently there is a lack of action by antagonist groups. Moreover, contradictions may not be high enough to cause behavioural change and antagonist groups would choose for short-term solutions. In short, it is assumed that this is not really a rejection of the new logic but more a state of idleness towards the new logic.

(4) Paradox of embedded agency is visible in the day-to-day activities of the district teams. These circumstances make clear that the old welfare logic is still deeply rooted in society. Within the municipality and the district teams there is also an ongoing transition regarding the interpretation of the 'expeditie'. It is still unknown how to effectively carry out the 'expeditie' in practice. District teams struggle with their new role and tasks and often fall back into old practices and have to set aside their professional approach, which is challenging for them (e.g. caregiver paradox). These examples show that the paradox of embedded agency is a evident problem. It questions how the district teams, operating in an embedded agency, can change institutions while they are themselves stuck in a society which they created themselves.

(5) While changing the society from below is an enormous challenge, district teams are also opposed from higher levels of the municipality. In short, the municipality of Enschede has other interest than the district teams. The 'expeditie' is an long-term process, while the municipality often wants to see results in a short given time. The way the municipality of Enschede looks at the 'expeditie' in terms of goals, time and funding clashes with the way district coaches see it. Furthermore, the municipality is resistant against new sorts of initiatives that involves additional funding while it could help the 'expeditie' exponentially. The results show that it is still the dominant logic that guides certain behaviour of societal groups. These dominant phenomena are the main drivers for tensions and contradictions between societal groups in the context of the 'expeditie'. But more importantly, these observed phenomena are the main reasons that societal groups won't embrace the new logic or even reject a new logic. If the municipality of Enschede and the district teams want to accomplish a change of logic in this part of society, they have to solve, or at least mitigate the main tensions and contradictions. An interesting remark about these listed clashes and contradictions is that the observed mutual misunderstanding and scepticism about the change in logic hasn't been mentioned by in the literature of Seo & Creed (2002) as well in other literature concerning the change of logic. Though, these subjects have a lot of influence on the observed research context.

4.5 Identified praxis that tries to mitigate the contradictions.

Chapter 4.4 deals with the nature of the clash of logics and what is experienced in several contact moments between different protagonist and antagonist groups. However, not only negative tensions were observed during the meetings and recounted during the interviews, but also actions from change agents that try to solve or mitigate tensions. Those actions are characterized using the four stages of praxis, defined by Seo & Creed (2002) who have been explained earlier in this paper. The higher the praxis stage of an observed action, the more it is likely that detected tensions and contradictions have been solved or mitigated. With this in mind, an effect rating from 1-5 is used to illustrate what the total effect of the actions was and if it had impact on solving or mitigating the connected tension(s).

Table 4: Clashes combined with actions, interventions and their effects

Clash No.	Clash	Actions and interventions and their stage of praxis	Effects	Praxis effect rate
1	The municipality is more focused on numbers and budgets while for the district coaches the effects of the 'expeditie' are far more interesting.	-	-	-
2	Societal groups don't act as a unity and their visions are not aligned. There is insufficient cooperation between different government agencies, which lead to further inefficiencies and confusion.	(3) Actor mobilization: Schools / district coaches attempt to act more as a united entity, creating the feeling of parents that the teacher and district coach are one team and are there to help them	<i>No effects were observed</i>	-
3	All those institutions that are founded to help the residents have different approaches, services, visions and interest because they often act separately.	-	-	-
4	A lot of activities have been proposed and performed successfully but are not safeguarded and the effects are not mapped and secured. This leads to a relapse into old term thinking and more scepticism.	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: District coaches continually discuss the definition of the 'expeditie' with involved actors. They let actors be reflective and give them space to influence the total process themselves.	* Modest effect, but these repeated discussions can also cause tensions between the antagonist and protagonist groups * Although schools fall back into old practices, they are now more aware by the fact that they relapse. So they reached certain level of reflectiveness on their own day-to-day actions.	***
		(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Celebrate and close the first phase of the 'expeditie'. Success stories, such as parents who start something without external help and initiatives that have been created, must be exposed in the neighbourhood and at schools	<i>No effects were observed</i>	-
5	School often relapse in old habits like supply oriented assistance individual casualty and problem based consultancy instead of solution based. Schools are still very case-centred rather than problem-oriented and the new logic is not embraced enough	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: District coaches continually discuss the definition of the 'expeditie' with involved actors. They let actors be reflective and give them space to influence the total process themselves.	* Modest effect, but these repeated discussions can also cause tensions between the antagonist and protagonist groups * Although schools fall back into old practices, they are now more aware by the fact that they relapse. So they reached certain level of reflectiveness on their own day-to-day actions.	**

