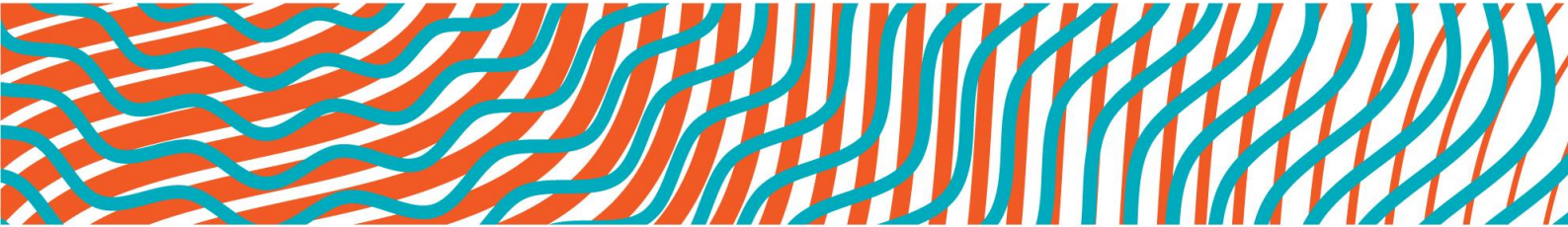


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WP 4 | CASE STUDY Report: Shareable's Sharing Cities

Theme [ssh.2013.3.2-1][Social Innovation- Empowering People, changing societies]
Project Full Title: "Transformative Social Innovation Theory project"
Grant Agreement n. 613169



This project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no 613169

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Suggested citation:

De Majo, C., Elle, M., Hagelskjær Lauridsen, E., and Zuijderwijk, L. (2016) WP4 | CASE STUDY Report: Shareable's Sharing Cities. TRANSIT: EU SSH.2013.3.2-1 Grant agreement no: 613169.

Acknowledgements:

We especially thank Nils Roemen, Tom Llewellyn, Neal Gorenflo, David de Ugarte and Maria Rodriguez and all the other people we talked to during our visits for their time, ideas and other contributions to this report.

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3rd of October in 2016

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1 Introduction to Shareable's Sharing Cities

1.1 Literature review

Within 'Shareable – Sharing Cities', the concept of the 'sharing economy' or the 'sharing transformation', is recurring in the analyses of both the transnational network as well as the local manifestations. In other words, we suggest that these concepts are the actors' social constructions of reality, through which they aim to understand certain practices 'within' the network and the local manifestation. In this literature review, we aim to present an overview of the conceptual history of the 'sharing economy', 'collaborative consumption' and commons.

Collaborative consumption

The concept of 'collaborative consumption' started to appear in literature in the late 1970s, thanks to the work of behavioural economists Felson and Spaeth in the attempt to describe the interactions of productive activities between members of communities.

Felson and Spaeth's thought is indebted to sociologist Hawley's (1950) theory of "community structure" where he discussed the relations occurring between sustenance activities in relation to the environment. Hawley emphasized the role of Community as the set of relationships between local actors aimed at satisfying their daily needs (1950: 180). Every member of these communities according to Hawley occupies a niche, playing a functional role based upon symbiotic or commensalism relationships. However, as noticed by Felson & Spaeth, Hawley made no major effort trying to link his theory to socioeconomic concepts such as consumption and production, limiting his analysis to sustenance activities (1978: 614).

More than a quarter century later, in 1978, drawing on Hawley's theoretical framework, economists Felson and Spaeth (1978) coined the term "Collaborative Consumption" – a theoretical conceptualization of an alternative economic model based on collaborative production and consumption. According to Felson and Spaeth, acts of collaborative consumption are "those events in which one or more persons consume economic goods or services in the process of engaging in joint activities with one or more others" (1978: 614). In other words, different routine activities – i.e. eating and drinking together or sharing a washing machine – create the circumstances in which collaborative consumption occurs, thus "allowing people to translate personal inclinations into actions" (Felson & Spaeth 1978: 614). Consumer behaviour should not be simply analysed from an individual perspective, but should also try to reflect efforts of people in joining in different activities with each other (Felson & Spaeth 1978,: 616).

However, the question is what and how the impact of 'collaborative consumption' can be understood in an era in which the dominant social relations point into processes and practices of 'individualization' (Beck& Beck - Gernsheim 2001).

'Sharing Economy'

In the mid-2000s, with the creation of the first collaborative business structures centred on collaborative consumption and economics, especially in the digital industry (for example by PricewaterhouseCoopers) (Benkler 2002) the term 'sharing economy' began to appear. Benkler contributed to that with the formulation of 'commons-based peer production' (2002) and later of "shareable goods" (2004).

It is in this context, that the concept of collaborative consumption was revived by Algar (2007) and by Bostman & Rogers (2010).

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Bostman and Rogers define collaborative consumption as “an emerging socioeconomic ground shell” associated with ideas implying people coming together and practices such as sharing, bartering, lending or swapping. Collaborative Consumption enables people to access to products and services without actual ownership relations involved, thus creating forms of growth and prosperity previously unthinkable. Moreover, they insist on the multi-spatial dimension of Collaborative Consumption, as it comprises both local face-to-face practices and digital forms of association gathered under the same umbrella of peer-to-peer interactions.

Finally, although the examples of collaborative consumption vary consistently according to different parameters, Bostman and Rogers organize the huge number of forms of Collaborative Consumption into three systems – product service systems, redistribution markets and collaborative lifestyles.

Since then, thanks to – or at least coinciding with – the development of ICT technologies, collaborative and sharing practices that can be understood as being part of the ‘Sharing Economy’, this emerging paradigm has experienced a growth internationally (Bostman & Rogers, 2010: 8). It is in this light that people started to see in it a potential for a social and economic revolution (Bostman & Rogers, 2010: 8).

Commons

At the core of the sharing economy lies the concept of ‘commons’, a term adopted by modern economic theory in order to indicate broad set of resources that are self-managed by local communities and therefore made accessible to all members of society (Bollier, 2014). Therefore, it is possible to understand commons as an alternative resource management model, combining principles of cooperation and resource-sharing with a community-based self-governance and self-monitoring approach that is alternative both to public and private models (Bollier, 2014: 9-10). As commons scholar and activist David Bollier has put it, “the commons consists of working, evolving models of self-provisioning and stewardship that combine the economic and the social, the collective and the personal. It is humanistic at its core but also richly political in implication, because to honor the commons can risk unpleasant encounters with the power of the Market/State duopoly” (2014: 10).

Economist Ostrom, whose studies on communitarian self-management model also earned her a Nobel Prize for Economics in 2009, as well contributed to the analysis of sharing practices based on commons. In particular, she identified eight main rules for managing commons that are shared by commoners all over the world, namely: 1) Clearly defined boundaries; 2) Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions; 3) Collective-choice arrangements; 4) Monitoring; 5) Graduated sanctions; 6) Conflict-resolution mechanisms; 7) Minimal recognition of rights to organize; 8) Nested enterprises (Ostrom 1990: 90).

Nowadays, the concept of commons is experiencing unprecedented growth, expanding its range from ‘classic’ commons mainly based on natural resources to the digital world of open-source and to the management of urban space as a whole (i.e. streets, squares, parks) (Marella 2015: 78).

1.2 Case demarcation

The aim of this report is to describe the emergence and development of Shareable, a transnational network and consequently the Sharing Cities Global Network inaugurated by Shareable in 2013. Shareable was co-founded by amongst others former corporate strategist Neal Gorenflo in 2009 in

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San Francisco, California. From there, Shareable created the Sharing Cities Network in the attempt to connect all sharing initiatives on an urban level (Marsh, 2013).

As this report will demonstrate, two of the main activities of the Shareable can be resumed under two main categories: storytelling and community building. Indeed, it works both as an online magazine, promoting sharing practices among local communities through the means of storytelling, and as an action and connection hub organizing and coordinating the Sharing Cities international network. Therefore, the Sharing Cities network is a multi-territorial transnational network that comprises local communities and group of activists who engage in a cooperative process by organizing 'sharing' projects. This report will shed further light onto what 'sharing' actually entails in practice and conceptually, both for the Transnational Network as well as two Local Initiatives, Nijmegen (the Netherlands) and Gijon (Spain).

The Sharing Cities Network assembles representatives from all over the world. Roundtable initiatives such as the #MapJam, where local communities meet to discuss and map all the resources present on the community, are the main basis for the creation of the network that regardless of geographical or political boundaries has experienced an unprecedented growth over the last three years reaching almost 80 cities all over the world (Presentation by Neal Gorenflo at Sharing Cities Workshop, 7th October 2015). Given the network's open membership, the absence of a defined legal framework and its governance within and towards the local initiatives, we suggest that the Sharing Cities Network can be defined as a 'loose network'. However, to a certain degree it presents some instances of centralization (as for example the two Sharing Cities studied in this report were both visited and came into development with the personal involvement of one of the founders). In this context, it is worth to mention that guidelines and ideas provided by Shareable are never rigid and therefore always adaptable to different local interpretations.

As figures 1 and 2 will visualize, Shareable is what TRANSIT defines as a Transnational Network. The Toolkit, Community Mapping, the Festival and the Policy Guide are means through which Shareable's Sharing Cities Network is taking shape. The Sharing Cities Network consists of various local initiatives worldwide, mostly concentrated in the United States and Europe. Nijmegen and Gijon were chosen as the local initiatives. However, each of these local initiatives is a network in itself, as the visualization of Sharing City Nijmegen demonstrates. The Sharing City Gijon entails of the same 'structure' (as far as present) as Sharing City Nijmegen.

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Figure 1: Case demarcation visualization for Shareable’s Sharing Cities Network and its relations to local initiatives.

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Figure 2: Case demarcation visualization for Sharing City Nijmegen. The same 'structure' applies to Sharing Gijon.

1.3 Overview and structure of the report

This report is written by Claudio de Majo, Morten Elle, Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen, and Linda Zuijderwijk, researchers in the TRANSIT-project. TRANSIT is the acronym for TRANSformative Social Innovation Theory. Hence, this report was written with the purpose of contributing to further grounding of an emerging theory on Transformative Social Innovation. We define Transformative Social Innovation as 'a process of change in social relations, involving new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing, which challenges, alters and/or replaces dominant institutions/structures in a specific social context'.

This should not be understood as a confirmation or finding that Shareable's Sharing Cities or the local initiatives 'are' social innovations and that they contribute (or not) to major changes in society. Rather, it is studied from the perspective of 'transformative social innovation': seeing Shareable through a particular framework, using particular concepts and understandings that make sense for TRANSIT, but may make less sense for Shareable's Sharing Cities and the initiatives. The involved researchers have made an effort to increase the practical relevance of this report for

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Shareable's Sharing Cities, by for example including concrete descriptions of various activities and taking in account the thoughts and intentions of the actors that were interviewed.

This report is written according to a proposed structure by the TRANSIT-team that guide the researchers in studying Transnational Networks (the perspective through which Shareable's Sharing Cities was studied) and Local Initiatives (the perspective through which Sharing City Nijmegen en Sharing Gijon were studied).

In chapter 2, we discuss the methodology, including our own relations to the network and the local initiatives as well as the research methods used. Shareable's Sharing Cities are discussed in Chapter 3, whereas Sharing City Nijmegen and Sharing Gijon pass in review in Chapter 4 and 5. Chapter 6 acts as a synthesis, in which comparisons between the network and local initiatives are drawn and concluded upon. Each chapter will discuss the emergence and development of the network/local initiative, the interaction of the 'social innovation' with the social context, and the dynamics through which transformative change comes about, and 'agency' – in terms of the human capacity for deliberate action – in the 'social innovation'.

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2 Methodology

2.1 Researcher relations to the case

Claudio de Majo and Linda Zuijderwijk (lead) both researched the Transnational Network of Shareable's Sharing cities and the Local Initiative of Gijon. This section is written – and should be read – from the idea that reflexivity is limited (Mauthner & Doucet 2003:425). It is written by Linda Zuijderwijk

Reflecting on 'proximity vs. distance', it was suggested that the 'researcher should be 'a critical friend' or 'friendly outsider' in relation to the social innovation' (Wittmayer et al. 2015: 25). As both Claudio and I do not have former relations with the case-actors nor the network and initiative, we felt quite some distance to these. From the start of the research on the balance between distance and proximity started to shift. This is illustrated by two instances in the research.

In the first place, with regard to the Transnational Network, when I registered to 'Somero' – an event including a Sharing Cities seminar, October 2015, hosted by Neal Gorenflo and Tom Llewellyn, the GNU Social Camp and Shareablelab Europe, I was asked to participate in the 'Sharing cities seminar', upon invitation only. I was invited based on my experience as an urban sociologist and researcher for TRANSIT. David de Ugarte, a member of the organizing commune Las Indias (personal communication, 1-10-2015): 'After receiving your reservation, we checked your web footprint and we found you could be a really interesting participant in the «Sharing Cities Seminar'. I replied that 'I am absolutely super-excited with this invitation and happily accept it!!' and clarified my intentions for coming to Gijon:

'At the moment, I work in a research project called TRANSIT, <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/home> (you may have seen this website already). In TRANSIT, we are interested in how social innovations can transform existing and dominant institutions. We study networks of social innovation and we approach the Sharing cities-network as such a 'social innovation'. In TRANSIT, we seek co-operation with these networks and the goal is to produce knowledge that is useful for Sharing Cities as well as for TRANSIT' (personal communication, 1 – 10- 2015).

During 'Somero' I was continuously balancing between contributing with my knowledge and experience to the seminar and asking the (critical) questions I felt necessary for reporting. In the first place, this is where my self-identification continuously shifted between 'participant to the seminar' and 'researcher of Shareable's Sharing Cities'. In the second place, friendly relations to other participants were easily formed during collective (and two hour) lunches, social evenings in bars and short walks with and rides in cabs and cars of Las Indias. I suggest that this continuous mixing of various identities and relations, is partly due to Las Indias being a practising cooperative, in which work, life and other types of relations are intertwined. During talks with members, I understood that they share their income and for example share work-experiences with each other with i.a. the purpose of improving each other's work. These practices were reflected into the organization of 'Somero'.

In the second place, with regard to the Transnational Network, Claudio and I learned that Tom would be staying in Europe after Somero. We offered him our help in finding a place to stay and suggested that he could contact us in case he needed support. Tom contacted Claudio for a short stay in the Netherlands, Rotterdam. After he visited a sharing-event in Nijmegen, he slept in

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Claudio's house. Claudio took Tom for a walk in the city and we took Tom for lunch – during which we interviewed him. After having lunch Tom and Claudio spent the afternoon after which Tom travelled to Amsterdam for another Sharing-meeting. I suggest to see this as 'proximity' and 'distance' both in practice as figuratively.

Before we studied 'Sharing Gijon', our focus was on Local Initiative Barcelona. The relations to actors within this case turned out to be quite challenging for both Claudio and me. Our main contact showed enthusiasm in the first place. During the summer he wrote:

'Anyway yes I'd love to help and to tell you what I can or put you in touch with other people or sources that can act as a local "radar" for you' (personal communication, 3rd August 2015).

We stayed in touch and connected to others we thought it would be interesting to talk to throughout the fall. However, as we tried to set actual dates for interviews over Skype (or another platform suggested by the contacts), our contacts withdrew, did not respond to e-mails or did not show up during the Skype-meeting that was set. This process turned out to be quite laborious, up to a moment we had to decide to stop focusing on Barcelona as a Sharing City. We realised that building a certain kind of research relations was not possible during the time given: we started as outsiders (in terms of 'proximity' and 'distance') and we experienced we were not able to transform our position as such that we were able to have an open dialogue about and within the local initiative. It has been suggested by and to us, that there may be political reasons for not withdrawing from any contact. However, this cannot be confirmed and should be read as a suggestion.

Our relations to Las Indias and Shareable's Tom and Neal helped us to gain insight into 'Sharing Gijon'. They were very helpful and immediately offered their help before and after we chose for 'Sharing Gijon'.

In terms of 'reciprocity and mutual benefits', we strived for mutual benefits in various ways. In the first place, with regard to the Transnational Network, I already reflected on my contribution to the seminar in Gijon, which is an example of sharing my knowledge, while the other participants share theirs. Secondly, as it is Shareable's intention to author a book offering an alternative account of the 'sharing economy' (as opposed to interpretations as by Airbnb and Über), I offered our research could somehow contribute to this book (i.a. Skype call Tom Llewellyn 11-8-2015) and it could contribute to 'building a habit of building more research' (Skype call Tom Llewellyn 11 – 8-2015). Neal invited us to write a guest-post on the website, an invitation we wholeheartedly accepted. In the follow-up of this research, we will continue to focus on these mutual benefits.

With regard to 'Sharing Gijon', due to the time-pressure under which this study took place, we were not able to discuss our mutual benefits on beforehand, while the actors were so generous with their efforts. This will be followed up with them.

With respect to 'normativity', it must be noted that both researchers found that they did not agree with certain claims made in interviews. Often, this insight was used to – on an equal basis – talk with the interviewee to further explicate certain implicit meanings. An example thereof is when I confessed to Neal in an interview, that I found myself holding a different view onto human ability and agency than he seemed to hold. We used this to go deeper into how and why he thinks the way he thinks and how this is related to Shareable's Sharing Cities.

The local initiative Sharing City Nijmegen has been studied by Associate Professor Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Associate Professor Morten Elle from the Centre of Design, Innovation and Sustainable Transition, Aalborg University, Copenhagen. They knew nothing about Sharing

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City Nijmegen before the study began, but entered the case open-minded with the role as critical friends. Sharing City Nijmegen has been very interested in feed-back. The interview campaign was arranged around the Sharing Day Nijmegen October 24th 2015, with some of the people from Sharing City Nijmegen arranging interviews for us and providing us with a temporary 'research laboratory'. A diverse collection of interviewees was selected and formal interviews were supplemented with informal interviews and observations.

2.2 Methods

2.2.1 Overall methodology

Claudio and Linda use the Methodological Guideline as strict and precise as possible. Throughout the research, it was found that not all questions could be answered. For example, we report relatively little on internal and external governance. This is related to the way this 'loose network' is developing and 'governed': 'internal' as well as 'external' were out of the question, as this implies an 'in' and 'out' of the network. We found that this proved to not correspond or resonate to how as well the network as Sharing Gijon are perceived among the actors. Also, by reflection we found that Agency is receiving somewhat less fleshed out attention: during our interviews, we experienced that interviewees were often somewhat surprised by the (personal) questions – plus, as we asked these at the end, time was often running out. The cross-cutting themes are dealt with, but the logic of these singled out themes was not so present at all times.

The research methods were largely based on participant observations and interviewing, complemented with an analysis of a sample of randomly selected documents, i.e. webpages.

The analysis was done using Atlas.ti, both using the theoretical TRANSIT-starting-points as in Wittmayer et al. (2015) as concepts that were further defined and (re)conceptualized by the data.

The case study of Sharing City Nijmegen has predominantly been building on interviews and participant observation. Erik and Morten used the questions in the methodological guidelines as basis for developing a 1-page interview guideline. This interview guideline was used for the interviews. Most interviewees drew actor maps and time-lines and these drawings were often useful to develop the interview further. As Sharing City Nijmegen is a network of initiatives it has been essential to understand these as initiatives that had a meaning beyond being a part of Sharing City Nijmegen.