6	Schools noticed that the transition within the municipality is still ongoing. It is noted that it is not yet clear how to carry out the 'expeditie' by both the municipality and the district coaches which results in confusion at schools.	-	-	-
7	If parents / residents / schools / clubs encounter unsolvable problems they are likely to forward it to the district coaches / youth workers / municipality. Instead of thinking or taking actions themselves. It is very hard for change agents to alter this paradigm	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Let stakeholders formulate a self-interpretation of what the 'expeditie' is in their own words and vision and give them space and flexibility to self-proposed initiatives	* More reflection towards their own role in the 'expeditie' * Practices that have been created by antagonist groups themselves have more legitimacy than practices created by the municipality	***
		(4) Actor mobilization: District coaches help parents / residents to create initiatives with a low entry threshold in which a lot of people can participate. Which motivates people to become more aware of their own role in society.	* New initiatives have been created around schools like: Lunch time committees, WhatsApp groups, collaboration with the patrol officer and dozens of voluntary chores. * Interest in the new paradigm is created among parents / schools, Those who witnessed the practical initiatives like the 'verteltafels' were positive and asked district teams when the next session would take place.	****
8	Schools are still very hierarchical and authoritarian. A lot of approval is required from higher management which limits the overall flexibility and creativity	-	-	-
9	Schools have put themselves into a more vulnerable position in order to reveal what they are really lacking so district teams can help to resolve those shortcomings. But schools feel that it challenges their professionalism and resist, which means that problems stay unnoticed and unsolved	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: District coaches make teachers, schools, clubs etc. aware that this change in logic (expeditie) is different from the previous initiatives of the municipality, it has a broader context and requires a complete new way of thinking	Because it is proclaimed by the district coaches, who are still associated with the municipality, it could lack credibility among the antagonists	*
10	Schools / clubs fear that old practices that have been proven to be good, need to be replaced by new practices that fit the 'expeditie' paradigm more. They have a black / white vision regarding change and what is supposed to be a 'good' practice. These tensions create resistance and scepticism towards change at schools / clubs	(3) Actor mobilization: schools / clubs need to have space to continue experimenting with new practices or old practices that are proven to be good, a collective action does not have to succeed immediately and failure is seen as a learning opportunity by the district teams.	It is challenging to really convince the antagonist groups that this kind of trial-and-error will function in the long term. They haven't experienced enough positive effects to embrace these new techniques.	**

11	Some new initiatives that are invented in the new 'expeditie' process are not supported by the actors that have to carry them out. Or those initiatives were already tried and failed, so the overall support of the 'expeditie' decreases	(3) Actor mobilization: schools / clubs need to have space to continue experimenting with new practices or old practices that are proven to be good, a collective action does not have to succeed immediately and failure is seen as a learning opportunity by the district teams.	It is challenging to really convince the antagonist groups that this kind of trial-and-error will function in the long term. They haven't experienced enough positive effects to embrace these new techniques.	**
12	Schools are resistant to change: they see the 'expeditie' as one of the many municipality projects / Initiative that came before and failed. Those projects did not have any benefits for them. This creates scepticism and trust issues.	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: District coaches make teachers, schools, clubs etc. aware that this change in logic (expeditie) is different from the previous initiatives of the municipality, it has a broader context and requires a complete new way of thinking	Because it is proclaimed by the district coaches, who are still associated with the municipality, it could lack credibility among the antagonists	*
		(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: District coaches continually discuss the definition of the 'expeditie' with involved actors. They let actors be reflective and give them space to influence the total process themselves.	* Modest effect, but these repeated discussions can also cause tensions between the antagonist and protagonist groups * Although schools fall back into old practices, they are now more aware by the fact that they relapse. So they reached certain level of reflectiveness on their own day-to-day actions.	***
13	(Sport) clubs are resistant to change: they have had negative experiences with municipality initiatives, change and social workers. And are therefore very sceptical and doubtful about the 'expeditie' and change agents.	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: When the district team leader is confronted with an institution or individual who is reluctant to change, she will switch to a more confronting approach. He / she will constantly interrogate with the antagonist and find out if it is unwilling or unable to change, why they get defensive and tries to refute their defensive arguments.	This technique is used by a few district coaches when the process strands and could have success but is also time consuming, requires interrogating skills and the possibility exists that an individual or institution will defend their selves even more against the new logic	***
		(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Other way of communicating: no long and vague story about inclusion or logic change, but ask potential change agents what their drive and passion is in their job and link that to the 'expeditie' paradigm.	* Partly executed by district teams, but it is hard to explain the practical benefits since only small, low effect initiatives have been conducted * Schools were unconscious of their own inclusive-minded practices, as a result of the 'expeditie' practices they became more aware of their own actions and it have provided them with a framework to act on.	****
14	Parents / residents that are feeling disadvantaged and unheard for decades suddenly hear terms like inclusion, listening and initiatives that they can participate in. This creates scepticism: "after all those years of feeling subordinate now the municipality wants to listen to us"?	(3) Actor mobilization: At one school informal rooms were created ('the living rooms') where parents can talk informally about their problems with district coaches / youth workers / teachers	These settings create an informal safe space for parents or residents to tell their story, there are no obligations and parents won't have the feeling that they are being questioned, the downside is that it is only organized at one school	****