2.2.2 Interviews

Transnational Network Shareable – List of Interviews

1. Tom Llewellyn, Organizing Director for Shareable and coordinator of the international Sharing Cities Network (August 11th, 2015).
2. Tom Llewellyn (October 25th 2015).
3. David de Ugarte, one of the member of the multinational worker cooperative, Las Indias (November 12th 2015).

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4. Monica Bernardi, PhD researcher and policy-analyst for the Municipality of Milan (December 2nd 2015).
5. Giuseppe Colistra, sharing economy entrepreneur, founder of the carpooling platform 'Clacson' (December 7th 2015).
6. Tom Llewellyn and Neal Gorenflo, review of the report (January 20th, 2016).

Local Initiative Sharing City Nijmegen - List of interviews

1. Anne Hurkens, Municipality of Nijmegen, Sustainability Section, Car Sharing, October 23th 2015
 2. Annemarieke Bloom, Project Leader Bijzonder Thuisafgehaald (special food sharing), October 24th 2015
 3. Barbara Bossman, Municipality of Nijmegen, Change Management, October 23th 2015
 4. Birgit Hendriks, Binnenstadservice (City Logistic Freight) October 23rd 2015
 5. Cobi van Kollenburg, Sharing Garden coordinator, October 24th 2015
 6. Dolf Kutschenreuter, Municipality of Nijmegen, Mobility Section, Car Sharing, October 23th 2015
 7. Ineke Cruysen, Director DROOM VillaLUX, October 23rd 2015
 8. Michael van Loenen, Director Youbedo (charity sharing internet booksale) October 24th 2015 (informal)
 9. Nils Roemen, Sharing City Nijmegen initiator, August 19th 2015 (Skype) October 23th 2015 (informal) and October 24th 2015 (short).
 10. Olav Buunen, Repair Café coordinator, October 24th 2015
- A total of 12 hours of interviews.

The interviews have been supplemented with an e-mail correspondence with Nils Roemen (December 8th 2015) and his co-initiator Juul Martin (December 13th 2015)

Local Initiative Sharing City Gijon – List of interviews

1. Neal Gorenflo, Shareable co-founder and organizer of Gijon's first #MapJam, December 14th 2015.
2. Maria Rodriguez, member of the Spanish cooperative group Las Indias and organizer of Gijon's first #MapJam, December 18th, 2015.

2.2.3 Participant observation

Transnational Network Shareable and Local Initiative Gijon – Participant observation

Somero 2015, Sharing Cities Workshop, 7-8 October (17 hours) (also for Local Initiative Gijon)

Somero 2015, GNU Social Camp, 8-9-10 October (31 hours) (also for Local Initiative Gijon)

Share Fest Nijmegen, October 24th (1 hour, only Tom Llewellyn's talk)

Sunday Urban Commons Brunch, Bologna, November 8th (5 hours)

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Local Initiative Sharing City Nijmegen - Participant observation

Core group preparing Sharing Day Nijmegen, October 23th 2015 (3 hours)

Sharing Day Nijmegen, October 24th 2015 (5 hours)

2.2.4 Document reviews

One of the major activities of the Transnational Network Shareable is share the stories about sharing: their webpage is therefore a public repository of documentation about sharing and personal experiences around such. In particular, the Policy Guide for Sharing Cities (Orsi et al. 2013) and Gorenflo & Harris (2012) book were studied. We used one document that was made available about 'Sharing Gijon'; the overview of the mapped initiatives during the mapjam. In total, we reviewed 38 documents, i.e. webpages of a sample that was randomly selected. We opted for this, as story-telling is an important practice for Shareable, therefore, the stories itself needed to be part of the analysis. As for Sharing Gijon, we needed to complement the data found in interviews with a wider analysis of the initiatives, which happened through analysis primarily of their homepages and About-pages. See Annex A. for a full list of references to these documents.

Sharing City Nijmegen is a relatively new initiative. In our first interview we asked Sharing City Nijmegen initiator Nils Roemen if there were any documents that it was essential to include in the case study. We got the answer that Sharing City Nijmegen is about creating action, not documents. Nils referred to the home-page (<http://nijmegendeelstad.nl/deelstad>), where some information is found. A source illuminating some of the basic thoughts in Sharing City Nijmegen is the book by Nils Roemen and Fanny Koerts: 'Durftevrage', Haystack, Zaltbommel NL, 2011.

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3 Transnational network(ing): Shareable's Sharing Cities

3.1 Emergence of Shareable – Sharing cities

Shareable describes itself as 'an award-winning non-profit news, action and connection hub for the sharing transformation' (Shareable – About, unknown). The network aims to work towards the 'sharing economy', that they use to label for a multitude and broad range of practices, amongst others car sharing, food cooperatives, community gardening, shared housing, shared working spaces, and in general 'a multitude of new micro-enterprises made possible by platforms that connect supply and demand at the peer-to-peer level' (Orsi et al. 2013: 6). The common denominator for these activities, is that they 'are tied together by a common means (harnessing the existing resources of a community) and a common end (growing the wealth of that community)' (Orsi, 2013). As Tom Llewellyn says, their definition of sharing is 'really broad' and 'one of our main philosophies is to be as inclusive as possible' (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). The way this network is organized is loosely for a reason: people should be able to express what is appropriate within their culture, within similar value systems (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015).

Shareable was established in October 2009 and the Sharing Cities Network is one of its main programs. Shareable helped the city of San Francisco launch the Sharing Economy Working Group in 2012 (Gorenflo 2012), a cross-department group within city government to develop policies to help citizens share (but in reality spent most of its time on short-term rental regulation meant for Airbnb). The launch of this working group got international news coverage and is said to have been quite influential in inspiring other cities (Review Tom Llewellyn and Neal Gorenflo, 20th January 2016). Sharing City Seoul, started later in 2012, – the first one to actually call itself a Sharing City – may have been inspired by what happened in San Francisco and asked Neal to be an advisor.

In early 2013 Organizing Director Mira Luna launched Shareable's Seed Grant program, which offered small grants to 13 sharing based community projects. On heels of the success of the first grant cycle she then began to work with organizers (mostly in the mid-western region of the United States) to grow local sharing initiatives and culture. This work, and the clear need for organizers in the US and around the world to be able to collaborate and share best practices, lead to the creation of the Sharing Cities Network.

In September 2013 Shareable and Sustainable Economies Law Center (SELC) released a widely distributed report entitled Policies for Shareable Cities.

The first official project of the SCN was the #MapJam (citizen lead community asset mapping) which took place in October of 2013 and involved the participation of groups in 50 cities (mostly the United States and Europe).

Following the major success of the #MapJam, Shareable launched their first crowd funding campaign in December of 2013 and successfully raised \$50,000 to support the further development of the SCN. In the spring of 2014 Shareable worked with members of the Network to create web pages for many of the cities involved in the Network to further expose all the local work which was under way. They also built upon the #MapJams and facilitated groups in 40 cities to host 1-3 day long ShareFests.

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The idea and practical elaboration get momentum: during the summer of 2014, they support 30 new projects and organize a 2nd mapjam in the fall of 2014. In 2015, as to feed the community and the existing engagement, ShareFests are organized, building upon the ShareFests of 2014. About 20 ShareFests are organized independently from the network (Review Tom Llewellyn and Neal Gorenflo, 20th January 2016). See figure 4 for other milestones in its development.

The first element of Doing, Organizing, Framing and Knowing is demonstrating the actual sharing practices through the popular and featured news section on the website and through the Policies for Sharing Cities. The network emphasises that change comes from the grassroots. As to illustrate this, they provide stories (one of their main strategic practices) on individuals that started a project, such as the story of 'Swaine', who build a so-called mending cart, meant to be travelling project – however, he soon found out this was not sustainable. Two others with whom he connected, let him set up the project in a space, 'which they transformed into a community space' (Johnson 2015). On their website, SSC showcases small, but quick successes, showing in the first place that 'you choose small goals and you accomplish that', giving organizing groups the feeling they are having success from the beginning (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). One example of such a success and a story that can 'grow', are the sharing vouchers developed in Nijmegen, 'they developed a postcard version and we put out an article and then several other cities [...] have contacted us and saying: 'We want to bring this to our city, like: 'Can you help us? Can we use it? Can we change the colour? [...] In one week [after putting the story online, LZ]. And Nijmegen has now been uplifted by this small project in a relatively small city, is now getting a role on the global scale' (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). By building up 'small and quiet stories that are taking place in communities all over the world', they are 'building up this cacophony of sound' (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

The other way of working is by publishing and promoting their 'Policies for Shareable Cities'. Tom finds it important to hand these out and other policy recommendations from SELC to city council members. He noted one instance in particular in Asheville, North Carolina where he offered resources to city council members who were debating a new policy to regulate short term rentals and then 'two months later Airbnb sends a lobbyist to go and have meetings with every single one of the city council members. [...] So it is important to show that there are alternative models' to the corporate narrative. (Interview Tom Llewellyn 25th October 2015).

In the second place, these stories show that change is a long term process – the stories on their website features narratives which have developed over time. People seem to be wanting quick, persistent changes, but 'Market time and Commons time are different [...] it takes time to engage in these awkward processes'. According to Neal, our thinking has been overtaken by the rationality of the Market. 'We don't have time', is what we say (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015).

The second element is facilitating connections between citizens, through in the first place online #MapJams – in which sharing services, cooperative enterprises, and the commons are mapped, building connections to and among community groups. Teams of people meet to discuss and map the resources in a community (Observation 8th October 2015, Sharing Cities Seminar). Mapping allows people to see what is actually available in their city and ideally prevents that they re-invent the wheel, and bring something that already exists. They also get a sense of what is successful and what is already there (Interview Tom Llewellyn 25th October 2015) and what might be needed.

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The first Mapjam was partnered with OuiShare, of which Neal Gorenflo is an advisor, having helped OuiShare to launch their network. At the time of planning the Mapjam, Shareable reached out 'to Paris', to OuiShare – OuiShare connected with other cities for the Mapjam. Through this, other Sharing Cities became connected to Shareable (Review Tom Llewellyn and Neal Gorenflo, 20th January 2016).

The mapjams became 'cool', and were organized independently from Shareable's mapping project: groups that were not related to Shareable attempted to do a mapping as well.

In the second place, the facilitation of the organization of ShareFests, sharing festivals 'on the ground'. It should lead to local movement-building, but also to movement-building within the SCN (idem). On its website SCN provides resources 'to help you host an awesome ShareFest', such as the 'ShareFest Guide' and 'How to organize a ShareFest Toolkit' (Shareable, unknown).

Taking the example of the mapjams as well as the ShareFests in 2014 being organized independently, illustrates that the indirect influence of the network is much bigger or larger than the actual level of activity the network engages in: 'Sharing' and the 'sharing city' are not ideas that originate from the network itself: it rather seemed like the effort of Shareable functioned as a catalyst, bringing efforts and data of various actors together (Review Tom Llewellyn and Neal Gorenflo, 20th January 2016). They see 'sharing' and the 'sharing city' as an open conceptual space everyone can engage in.

The cities that Shareable mentions on its website (<http://www.shareable.net/sharing-cities>) should not be understood as 'members' of the network, but rather as contributors to this open space of 'sharing cities'. It is the idea, rather than a 'membership' that travels, as the (independently) organized sharefests and mapjams demonstrate. In figure 5, this is illustrated by the arrows that indicate a potential relationship between San Francisco and Seoul, whereas the other cities sometimes come into existence through personal ties between Neal, Tom and a community group (such as Nijmegen, Paris, Gijon) or by independently making use of the idea and tools of the 'sharing city'; whether or not provided by Shareable.

Thirdly, there are small grants that serve as a seed to help grow a 'sharing city'. These grants are called 'seed grants' and are meant to help 1.) Community-groups grow their activities or 2.) Community entrepreneurs start a project. During the first year, 2013, they had 50 applicants, whereas in 2014, this grew to over 200 (Luna, 2014). Applicants can apply for a seed grant between 500 – 1000 dollar 'to help catalyze local sharing projects in low income communities, along with technical assistance, media support, and access to our network of sharing experts' (Luna 2014a). Eligible for funding are:

'Individuals, groups, community organizations, churches, schools and businesses that are starting new projects, rooted in a local community, with broad social impact. We are encouraging applications from young adults and low income communities. Strong proposals involve the public in the projects in an integral way and help facilitate more community connection, rather than just providing services. We also prioritize projects that address practical needs and wants identified and produced in an empowered way by the community itself, instead of using an outside provider' (Luna 2014a).

Examples of projects are swaps, skill sharing, all kinds of cooperatives, participatory budgeting, forms of kitchens, libraries, timebanks, free stores and schools, maker spaces and sharing clubs. These are explicitly examples: 'don't let this limit you. Be creative!' (Luna 2014a).

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These examples and the diversity of projects funded (see below) indicate that the concept of sharing that Shareable uses, is broad and elastic.

The 32 winners of the grant in 2014, are mainly from the USA, but include projects in Lisboa (Portugal), Toronto (Canada), Tacoblan (Philippines), Nairobi (Kenya) and Melbourne (Australia). Projects funded are forms of timebanking (Ann Arbor, Louisville, Spencer, Wichita, Youngstown), a film cooperation (Boston), Participatory Budgetting (Buffalo, St. Louis), Civic science lending library (Chicago), Seed library (Chicago), Community compost program (Cleveland), a healthy cooking collecting (Cleveland), Young Co-operators (Greenbelt), a tool library (Greenville), ReBicycle Shop (Huntington), Community land trust and cooperative housing (Jackson), Swap shop skillshare fair (Lisboa), local solidarity economy incubator (Los Angeles), a FreeStore (Media), Create & Share group (Melbourne), community fruit tree project (Nairobi), rolling neighbourhood sharefest (New Orleans), a stakeholder cooperative (New York), student food cooperative (Philadelphia), Repair Cafe (Philadelphia), Free Library (Pine Ridge reservation), Vacant lot community gardens (Sacramento), bicycle building, repairing, swapping and riding (San Francisco), solidarity economy launch and book swap (St. Louis), community resource center, tool library and makerspace (Tacloban), a kitchen library (Toronto), New Economy Summit (Washington), community gardening (Wichita) (Luna 2014).

The fourth element is the recognition of various narratives and discourses in itself, that SCN sees itself play an important role, in challenging existing and dominant narratives and redefining and reviving the alternative discourses. Through the practice of story-telling – publishing stories of (small) successes in various communities on their website, they aim to ‘grow these stories’ (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). Exactly which narratives are revived or redefined, is discussed in the next section.

Shareable wants to offer an alternative understanding of urban development in the form of the ‘commons’. Neal Gorenflo defines a common as: ‘a common pool resource that is managed directly by users as common property, often with little interference or support from gov’t or enterprise’ (Gorenflo 2015). This is based on Ostrom’s work, finding ‘that corporations or government aren’t the only effective ways to manage finite resources’ and ‘that ordinary people working at the local level often manage resources better than corporations or governments’ (idem). Elinor Ostrom, a ‘commons scholar’ shows how the commons can serve as the third way, moving beyond the binary of the Market and the Public. These are the ‘commons’, through which resources are managed, organized and shared by citizens (Gorenflo 2015). We will discuss the ‘commons’ as part of the transformative ambition further down this report. Actually, Shareable aims to publish a book on this, as a form of legitimation of this alternative understanding, and hence ‘to do more than just telling stories’ (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

Concluding, Shareable is on the one hand making available knowledge and experiences through various media and facilitating connections between people. On the other hand, it acts out a ‘framing’ of alternative visions and discourses for urban development.

To enable the ideal of the ‘sharing city’ to take off, a relation with existing institutions, laws and codes is necessary as these need to change to – for example – integrate ‘home life’ with ‘commercial life’, making car sharing as to generate an income at home, impossible (idem: 32). Therefore, the cooperation of city governments is essential. According to SSC, they ‘can increasingly step into the role of facilitators [...] by designing infrastructure services, incentives, and regulations [...]’ (idem: 6). SSC seeks cooperation or affiliation with existing institutions, laws and codes demonstrates. To sitting urban governments it offers solutions for current problems: ‘Shareable transportation is a smart way to decrease our astounding levels of wasted, underutilized transport resources. Privately owned vehicles in the U.W. sit idle more than 90% of

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the day, on average [...]’ (idem: 7). And: ‘Tax credits create an attractive incentive for property owners to open their land to community gardening or urban farming uses, with desirable public health and safety outcomes for cities’ (idem: 17). The relations to and in the social context are further dealt with in the following section.



Figure 3: The Sharing Cities Network worldwide (source: <http://www.shareable.net/sharing-cities>, 3.2.2016)

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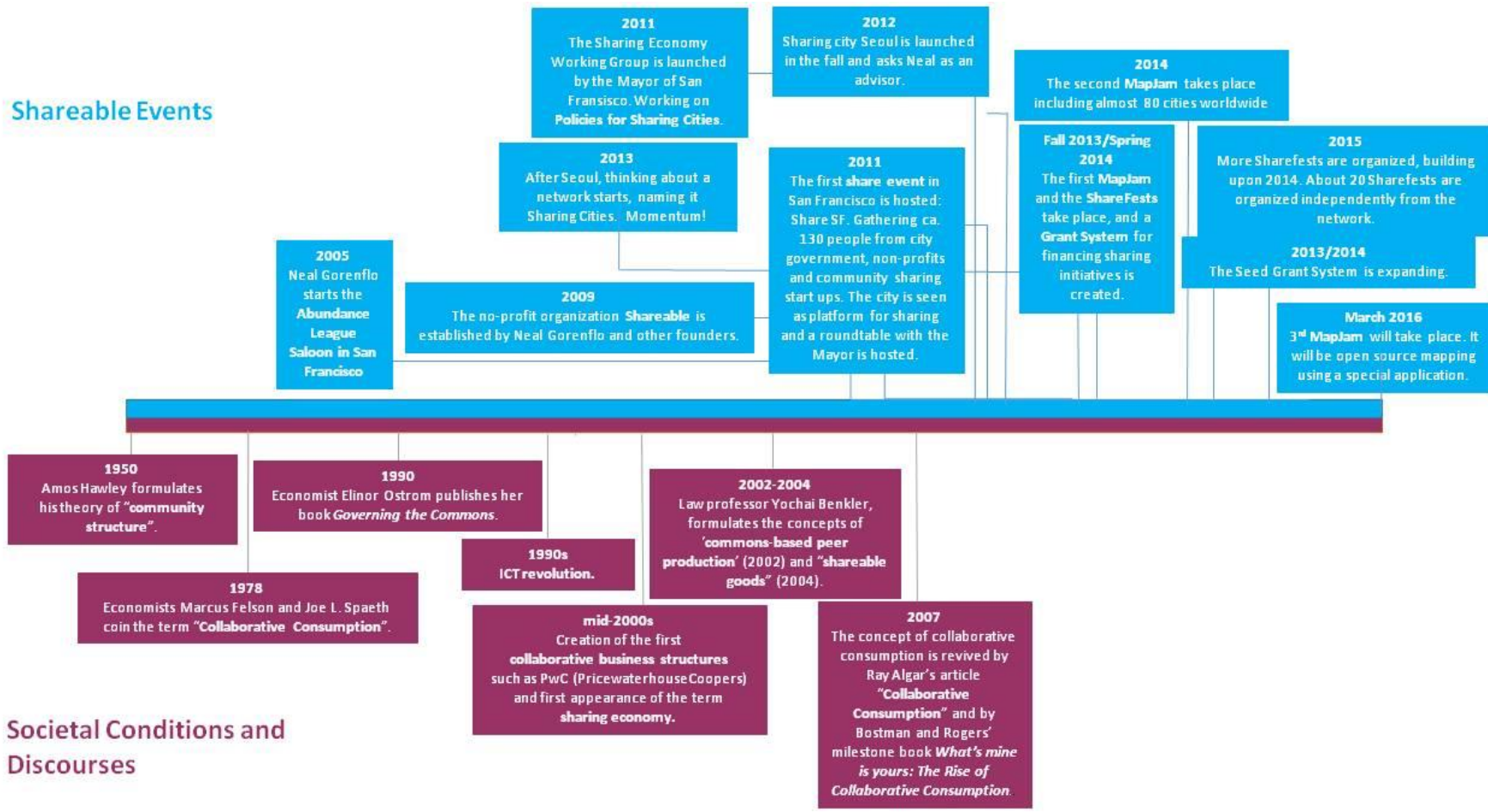