		(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Other way of communicating: no long and vague story about inclusion or logic change, but ask potential change agents what their drive and passion is in their job and link that to the 'expeditie' paradigm.	* Parents / residents are sceptical in the introduction sessions, but that changes if they get the feeling that district coaches are truly listening to their problems and maybe even create solutions together with them *Already executed by district teams, but only at a small group of parents / residents	***
15	Fear for the new and unknown 'expeditie' by parents. Parents are still embedded in old welfare thinking and are sceptical towards the 'expeditie' because they haven't experienced practical results and associate district coaches with 'misery' and negative experiences. This results in more incomprehension and skewed proportions.	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Instead of putting much emphasis on implementing a new logic in antagonists groups, focus on the practical improvements individuals can experience by accepting a change of logics. Creating awareness to raise the legitimacy of the change of logic among antagonist by (1) stimulating an active role amongst parents / residents by reversing their role, so what can they contribute to their neighbourhood? (2) let them experience the positive influence and practical solutions arising from those initiatives.	* First it triggers confusion but in some cases parents did take action and started some initiatives * Interest in the new paradigm is created among parents, Those who witnessed the practical initiatives like the 'vertelafels' were positive and asked district teams when the next session would take place. * Only done at a few schools, so the effect stays low in the broader society	****
		(3) Actor mobilization: District coaches are more present in the work field and in day-to-day activities	Personal contact is very important as a social worker, not only in the street or at the club but also at personal situations. District teams and youth workers notice that after some time when you are trusted, people tend to be very grateful for the help and rather inclined to accept change.	***
16	Because the role of the schools / teachers / school boards is unclear, there is a lack of clarity in who should take the lead in the 'expeditie' process.	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Let stakeholders formulate a self-interpretation of what the 'expeditie' is in their own words and vision and give them space and flexibility to self-proposed initiatives	* More reflection towards their own role in the 'expeditie' * However schools still forget their own role in the process and stay dependant on the help of the district teams	*
17	Parents often want to do something meaningful, but are often unconscious about what they can add to society. This clashes with the idea that they can do all kind of things according to the district coaches.	(3) Actor mobilization: District coaches help parents / residents to create initiatives with a low entry threshold in which a lot of people can participate. Which motivates people to become more aware of their own role in society.	* New initiatives have been created around schools like: lunch time committees, WhatsApp groups, collaboration with the patrol officer and dozens of voluntary chores. * Interest in the new paradigm is created among parents, those who witnessed the practical initiatives like the 'vertelafels' were positive and asked district teams when the next session would take place.	***
		(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Some district coaches used 'motiverende gespreksvoering' in their interviewing tactics. The counsellor doesn't recommend or give the antagonist directions, but try to persuade the person to come up with own solutions and make them owner of their problems.	It helps obtain real problems and stories from parents / residents in a casual way. District coaches let antagonists actively participate without feeling pushed into a direction and that is considered as positive.	****

18	<p>1: For the 'expeditie' it is required that district coaches collect underlying problems in society, but parents / residents hesitate to talk about their problems with district coaches because they create distance with their professional appearance.</p> <p>2: District coaches don't think with the schools / parents / clubs to come up with solutions but drive them in a direction (intentionally or unintentionally) to a self-thought solution. The 'expeditie' requires that district coaches think together with the dependent individuals.</p>	<p>(4) Collective actions: Intermediary function in the form of a school assistant / paid club manager as a link between different institutional groups. At this moment one school assistant is active to implement the new vision and keeps an eye on any recidivation of old practices.</p> <p>(3) Actor mobilization: at one school informal rooms were created ('the living rooms') where parents can talk informally about their problems with district coaches, youth workers or teachers.</p>	<p>* Parents are more open to talk with the school assistant about their problems, they trust this person and can talk about their problems in an informal way.</p> <p>* These settings create an informal safe space for parents or residents to tell their story, there are no obligations and parents won't have the feeling that they are being questioned, the downside is that it is only organized at one school.</p>	****
		<p>(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Let stakeholders formulate a self-interpretation of what the 'expeditie' is in their own words and vision and give them space and flexibility to self-proposed initiatives</p> <p>(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Some district coaches used 'motiverende gespreksvoering' in their interviewing tactics.</p>	<p>* Creates more reflection towards antagonist's role in the 'expeditie'.</p> <p>* Schools were unconscious of their own inclusive-minded practices, as a result of the 'expeditie' practices, they became more aware of their own actions and provided a framework to act on.</p> <p>* It helps obtain real problems and stories from parents / residents in a casual way. In the most positive scenario, district coaches let antagonists actively participate without feeling pushed into a direction and that is considered as positive, however this isn't always the case.</p>	**
19	Parents do not see their own problems or do not want to see it. They often tell that nothing is going on. Contradictions experienced by parents / residents are often not high enough to support change.	<p>(4) Collective actions: Intermediary function in the form of a school assistant / paid club manager as a link between different institutional groups. At this moment one school assistant is active to implement the new vision and keeps an eye on any recidivation of old practices.</p>	Parents are more open to talk with the school assistant about their problems, they trust this person and can talk about their problems in an informal way.	*****
		<p>(3) Actor mobilization: At one school informal rooms were created ('the living rooms') where parents can talk informally about their problems with district coaches, youth workers or teachers.</p>	* These settings create an informal safe space for parents or residents to tell their story, there are no obligations and parents won't have the feeling that they are being questioned, the downside is that it is only organized at one school	****
20	It is easier to deploy certain initiatives at a more or less trouble-free club / school / neighbourhoods instead of institutions with a lot of problems. The bigger problems are being skipped. This creates a lot of scepticism between different antagonist groups.	-	-	-