Figure 4: Timeline for Shareable

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Figure 5: Spatial Map for Shareable, showing relations between Shareable and the 'Sharing Cities'

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3.2 TSI dynamics

We identified a ‘value crises’ and increasing digitalization and enabling technologies as the major changes in the social context that SSC relates to.

In the first place, a ‘value crises’ is the consequence of the combination of an institutional and leadership crises and an economic crises (Interview David de Ugarte, 12th November 2015). The institutional and leadership crises refers to a lack of trust in formerly dominant institutions as the state and churches. People do no longer turn to these institutions as to give meaning to their lives. According to David de Ugarte, the people became secularized, but at the price of losing belonging and community. The economic crises caused financial cutbacks by the state. All together these crises opened up the opportunity for Private actors to formulate values and messages – in the past counteracted by Public parties. The space that comes into being is filled with messages, norms and values representing the Market (as opposed to the Public). David de Ugarte illustrates this with the example of Disney Channel, transmitting values of interest for the larger corporations feeding ‘radical individualization’.

In the second place, digitalization is identified as the game-changer of our times. The so called ‘digital commons’ provide people with universal tools and play a huge role in building commons ‘on the ground’. On the one hand, small scale initiatives use digital possibilities to organize themselves, on the other hand, such small scale initiatives are now enabled to take place in ever more places than before: digitalization teaches us how to organize ourselves on a completely new scale (Interview David de Ugarte, 12th November 2015). A concrete example of this is what is called a ‘white label’, which functions as the back-end of a given platform: actors can put their ‘own skin on it. And all of a sudden it looks like it is a unique website, but it has the same back end as all the other websites. So, cities, they want their own Airbnb. The advantage is that cities ‘can make sure that not an entire neighbourhood is taken over [by Airbnb]’ (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

We identify four major trends that enable SSC. In the first place, individualization (as opposed to communitarianism). In the second place, the rise of the Smart City as enabled by the exact digital revolution through which the Sharing City might thrive. The Smart City is as well a discourse that SSC plays into, as a perceived real situation. In the third place, environmental changes and in the fourth place, the increasing urbanization.

In the first place, SSC observes that processes of individualization have negative personal, environmental and social effects. It leads to isolation, which could eventually lead to a lonely death (Gorenflo 2011): ‘Those like me, who are in no danger of starving, face a spiritual death when we act as if well-being is a private affair and gate ourselves off from the rest of humanity with money and property’. For example in Seoul, having a population over half the size of the Netherlands (at least 10 million inhabitants), has the highest suicide rate of any industrialized city and people ‘don’t have social connections’ (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015, Interview Monica Bernardi, 2nd December 2015) This is part of the background for Mayor Park to prototype ‘sharing city’-practices (see below). This individualization is a networked type of individualization. People experience control, but do not feel part of a community – whereas power is housed in communities, through the creation of a sense of solidarity (Review Tom Llewellyn and Neal Gorenflo, 20th January 2016).

In the second place, SSC observes that we are in a pivotal moment in time, with regards to the choices we face in terms of social and urban development. SSC uses the metaphor of the Blue

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Pill and the Red Pill in the movie 'The Matrix' to sketch out the current social context in which 'we face the same choice with cities' (Gorenflo 2015). The Blue Pill stands for the 'Smart City', characterized by multinationals and the focus on surveillance and safety. The Red Pill is the 'Sharing City', characterized by the commons, self-organization of citizens and peer-to-peer: without an interfering 'middle-man' (idem). Citizen-control is lost, whereas big companies are gaining control over citizens (Interview David de Ugarte, 12th November 2015).

Related to this is the increasing competition among cities; a race to the bottom. Cities aim to become attractive for companies, trying to facilitate their moving into the urban borders. Companies can however decide to move away again to a city that offers even more benefits (Interview Tom Llewellyn 25th October 2015). This is not a sustainable model for urban development.

In the third place, there are trends and events of an environmental character as mankind is using more resources than can be replaced each year, consumption is growing and this may eventually lead to a 'biological death': 'we need to learn to share on a global scale fast, or [we will] die' (Gorenflo 2011). Personally, Tom was motivated by seeing in his surroundings what 'unregulated capitalism and destructive industries can do, and what growth can do', by referring to an old growth redwood forest that was cut down to the last tree, including the 'captains trees' which were used as marks for captains on sea for centuries, and were used to build houses in San Francisco. After working in schools, he decided he wanted to work with an older generation, as they will affect the decisions that children will be making (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). Exactly how SSC 'is a form of teaching', will be discussed further down (Linda during interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

In the fourth place, as urbanization is increasingly taking place, people have un-learned traditional rural practices of common-ing and sharing. Sharing is no longer a natural part of urban culture in general. Platforms such as SSC play a role in demonstrating what people can do for and within their cities – ideally, such platforms make themselves unnecessary (Interview Tom Llewellyn 25th October 2015).

Two major institutions and structures to which SSC relates are identified. SSC relates to on the one hand the Market, on the other hand Public authorities.

In terms of the Market, we identify a somewhat dual position. On the one hand, there is support for what they see as the 'free market' that 'can empower people' (Orsi et al. 2013: 4). An example are the food markets that can be organized in cities 'as a low cost way for food entrepreneurs to enter the market, reach consumers, and create a diverse and resilient food economy' (idem: 20). On the other hand, there is criticism towards centralized companies such as Lyft, Über, Airbnb and TaskRabbit that 'made one fatal error. You truly can't remedy today's economic problems by using the same business structures that created economic problems' (Orsi 2013).

Therefore, a differentiation is necessary between the capitalist market and the peer-to-peer-market that SSC supports. The peer-to-peer-marketplace enables actors to connect without interference of larger (capitalist) institutions and are organized through the 'commons'.

Public authorities are approached as 'facilitators of the sharing economy' (Orsi et al. 2013:6), and are seen as one of the actors in the 'sharing economy'. Facilitating the sharing economy is possible by adapting current laws and structures as to enable the citizens to share food, cars, houses and jobs. Every single policy needs to be contextualized (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). In the 'Policies for shareable cities' (Orsi et al. 2013) SSC and the Sustainable Economies Law Center make recommendations to cities in the field of laws and structures. The focus is not so much on national government structures, but on the urban government, as the city with its natural spaces and places for exchange, represents the social

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context in which the practice of sharing can thrive (idem).

The urban government being an actor in the 'sharing economy' is exemplified by Seoul, demonstrating how the government can open up its resources, 'including data and public space' (Gorenflo 2015), which can be used by the people for the people. The so-called 'open government' is one of the ways that democratize production, consumption and government (Shareable – About, unknown).

Identifying dominant discourses and narratives as well as the creation of alternative narratives are important strategies for SSC as to realize their transformative ambition. The dominant discourses as identified are related to the Smart City, the dominant narrative of the 'sharing economy' and the American Dream.

Above we already sketched the binary of the Smart City and the Sharing City-discourse.

A second discourse that SSC offers an alternative for is that of the 'sharing economy' as defined within capitalistic business models such as Airbnb and Über that are causing negative side-effects such as – in the case of Airbnb – causing rents to go up in and money-flows out of the city, and in the case of Über, which is 'unregulated taxi' (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015, Interview Monica Bernardi, 2nd December 2015). Tom on Über: "This is not sharing at all. Those people were not going there to begin with. They are only going there because you are [...] the actual car, or the cars that are actually driving, there is no fewer". Shareable hopes to offer an alternative understanding to the capitalistic model or understanding of the 'sharing economy'. It is Shareable's intention to author a book offering an alternative account of the 'sharing economy' (as opposed to interpretations as by Airbnb and Über) (Interview Tom Llewellyn 11th August 2015).

The third dominant discourse that SSC recognizes is perhaps the best known in the Western and Northern hemisphere: the 'American Dream', the 'original one', according to Neal, of 'liberation and empowerment'. 'In 20th century, this dream became a materialist and consumerist dream: not about freedom, but about possession' (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015). Through a survey, SSC learned that their audience exists of a high % of people who would not take a job for money, but who are motivated by flexibility and self-governance (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015). This is an attempt to revive the original American Dream: at least one story told on their website literally refers to this discourse, here presented as the 'New American Dream': 'The Center for a New American Dream believes that big changes come when people work together from the ground up' (Center for a New American Dream 2015). It tells of various projects in the USA that are working towards sustainability, such as improving local food systems, reducing consumerism, saving money and repairing items that one would normally throw away. This demonstrates how organizations that the network publishes stories on, are on the one hand appropriating for this hegemonic American story, and on the other hand redefining the story. These narratives however are culturally contextualized as well. An example is found in the way cooperatives are defined and practiced. According to David de Ugarte, interviewed as part of SSC's community, it could be useful to differentiate between the consumptive (Anglo-Saxon) point of departure for the cooperative, and the productive (Catholic) characteristics of a cooperative. Whereas in the Catholic context, actors have an understanding of the cooperative as a 'productive' one, Anglo-Saxon actors would be more drawn to a consumptive understanding of the cooperative (in terms of 'collaborative consumption'), such as platform cooperatives that are owned by the users. An example of such a platform is "[Loconomics](#)", an alternative to "Taskrabbit" – a platform where people can offer a price for doing certain 'gigs' whereas Taskrabbit 'causes people to underbid each other', a new platform 'that is corporately owned by all the people that are

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providing the services [...] means that any overall profit that comes in, goes back to the people' (Interview Tom Llewellyn 25th October 2015).

The questions asked in terms of a consumptive cooperation are whether everyone has access to food, are people enabled to meet their needs (Interview David de Ugarte, 12th November 2015; Orsi et al. 2013)? An example is SSC's focus here is food sharing – next to seeing this as an opportunity to create community – it works to 'ensure that fewer people are struggling to find their next meal (idem: 19). Other examples are car sharing and instead of staying in hotels, staying at private homes (Orsi et al. 2013). Consumption is organized through access, instead of ownership. It is local, 'travels fewer miles' (idem: 15) and organized through (digital) 'peer accommodation markets' (idem: 6).



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Figure 6 and 7: Defining and uncovering the practices and concepts of ‘urban commons’ during the ‘urban commons’-conference in Bologna, 9th November 2015. Picture by Claudio de Majo.

The ambition of SSC is to accomplish a ‘sharing transformation’.

The sharing transformation is in its core a personal transformation, an individual experience ‘Sharing’ is a way of solving a disconnection to a wider community that individuals experience: ‘Sharing heals the painful disconnect we feel within ourselves, with each other, and the places we love’ (Shareable – About, unknown), it is a ‘lifestyle change’ (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). This is a long term transformation in which a cultural shift can take place, in which we are ‘programmed’ to work and live in another way (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). This transformation can happen at various scales, the personal, the cultural and the systemic, up to the point of ‘no return’ to the former situation (Review Tom Llewellyn and Neal Gorenflo, 20th January 2016). In terms of environmental and social effects, SSC believes that it ‘reduces environmental impact’ (Shareable – Mission & Values, unknown) as is illustrated by the example of car sharing: ‘For example, instead of buying cars – and using valuable city space to park them– people are sharing cars, thereby reducing burdens on citizens, city infrastructure, and the environment’ (Orsi et al. 2013: 6). Also food sharing is expected to reduce ‘the environmental degradation, food insecurity, health risks, and unequal access associated with industrial agriculture and disjointed food systems’ (idem: 15).

Hence, through the ‘sharing transformation’ people will (a) self-organize in a distributed network without the interference of a centralized, powerful middleman such as public or market

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authorities and (b) the biggest current challenges will be addressed, in terms of environmental and social problems.

Therefore, David de Ugarte sees the 'sharing transformation' in the first place as a 'cultural transformation', in which citizens feel empowered by hearing stories and experiencing how alternative practices can lead to a cultural and economic change. According to David de Ugarte, the 21st century can be understood as the century of 'fraternity', in which social interactions are reassessed as meaningful interactions and take place within the commons. It is hypothesized by David de Ugarte that the 'sharing city' actually functions as a 'transitional narrative between a private-property based society and a commons-based society' (Observation 7th October 2015, Sharing Cities Seminar). Neal sees the ideal city as a commons, in which all institutions are democratized (as well Market, State as Community) as a 'concrete utopia', that is always-in-the-making (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015). The city as a commons comes into being when existing institutions are reconfigured and play their roles at the intersection of the Market, State and the Commons. For example, bike-sharing in Toronto is facilitated by a healthcare provider, but also by a company that provides the technology: it exists in the intersection between the Market and the State.

In terms of the side- or unintended effects, we found during our interview with Neal Gorenflo, that an increasing disentanglement of civil society from local State agencies as a consequence of the economic crisis could also turn out to be potentially harmful in two ways. In the first place, for those people that cannot 'act', in the sense of 'actors that are able to make a deliberate choice', i.e. to not perform in a society of commons or a sharing society, as they lack ability for 'acting' and performing agency. However, Neal carries out the idea of human capability and sees liberation and empowerment as driving forces behind the 'sharing city' and the 'commons': 'that is why our stories are stories of 'yes, we can do it!'' He refers to recent history of agricultural societies, in which people managed to make choices for themselves as well, and combines this with the understanding that people are nowadays better and higher educated, and have gained more power in making decisions.

In the second place, urban neo-liberal governments could use the 'sharing city' or 'commons'-discourse to further de-invest in local institutions, favoring neo-liberal systems, by referring to the 'Big Society'- as for example in the UK. 'People need to fight this exploitative idea', and that is what continually needs to happen. 'Things that are valuable take time' (Interview with Neal Gorenflo, December 14th 2015).

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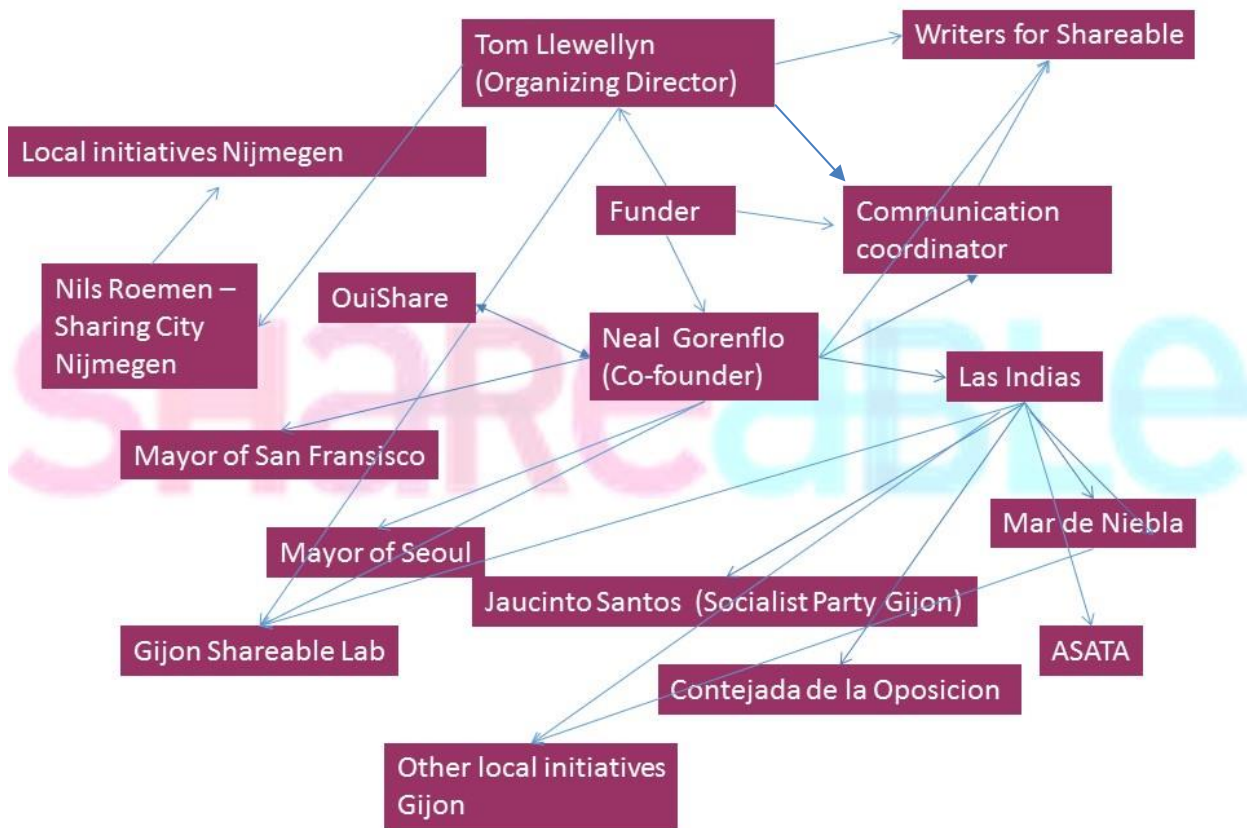


Figure 8: Actor Map relating Shareable to the Sharing City Nijmegen and Gijon and many other actors.

3.3 Agency in (T)SI

Although being a worldwide network, Shareable presents a very basic formal structure, organized on three different levels. Three key staff figures, Ambika Kandasamy, Neal Gorenflo and Tom Llewellyn, are in charge to cover all the main tasks required by Shareable – that is, international networking, organizing campaigns and coordinating the network’s communication (Shareable, unknown V). However, due to the fast growth experienced by the network over the last years, Organizing Director Tom Llewellyn during his interview communicated to us their intention to hire new stable staff members this year. The second level includes a team of featured writers in charge of storytelling by publishing articles about themes related to the sharing economy on a regular basis. Finally, on the third level are writers who occasionally publish stories for the online magazine – the so-called writers’ hall of fame. (Shareable, unknown V).

As for legal status, Shareable is a ‘fiscally sponsored’ non-profit project of the Tides Center (Shareable – About, unknown). Its legal headquarter is at Hub SoMa Coworking in 901 Mission Street San Francisco, CA 94103 (Shareable, unknown-I).

The main vision at Shareable is that the sharing economy can “democratize access to goods, services, and capital – in fact all the essentials that make for vibrant markets, commons, and neighbourhoods” (Orsi et al. 2013:4); the practices accompanying this vision have been discussed

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in the above. Particular attention is given to sustainable urban development, and to cities in general, nowadays the contested space par excellence (Gorenflo 2015a).