21	Schools / clubs look less at the broader context of the 'expeditie' and find their day-to-day activities more important. They associate the 'expeditie' with extra workloads and thus keeping distance / resistance towards the new paradigm.	(3) Actor mobilization: Create change agents among teachers, school boards and other employees by letting them experience positive effects of the 'expeditie' and that problems in day-to day activities can be solved by 'new thinking' initiatives.	<i>No effects were observed</i>	-
		(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: District teams use clear schemes as, stories, movies and other tools that can clarify the message from the protagonists to the antagonists groups.	All those tools could be used in some introduction sessions, but most of the time the overall effect is low due to the observed fall-back in old term thinking in other sessions.	*
22	The 'expeditie' is an long-term process, while the municipality often wants to see results in a short giving time. The way the municipality of Enschede looks at the 'expeditie' in terms of goals, time and funding clashes with the way district coaches sees it.	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: District coaches try to show the municipality the importance of the total effect of the 'expeditie',. Their goal is to create awareness that it could be a chance to really accomplish a start of an inclusive society.	Awareness has been created at some departments of the municipality. The municipality is aware that something has to change, despite being reasonably critical about the expedition, There is however, much more awareness needed so that the 'expeditie' gets more priority.	**
23	Municipality is resistant against new sorts of initiatives that involves additional funding while it could help the 'expeditie' a lot. The municipality does not think about what the society really needs.	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: District coaches try to show the municipality the importance of the total effect of the 'expeditie',. Their goal is to create awareness that the 'expeditie' could be a chance to really accomplish a start of an inclusive society.	Awareness has been created at some departments of the municipality. The municipality is aware that something has to change, despite being reasonably critical about the expedition, There is however, much more awareness needed so that the 'expeditie' gets more priority.	**
25	District coaches create little support at schools for the 'expeditie' because they have not yet experienced any positive effects and because the whole 'expeditie' idea is often too vague.	(2) Reflective shift in consciousness: Other way of communicating: no long and vague story about inclusion or logic change, but ask potential change agents what their drive and passion is in their job and link that to the 'expeditie' paradigm.	* Partly executed by district teams, but it is hard to explain the practical benefits since only small, low effect initiatives have been conducted. *Schools were unconscious of their own inclusive-minded practices, as a result of the 'expeditie' practices they became more aware of their own actions and it have provided them with a framework to act on.	**
		(2) Reflective shift in consciences: Instead of putting much emphasis on implementing a new logic in antagonists groups, focus on the practical improvements individuals can experience by accepting a change of logics. Creating awareness to raise the legitimacy of the change of logic among antagonist by (1) stimulating an active role amongst schools by reversing their role, so what can they contribute to society (2) let them experience the positive influences and practical solutions arising from those initiatives.	* First it triggers confusion but in some cases schools did take action after some time. * Interest in the new paradigm is created among schools, Those who witnessed the practical initiatives like the 'verteltafels' were positive and asked district teams when the next session would take place.	***

26	District coaches are talking about development, new paradigms, success stories etc. but schools want concrete outcomes, tangible outcomes that help them	(2) Reflective shift in consciences: Other way of communicating: no long and vague story about inclusion or logic change, but ask potential change agents what their drive and passion is in their job and link that to the 'expeditie' paradigm.	* Partly executed by district teams, but it is hard to explain the practical benefits since only small, low effect initiatives have been conducted *Schools were unconscious of their own inclusive-minded practices, as a result of the 'expeditie' practices they became more aware of their own actions and it have provided them with a framework to act on.	***
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4.5 conclusion praxis

The actions and reactions of the district teams are rather divers and show that individual input is being stimulated. While at the beginning of an entire new paradigm change, district teams managed to create certain initiatives together with antagonist groups and are actively searching for clashes and try to mediate in them. As a consequence of this new initiatives, no policies or guidebooks exists and teams have to rely entirely on themselves and their colleagues. This is shown in the approach of the actions, which are more based on a trail-and-error principle. Effective praxis's will be identified after some time and effort.

However not all tensions and clashes are intensively reduced by the district coaches, some continue to exist without an observed praxis by the change agents. At (sport) clubs, no evident effects have been measured because of the short observation period. Additionally, some actions have minimal effect leaving contractions in existence and may even lead to more clashes in society. Furthermore, some actions and interventions have been noticed throughout the research but no effects have been detected.

The first stage of praxis, which is the creation of change agents, hasn't been observed. Mainly because those change agents, which are the district coaches, are already formed. These groups of people are the first to stimulate the transformation by enforcing new ways of thinking, namely the 'expeditie' paradigm. Due to the short observation period and the current introductive stage of the 'expeditie' the most used actions and interventions by the district teams can be seen as attempts to create a reflective shift in consciousness. While a reflective shift in consciousness is needed, most of the actions and interventions have little effect in the beginning. Therefore, district teams accept that most of the schools 'need some time' processing newly given insights. It is also observed, in this stage, that district teams have to counter the most stubborn societal groups together with their contradictions. Despite the misunderstanding, scepticism and non-adaptability in the beginning stages, some schools and district coaches, in their joint effort, reached a state of collective understanding. In order to realize such actions both the change agents and schools have to be on one line regarding the planned initiatives. When this alignment of vision and interest occurs, minor initiatives start to appear. However, due the fact that these schools are already collaborating with the district coaches for months, gives them a head-start compared to other schools. Subsequently, there are only two discovered collective actions in the process. It indicates that, at this moment in the process, there are only a little amount of actors that are willing to accept a new logic and contribute to institutional change. It could be that antagonist groups need more time to make the switch in consciousness, mobilize actors and make collective actions. Conversely, many clashes still exist illustrating that the total effect of the praxis by the change agents is rather low.

To conclude this final part and show what interventions and mechanisms help participants to either accept the new logic or reject the new logic, the most important clashes of logic have been summarized and coupled with coherent actions in table 5.

Table 5: Most important contradictions, clashes and mitigating actions summarized

Most important contradictions and clashes	Actions / interventions implemented by the district coaches	Lead to acceptance / rejection?	Reason of acceptance / rejection
<i>(1) Observed mutual misunderstanding in the total process.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Let actors be reflective to their own actions - Continually discuss and clarify the definition of the 'expeditie' with involved actors - Closing the first phase of the 'expeditie' and show results 	Partly acceptance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Actions and interventions are only effective on schools who are open for change, although every actor agrees with the 'expeditie' approach - Performed initiatives showed limited effects - Antagonist groups need more time to comprehend the extensive change in logic - Do the antagonist groups really accept the new logic or are they just cooperating because they are used to do so?
<i>(2) Observed sceptical perspective of the antagonist groups. Groups that need to be convinced are not open for change which is initiated by governmental institutions.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create awareness that the 'expeditie' is different from the previous initiatives of the municipality. - Give space and time to continue experimenting with new practices by trail-and-error - Interrogate with antagonist groups why they are defensive and try to refute their defensive arguments - Less emphasis on changing logics, but focus on the practical improvements individuals can experience by accepting change 	Partly local acceptance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Change agents lack credibility among the antagonist groups because of earlier experiences with municipality initiatives - If antagonist groups haven't experienced any positive effect that they can directly relate to the 'expeditie' they are most likely to stay sceptical - Interest is created once antagonist experience the positive effects of practical initiatives - repeated discussions can also cause more tensions between the antagonist and protagonist groups
<i>(3) Multiple clashes of logic caused by the entrenched 'welfare logic' in society creates idleness among antagonist groups.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivate inhabitants to play an active role in society by creating low entry initiatives in which everyone can participate in - Let antagonist groups encounter that their problems in day-to-day activities can be solved by 'new thinking' initiatives - More space for parents to talk informally about their problems via 'living rooms' initiatives or school assistants 	Reasonable acceptance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Difficult to transform societal groups that have been dealing with the same logic for decades - If antagonist groups haven't experienced any positive effect that they can directly relate to the 'expeditie', they are most likely to abstain to contribute for change - Lack of safeguarding practices affects the process - School assistants show that they are excellent connectors between parents / residents and district coaches
<i>(4) paradox of embedded agency is visible in the day-to-day activities of the district teams.</i>	Some district coaches used 'motiverende gespreksvoering' in their interviewing tactics.	No acceptance	The paradox of embedded agency is still present in the day-to-day activities of the district coaches and the municipality. Although district teams are aware of their fall-back into old courses of action and explain that they are trying to alter it, there are no evident actions observed that really mitigate this contradiction.
<i>(5) The municipality of Enschede has other interest than the district teams.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - District coaches try to show the municipality the importance of the total effect of the 'expeditie'. - Schools / district coaches and municipality attempt to act more as a united entity 	No acceptance	It is very hard to convince the municipality of the importance of the 'expeditie'

5. Theoretical contribution

According to Lounsbury (2002) Institutional change usually occurs in combination with introducing and providing the opportunity to accept or reject a new institutional logic in a certain environment. It was however stated before, that all societal groups who have been observed in the context of this research agree with the ultimate goal of the 'expeditie'. This can be interpreted as a acceptance of the new logic by society, however they won't take action to change the existing dominant logic. This creates a situation which is full of ambiguity, societal groups approve the goals of the new logic but are not willing or are unaware that It takes a certain amount of participation by them to let it succeed. Burns & Baldvinsdottir (2005), who investigated institutional change in accounting firms, encountered the same problem. Actors were not aware that a change in logic was needed and that new groups should be empowered to design and enact on necessary change. In order to create such awareness, underlying inefficiencies and outdated business logic, who normally would be taken for granted, were made more transparent and exposed as problematic. This approach could also be applicable for this particular research topic because it makes it evident that the different antagonist groups have to be aware of their position in society to let them participate. The current results indicate that the 'expeditie' would lead to an incremental change, which represents an extension of the status quo and slow adjustments or refinements in current practices. The detected idleness of many society groups may be not very surprising when it is explained from the perspective of Zietsma & Lawrence (2010). In their work they point out that strong boundaries around different societal fields will lead to more isolated groups or unresponsive behaviour towards change in their external environments. Which aligns with the results of this paper. Because of the strong boundaries between antagonist and protagonist groups in the research context, schools, parents and clubs seem to act unresponsive to the proposed change in logic.