In fact, according to Shareable, in our current times characterized by economic recession and environmental crisis, fostering the development of sharing practices needs to be put in a central position in the agenda of local governments if they want to create prosperity and resilience. In order to enact its mission, Shareable has edited a guide for urban policy makers and planners who want the best for their cities – Policies for Shareable Cities by Orsi et al. (2013). The guide offers a “curated set of policy recommendations” for mayor and local municipalities willingly to accept the sharing challenge and tackles issues such as transportation, food, housing, and jobs (Orsi et al. 2013: 4). Also, although the guide was mainly aimed at reaching US public, it reports a lot of examples of sharing practices implemented by local governments from all over the world.

As the ‘sharing transformation’, it is mainly approached as a ‘personal transformation’, the (sense of) agency that people develop is paramount in the work of SSC. The personal transformation of individuals can lead to an increased sense of agency on the community level. It is a conviction at Shareable that the transformative power of sharing can make people more joyful as it favours wealth distribution and processes of community-building (Shareable – Mission & Values, unknown). As Shareable’s co-founder Neal Gorenflo has observed, sharing practices are multiplying all over the world as a consequence of the fact that communities are starting to develop a clear understanding of what a sharing city is and how to create it (Gorenflo 2015). An example of this process is that local communities are starting to incorporate local practices and initiatives under the sharing umbrella. As researcher Monica Bernardi observed during her interview, “more and more people are starting to question about the sharing economy and at what extend it can be really an alternative to the current system” (Interview Monica Bernardi, 2nd December 2015).

According to Shareable, the main engine of the sharing transformation lies in the fact that embracing sharing as a common pattern empowers individuals and communities in various ways, as well on the economic level as in enjoying life. It “heals the painful disconnect we feel within ourselves, with each other, and the places we love. Moreover, the implementation of sharing practices favours the development of creative potential among individuals and helps them solving practical problems and at the same time allows them to enjoy life” (Shareable – About, unknown).

The Sharing Cities Network was created in the attempt to connect all sharing initiatives thus creating a cohesive movement on a local level all around the world as well as sharing best practices for creating sharing cities (Observation 7th October 2015, Sharing Cities Seminar). Relevant events and tools created by Shareable aimed at empowering local communities are MapJam, ShareFest, How To guides and Sharing Cities Toolkit. Another relevant initiative is Seed Grants that allow people to bring their projects to the table and making them real as well as to gain media coverage and a lot of support from local and international community (Observation 8th October 2015, Sharing Cities Seminar).

Shareable displays a consistent degree of openness in letting local communities self-organize their own MapJam and ShareFest, limiting its influence in providing the local communities with the general tools and directions for organizing their events and advertising them through their online platform. As Shareable organizing director for campaigns Tom Llewellyn has observed “anybody that shows me a sharing event, can post an event to our website. And then, we have someone that moderates them, to make sure that they are actually in line with the idea. [...] if the event has something to do with anything we publish about. Then we allow it to be on the website. So, it could be a local event, you know a small event in a local makerspace, or something, where someone is sharing, whatever it is, we are pretty open” (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

We understand the relations that the network has dis/empowering in the light of relations

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to bigger companies in the 'field' of sharing. Indeed, being a transnational network promoting the principles of the sharing economy, Shareable has to confront the biggest issues and the inherent contradictions concerning the sharing economy as a global movement (Orsi 2013).

As Orsi (2013) has observed, as sharing practices expand around the world at a prompt speed, penetrating markets once restricted to a selected elite, evidence suggest that some of its companies are turning into conventional businesses. Sharing platforms are increasingly becoming profit-oriented firms or in certain cases real corporations, whose activities can be defined as lucrative following a business-as-usual logic finalized to the maximization of profit and revenues (idem). Relevant examples include Airbnb and Uber, online platforms for flat rental and private transportation, who although not direct partners or sponsors of Shareable are part of "The People Who Share Network" of which Shareable is funding partner (The People Who Share, unknown)¹ As Tom said in an interview, "Unless it [the sharing business n.d.r.] is regulated correctly, it can be a big problem and it is not related to sharing at all at that point in time. It is just another capitalistic business model [...]we need some regulation that allows start-ups and new products to take on [...]I think that what Seoul has done, has been great, ... they banned Uber from Seoul" (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

Shareable holds relations to other actors and/or networks in the 'field' of sharing. As mentioned before, Shareable has partnered with OuiShare in organizing its first Mapjam. This relationship is characterized by mutual trust, as Neal and Tom describe: both groups recognize that their participants come from different networks. As such, they are not seen as 'members' of a network, but rather as contributors to it. The approach of both Shareable and OuiShare can be described as a 'platform', in which the networks do not want to control the interaction ('like Airbnb') between them and the contributors and among the contributors (Review Tom Llewellyn and Neal Gorenflo, 20th January 2016).

In this sense, Shareable's high number of potential partners and affiliate organizations constitutes a potentially empowering element for the network. Another potential dis/empowering effect created by the network has been described by entrepreneur Giuseppe Colistra: as sharing practices are mainly based on the power of local communities and communities are alimeted by actions among their members, personal development can be harmed by the lack of growth of the community itself, thus igniting a process that can terminate in the complete decline of the community (Interview Giuseppe Colistra 7th December 2015).

As for external governance arrangements, disengagement from dominant institutions both in terms of cultural discourses and socioeconomic activity constitutes the central element of Shareable's agenda. On its website, the network openly deals with the concept of agency, meant as a process of individual and collective liberation from dominant institutions and from their coercive power both in terms of action and thinking. In the network's own words: 'What's the sharing transformation? It's a movement of movements emerging from the grassroots up to solve today's biggest challenges, which old, top-down institutions are failing to address. Behind these failing industrial-age institutions are outmoded beliefs about how the world works – that ordinary people can't govern themselves directly; that nonstop economic growth leads to widespread prosperity; and that more stuff leads to more happiness' (Shareable, unknown).

In 'Policies for Shareable Cities', Shareable recommends that local administration favour the creation of cooperative businesses in an effort to support local jobs, mainly through procurement ordinances and policies (Orsi et al. 2013). Urban governments can play a pivotal role here. Basically, SSC finds that 'the only way it is working in Seoul, is because of their government [that] got fully behind it' (Interview Tom Llewellyn 25th October 2015). Moreover, Shareable

¹ Shareable is a founding partner of "Sharing Week" which is coordinated by People Who Share. Shareable was not a founder of the organization People Who Share.

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proposes some ways in which the governments and local administration can support the creation of cooperatives practicing the principles of the sharing economy: 1) giving grants; 2) providing loans; 3) utilizing federal funds from Community Development Block Grants and economic recovery funding to support cooperatives; 4) creating loan guaranty programs; 5) supporting the development of revolving loan funds; 6) acting as an intermediary between cooperatives and lending institutions; 7) offering city-owned land to cooperatives (idem).

An example of this is what is happening under Mayor Park in Seoul, who plays an important role in promoting the principles and practices of a sharing city. For doing so, a strong governmental support is necessary: 'They banned Über from Seoul [...] all the money is staying in the community. And I think that it is a really good idea. I think that there is a certain amount of protectionism [...] I am not a big fan of, you know, free market globalization'. Another element is the prototyping of sharing policies that is taking place in Seoul: as 'sharing tools' in a certain apartment building did not work, they put 'recreational equipment' in, which was actually picked up by the community (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

For the foreseeable future, some form of urban regulation will continue to be necessary, 'businesses is always going to be kept in check', as human beings are a 'flawed species [...] we all want to get as much as we can'.

'Internally', every single city is different, says Tom. Most of the groups in Sharing Cities are community groups, many of them started in a small sharing project, such as a tool-library, a time-bank and found that they would want to network with other groups. Sometimes these groups have been formalized, many others are informal community groups (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

According to Neal Gorenflo, the main resources for achieving a sharing transition are the human capital that composes, contemporary civil societies formed by hundreds of millions of qualified workers that can contribute to informational industry and are willingly to change new world and the consistent decrease of production costs, thus allowing a better distribution of resources (Observation 7th October 2015, Sharing Cities Seminar).

The network also relies a lot on digital resources through various communication channels such as major social networks (Twitter-Facebook) and mailing services such as newsletters and RSS Feed (Shareable, unknown -I). Another source of resourcing is monetary support that is achieved by sponsorships from different actors (Shareable, unknown-II), and regulated by a transparent and strict sponsorship policy (Shareable (unknown-III). Next to this, SSC needs a co-working space, needs 'access to others [...] and to meet' (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). At the moment, the majority of funding comes from the 'Shift Foundation'.

Shareable itself conveys resources through a Toolkit for the Shareable city, a compendium of sharing policies aimed at suggesting the right sharing policies for administrations willingly to implement them. The importance of the guide lies in the fact that it helps people in detecting major resources that can be considered as shareable in general (Shareable, unknown -IV).

Some examples of resources highlighted by the guide include environmentally-friendly peer-to-peer forms of transportation such as bike sharing and car-pooling, urban agriculture projects aimed at achieving food supremacy, collective mapping projects aimed at individuating all the resources present in a given area, experiment for shared commercial activities, cooperative housing projects for homeless people and the creation of urban co-ops (idem).

Other examples of sharing resources around the world include online peer-to-peer platforms aimed at favouring collaborative production and networking among different actors, and participative forms of production such as co-working, maker-spaces, co-up spaces, co-living communes, Senior Villages, storefronts, cooperatives, crowd-funding campaigns, urban spaces where food is grown, community-supported farms, repair cafes, Tool Libraries, and time banks (Observation 7th October 2015, Sharing Cities Seminar). For Giuseppe Colistra, Shareable was able to 'give me the tools in order to understand the current dynamics of the sharing economy', which helped him making strategic choices for his car-sharing company (Interview Giuseppe Colistra, 7th

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December 2015).