In the paper of Seo & Creed (2002) it is understood that Institutional change is an outcome of the dynamic interactions between institutional contradictions and human praxis. However, it didn't mention the possible presence of scepticism that the antagonist groups can have towards the change in logic. Also, the model doesn't describe how well the change in logic is understood by the groups that have to change, while this is one of the key points in this research. The gap in the model of Seo & Creed (2002) could be adjusted with the new findings in this Thesis. It doesn't concentrate enough on the assumption that there could be a lot of scepticism between different groups in society, furthermore in order to achieve change, the new logic have to be fully understand by antagonists groups. These drivers for contradictions and tensions should therefore be mitigated as much as possible before utilizing the model of Seo & Creed (2002). This is in line with Van Dijk et al. (2011), they stated that that innovating actors seek to identify certainties to proceed with their innovation, certainties who are not observable by actors if the new logic isn't fully understand.

Observations confirm the presence of a paradox of embedded agency during the activities of the district teams, which has been assumed in the literature part of this Thesis. Seo & Creed (2002) mention that praxis can make the actors aware of the fact that this paradox exists, so that they can act upon it. However, in the context of this research actors could be aware of this paradox, but they don't have the power to reshape the institutional landscape which is dominated by the municipality of Enschede. Due to the fact that the power ratios are skewed in this research context, change agents lack the power to radically change society. Current literature isn't clear how to overcome these kind of power struggles in the paradox of embedded agency.

Finally, this study shows that micro perspective actions can be divided into different praxis definitions provided by the model of Seo & Creed (2002). It also underlines that micro level actors, in this case the district coaches, can start institutional change. This Thesis also shows that it is possible to identify and link several tensions, clashes and causal actions in a retrospective way with the help of the model from Seo & Creed (2002). However an extensive distinction between these contradictions is necessary, because most of the time they are entwined with each other. For this reason it is a complex process to organize and analyse because there are many events that happen at the same time.

Critical point in the 'expeditie' and in the institutional logic literature is the assumption that antagonist groups, who are working with the new paradigm, are really embracing that paradigm or are they just working along with some initiatives because they are used to follow certain municipality procedures. Some observations indicate that different societal groups see the change in logic as a project rather than a change in paradigm. Schools go along with certain initiatives but they may be not ready to fully embrace the new logic.

6. Practical contribution

If the results would be interpreted from a practical point of view, the conclusion would be that the past actions and interventions led to minor effects regarding the paradigm change. Contradictions won't cease to exist and the groups in society haven't embraced the logic, which isn't surprising considering the current running time of the project. On the other hand, the results demonstrate that it is very hard to create a paradigm change. District teams are aware of the difficulty and size of the 'expeditie' but current tensions and contradictions indicate that it is even more ambitious than assumed.

The results show some unique developments, like the perceived phenomenon that antagonist groups agree with the new logic and its new inclusive paradigm. Antagonist groups favour a society where everyone can participate in their own way, which is the ultimate goal of the 'expeditie'. However, the goal of the new logic is accepted but the road towards it and the institution that is supposed to implement it, is not. More evidence that could have strengthened this friction is the fact that the 'expeditie' should be a movement that has to develop through the bottom of society. However this project obviously wasn't written by actors who actually live in targeted societies but by municipal administrators. This, together with the extensiveness of the 'expeditie' program and the negative experiences with other municipality projects, creates an ideal breeding ground for confusion and scepticism in society. Many contradictions described in chapter four are a direct result of these underlying tensions. Furthermore the perceived presence of the old welfare logic as the dominant logic in society is still a threat for the 'expeditie'. Antagonist groups are mostly busy performing the same day-to-day activities for decades. And although they are aware of the existence of contradictions that may disadvantage them, they are not actively searching for a solution. It is assumed that there is not really a rejection of the new logic but more a state of idleness towards the new logic. Whenever they are informing district coaches about their problems, they have no idea how they can actively solve them or don't want to solve them. Protagonist groups who try to change the old welfare logic also experience its firm position in their own work field. Most of the people in

the protagonist groups have worked with the same protocols and policies for years, and now they try to change an institution which determined all their beliefs and actions. As a matter of fact, it appears that district teams are trying to make an isolated initiative work, while stuck between the municipality of Enschede and the different antagonist groups.

Despite that the district teams have to face a lot of opposition, even before the beginning of the 'expeditie' process, they have to start somewhere. While the 'expeditie' progressed it became clear that the mutual misunderstanding and scepticism are closely associated with distrust in the municipal change agents. A lot of effort is invested in creating more trustful relationships between antagonist and protagonist, which is illustrated in chapter four. This process requires patience and is unrealizable within a few months. District coaches need to persist in generating as much trust as possible, by simply listening to people and be present when they need help. These phenomena are all known by the change agents. Further observations indicated that these professionals know what plays in society and how to react on it, however it would take some time to create trustful relationships.

More importantly for the district coaches is that they have to keep implementing new kinds of low entry initiatives that show quick results and share those initiatives with other schools and secure them afterwards. When this is done appropriately, secured initiatives will create positive effects which motivates antagonist groups to participate. Moreover, some additional actions or interventions have been proposed by the district coaches but none of them are currently being implemented. However some suggestions would be useful in phase two of the 'expeditie': (1) Meetings, contact moment and adduced changes stay vague for the antagonist groups. In this process concrete steps must be taken, like what can be realized with the group in one week? (2) Teachers and maybe even parents need to participate in district teams, which create more clarity, acceptance and support. (3) District team composition is based on individuals with the same personality traits. Which are people are good at creating innovative plans, but are modest in implementing those ideas. It may be a solution to create a team based on different personalities. (4) Zietsma & Lawrence (2010) describe two types of institutional practices, practice work and boundary work. The researcher recognized many forms of practice work, like actors that try to create, maintain and disrupt the practices that are considered as legitimate in a field. Boundary work can be interpreted as actions that try to mitigate the boundaries between sets of individuals and groups. The last type of practices hasn't been observed frequently while it is also the task of district teams to limit the boundaries and ensure good cooperation between different institutions. (5) Finally the district teams have to make a choice, their current paradigm derives its existence on the idea that the ideal society is an inclusive society. Nevertheless, they encountered groups that are very resistant to change. Do the change agent have to put all their energy in convincing those groups to join the 'expeditie', or do they have to deviate from their own inclusive goal and exclude these non-adaptable individuals?

While the overall tone of this research tends to be negative regarding the beginning of the 'expeditie' process, there have been some changes that influence the actions of actors. School staff were unconscious of their own actions and the 'expeditie' helped them to give their inclusive actions an image. By making the new paradigm more visible for schools, they now have a clearer view how to act on it. Subsequently, introductive practices have been carried out, which created some interest by parents and residents.

In this stadium of the 'expeditie' it is better for change agents to focus on concrete plans and aim what can be realized in the short term, instead of concentrating too much on creating consensus. When this process is set in motion the level of agreement, understanding and trust would eventually rise. When this occurs, it seems possible for the district teams in the educational and club sector to establish a few leading schools and (sport)clubs in which the new paradigm is fully embraced. These leading institutions could excel in performance and creating a situation in which other schools would be convinced to join the 'expeditie'. Eventually antagonist groups have to arrive at the point that the 'old practices' which they are used to perform, seem illogical when they are compared with the new taught practices.

7. Limitations and further research

This research focuses on how institutional contradictions are resolved in the educational and club sector in Enschede. The research is exploratory in nature and the results are based on qualitative data. Because of the setting and the human participants in the research, there is always a chance of a bias because the results could differ even if another researcher would do the same analysis with the same research methods.

To give the research more structure, the framework of Seo & Creed (2002) is used for data analysis and served as an template for the data collection scheme. While most of the research is based on the article of Seo & Creed (2002), there are more methods that could help to collect and analyse tensions, contradictions and praxis. This leaves room for further research that could explore this subject in more or less the same setting, with the help of another framework.

Because the absence of a well-executable framework concerning the operationalization of capturing dominant and new logic, the researcher had to develop it himself. It could therefore be limited in both usage and generalization because it is focused especially on the context of this research. The five interviews that have been completed are also limited in usage because of the lack of interview skills of the researcher. This could influence the quality of the questions and the retrieval of information. Besides that, the researchers could leave out or exclude valuable information when taking notes or analyse voice records of participated meetings and sessions (Mulhall, 2003). At last, transcribing data from the interviews and observations can cause difficulties because of sentence structure, use of quotes and possible mistaken words or sentences.

The data collection period only lasted three months, in which the researcher attended 22 meetings and planned 5 semi-structured interviews. In the context of institutional change and keeping in mind that the 'expeditie' started in October 2016 for schools and in April 2017 for clubs, the observation period is almost too short to collect relevant data that provide insights into actual social change. Especially at (sport) clubs, no relevant actions were observed because they haven't started yet, only tensions have been described. Although many tensions were found in total, the progress of actions that try to mitigate those tensions have to be observed for a longer period of time to really conclude if it had effect. Moreover, data collection is limited to schools in the district of 'De Wesselerbrink' and to a few (sport) clubs in Enschede. This could indicate that the results may not give an accurate reflection of the whole municipality of Enschede or may not be comparable with other cities in the Netherlands. lastly, it is difficult to observe if the researcher himself influenced the participants with

his presence, which could have influence on the attended conversations. This is not perceived by the researcher himself, but this cannot be fully confirmed.

The research is of an exploratory nature, it provides answers, but there are also a lot of questions that emerged from the research context. Future research could focus on the question if the antagonist groups really accept the new logic or if they just cooperate because they are used to do so. Underlying motives may be observed in this case. Further research can contribute to the question if micro level actions, who are observed during this study, continue to have positive influence in the embracement of the new logic. Some effects haven't been recorded and more research is required to really give a complete view how these effects unfold in the long term. A study that goes deeper in analysing the acceptance or rejection of a institutional logic in a timescale of more than 6 months could be interesting.

Furthermore, It could be possible that there is a difference between social change and change in companies because of the difference in context and tensions. Trust between different groups of individuals may be more important in the societal context. More research in the change of logics and in the societal context is needed to provide answers. At last the concept of embedded agency in the social and the municipality context needs extra attention. Embedded agency has its impact in the adoption of a new logic in society and the municipality acts as a dominant non-changeable institute. Research is needed to advise change agents how to act in these kind of situations.

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9. Appendix

Appendix A: Interview scheme / observation scheme (Dutch)

1. Wat zijn de belangrijkste institutionele logica die in het kader van dit onderzoek kunnen worden onderscheiden in uw werkveld en wat zijn hun belangrijkste kenmerken?

- Scholen en schoolbestuur (clubs)
- Wijkcoaches / SMD
- Gemeente
- Ouders

2. Waar komt institutionele verandering vandaan?

3. Wat zijn de tegenstrijdigheden of spanningen die zich voordoen?

- Inefficiency:
- Non-adaptability
- Institutional incompatibilities
- Misaligned interest

4. Wanneer, waarom en hoe clashen (of logics) tegenstrijdigheden of spanningen?

Hoe:

Wanneer:

Waarom:

5. Welke interventies en mechanismen ontstaan, helpen de deelnemers om de nieuwe logica makkelijker vast te stellen, in stand te houden en te verspreiden: in de verschillende praxis levels

- Potential change agents
- Reflective shift in consciousness
- Actor mobilization
- Collective actions

6. Wat zijn de effecten? Leiden ze tot een rejection of een embracement van de nieuwe logic?

Interventions: (1)

Processes: (1)

7. Welke mechanisms en interventions kunnen bestempeld worden als best practices?

8. wanneer, waarom en hoe acteurs invloed hebben op verandering en beslissen organisatorische actoren om (collectief en / of individueel) verandering aan te brengen, wanneer ze ingebed zijn in bestaande institutionele afspraken?

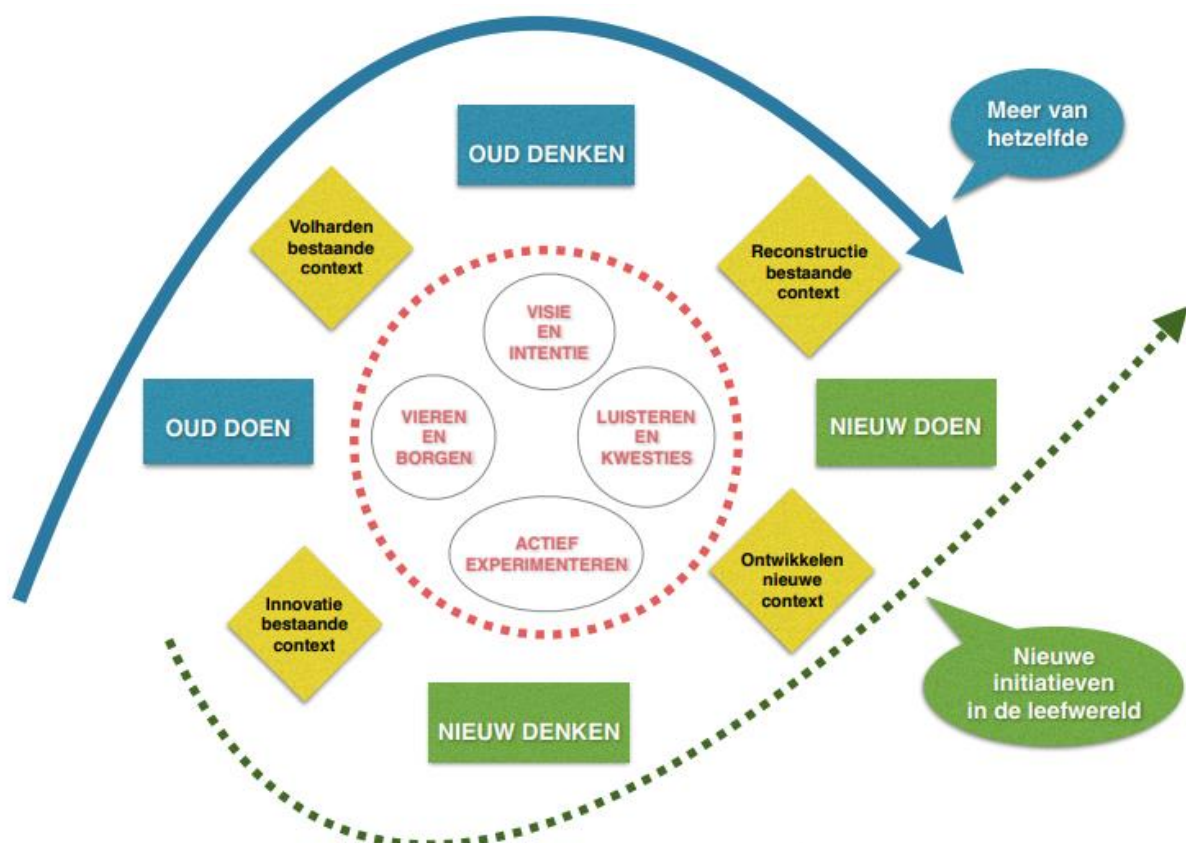
Wanneer:

Waarom:

Hoe:

9. Wanneer komen organisatorische groepen of individuen een behoefte aan institutionele veranderingen herkennen, beoordelen de respectieve kansen en zetten dan de dingen in beweging?

Appendix B: Work scheme of the 'expeditie'.



Appendix C: Model of Seo & Creed (2002)