In terms of monitoring or evaluation, SSC started to evaluate the about 45 projects that received funding. Tom thinks they have about a 50% success rate – however, they have not developed a ‘real and formal assessment’, but that is planned for next year (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). At the moment, they have ‘beginning ideas on when a sharing city is a success’: ‘the city as a commons is a concrete utopia’, hence, always-in-the-making. It is a never ending process towards this vision in which all institutions are democratic. The milestones however, can be measured and understood (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015).

They would like to monitor inclusion in their projects, ‘how active groups are in the greater community, more so than kind of within a small local bubble’. They would use the evaluations to enhance their training materials and their interaction with groups. Plus, it may help looking for their own funding and local groups get funding. In general, they note that foundations will not fund if you can’t measure and show the impact. This is especially paramount when groups get to a certain point, when there is a ‘leader that wishes they can make this their fulltime job, or their half time job’. They are doing this job anyway, but they do not get paid. On the other hand, the ‘benefit does not necessarily have to be money’: ‘when we have a lot of great sharing services, and people are able to get the things that they need through time banks and other sources, [...] they will get it in a very direct sense’ (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

The network is involved in social learning through the provision of stories and through these stories, learning among people takes place. In fact, as car-pooling entrepreneur Giuseppe Colistra has observed, the grassroots storytelling – in the form of knowledge – can foster community-building processes and therefore communities, are the main generators for social learning as they mutually aliment themselves just like in a cycle (Interview Giuseppe Colistra, 7th December 2015).

The importance of knowledge processes in favouring social learning among community members favouring the creation of powerful community is confirmed by David de Ugarte’s theory according to which every communitarian experience originates itself in knowledge that becomes a common resource distributed through peer-to-peer relations where people involved can learn from each other. This gives identity and a sense of common belonging to people engaged in sharing activities that engage themselves in a story of common learning thanks to sharing practices (Interview David de Ugarte, 13th November 2015). As an example, experts have found out that taking part in a car-sharing program can enhance people’s understanding of today’s major ecological concerns and develop more consciousness over the potential of the sharing economy (Buczynski 2012).

3.4 Summary

How does SI emerge? How do SI-initiatives, SI-networks and the ‘SIs themselves’ relate and develop through space and time?

Shareable describes itself as ‘an award-winning non-profit news, action and connection hub for the sharing transformation’ (Shareable – About, unknown). As Tom Llewellyn says, their definition of sharing is ‘really broad’ and ‘one of our main philosophies is to be as inclusive as possible’ (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). The way this network is organized is loosely for a reason: people should be able to express what is appropriate within their culture, within similar

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value systems (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015).

The first element of Doing, Organizing, Framing and Knowing is demonstrating the actual sharing practices through the popular and featured news section on the website and through the Policies for Sharing Cities. In the second place, these stories show that change is a long term process – the stories on their website narrates have developed over time. The second element is facilitating connections between citizens, through in the first place online #mapjams – in which sharing activities are mapped. The third element is the funding of various projects by community groups, to help them grow and flourish. The fourth element is the recognition of various narratives and discourses in itself, that SSC sees itself play an important role, in challenging existing and dominant narratives and redefining and reviving the alternative discourses. Through the practice of story-telling – publishing stories of (small) successes in various communities on their website, they aim to ‘grow these stories’ (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015). Shareable wants to offer an alternative understanding of urban development in the form of the ‘commons’. Neal Gorenflo defines a common as: ‘a common pool resource that is managed directly by users as common property, often with little interference or support from gov’t or enterprise’ (Gorenflo 2015).

Concluding, Shareable is on the one hand making available knowledge and experiences through various media and facilitating connections between people. On the other hand, it acts out a ‘framing’ of alternative visions and discourses for urban development.

To enable the ideal of the ‘sharing city’ to take off, a relation with existing institutions, laws and codes is necessary as these need to change to – for example – integrate ‘home life’ with ‘commercial life’, making car sharing as to generate an income at home, impossible (idem: 32). Therefore, the cooperation of city governments is essential.

How does the social innovation and the SI-network interact with/contribute to transformative change in its social context?

We identified a ‘value crises’ and increasing digitalization and enabling technologies as the major changes in the social context that SSC relates to. In the first place, a ‘value crises’ is the consequence of the combination of an institutional and leadership crises and an economic crises (Interview David de Ugarte, 12th November 2015). In the second place, digitalization is identified as the game-changer of our times. The so called ‘digital commons’ provide people with universal tools and play a huge role in building commons ‘on the ground’.

We identify four major trends that enable SSC. In the first place, individualization (as opposed to communitarianism). In the second place, the rise of the Smart City as enabled by the exact digital revolution through which the Sharing City might thrive. The Smart City is as well a discourse that SSC plays into, as a perceived real situation. In the third place, environmental changes and in the fourth place, the increasing urbanization.

Two major institutions and structures to which SSC relates are identified. SSC relates to on the one hand the Market, on the other hand Public authorities. A differentiation is necessary between the capitalist market and the peer-to-peer-market that SSC supports. The peer-to-peer-marketplace enables actors to connect without interference of larger (capitalist) institutions and are organized through the ‘commons’. Public authorities are approached as ‘facilitators of the sharing economy’ (Orsi et al. 2013:6), and are seen as one of the actors in the ‘sharing economy’.

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Identifying dominant discourses and narratives as well as the creation of alternative narratives are important strategies for SSC as to realize their transformative ambition. The dominant discourses as identified are related to the Smart City, the dominant narrative of the 'sharing economy' and the American Dream. These narratives however are culturally contextualized as well. An example is found in the way cooperatives are defined and practiced.

The ambition of SSC is accomplish a 'sharing transformation'. The sharing transformation is in its core a personal transformation – but one that happens or can happen at various scales. Hence, through the 'sharing transformation' people will (a) self-organize in a distributed network without the interference of a centralized, powerful middleman such as public or market authorities and (b) the biggest current challenges will be addressed, in terms of environmental and social problems. Therefore, David de Ugarte sees the 'sharing transformation' in the first place as a 'cultural transformation', in which citizens feel empowered by hearing stories and experiencing how alternative practices can lead to a cultural and economic change.

In terms of the side- or unintended effects, we found during our interview with Neal Gorenflo, that an increasing disentanglement of civil society from local State agencies as a consequence of the economic crisis could also turn out to be potentially harmful in two ways. In the first place, for those people that cannot 'act', in the sense of 'actors that are able to make a deliberate choice', i.e. to not perform in a society of commons or a sharing society, as they lack ability for 'acting' and performing agency. In the second place, urban governments could use the 'sharing city' or 'commons'-discourse to further de-invest in local institutions, favoring neo-liberal systems.

Where lies the agency in (T)SI processes? How are actors dis/empowered in/by the SI-networks in relation to (T)SI?

Although being a worldwide network, Shareable presents a very basic formal structure, organized on three different levels.

As the 'sharing transformation', it is mainly approached as a 'personal transformation', the (sense of) agency that people develop is paramount in the work of SSC. The personal transformation of individuals can lead to an increased sense of agency on the community level. According to Shareable, the main engine of the sharing transformation lies in the fact that embracing a sharing as a common pattern empowers individuals and communities in various ways, as well on the economic level as in enjoying life.

Shareable displays a consistent degree of openness in letting local communities self-organize their own MapJam and ShareFest, limiting its influence in providing the local communities with the general tools and directions for organizing their events and advertising them through their online platform.

We understand the relations that the network has dis/empowering in the light of relations to bigger companies in the 'field' of sharing. Indeed, being a transnational network promoting the principles of the sharing economy, Shareable has to confront the biggest issues and the inherent contradictions concerning the sharing economy as a global movement (Orsi 2013).

As for external governance arrangements, disengagement from dominant institutions both in terms of cultural discourses and socioeconomic activity constitutes the central element of Shareable's agenda. For the foreseeable future, some form of urban regulation will continue to be necessary, 'businesses is always going to be kept in check', as human beings are a 'flawed species

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[...] we all want to get as much as we can'. 'Internally', every single city is different, says Tom. Most of the groups in Sharing Cities are community groups, many of them started in a small sharing project, such as a tool-library, a time-bank and found that they would want to network with other groups. Sometimes these groups have been formalized, many others are informal community groups (Interview Tom Llewellyn, 25th October 2015).

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In terms of monitoring or evaluation, SSC started to evaluate the about 45 projects that received funding. At the moment, they have 'beginning ideas on when a sharing city is a success': 'the city as a commons is a concrete utopia', hence, always-in-the-making. It is a never ending process towards this vision in which all institutions are democratic. The milestones however, can be measured and understood (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015).

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4 Local Initiative Sharing City Nijmegen

4.1 Emergence of Social innovation (SI) and SI-initiative

Sharing City Nijmegen is a Dutch local manifestation of the transnational network Shareable/Sharing Cities. The basic idea of Sharing City Nijmegen is to share in a way that could lead to a society driven not by market economy, but the need of giving. Sharing City Nijmegen can be considered as an umbrella organisation covering a large number of very diverse sharing activities. The core group of Sharing City Nijmegen consist of a few volunteers, Sharing City Nijmegen initiator Nils Roemen, Juul Martin and Mieke Miltenburg, with Nils and Juul as the original initiators and Mieke as contact person for new initiatives (<http://nijmegendeelstad.nl/deelstad>).



Figure 9: Mieke Miltenburg, Juul Martin, Remco Janssen and Nils Roemen preparing the Deeldag (Sharing Day) in Nijmegen in a room at the DROOM villa Lux (Photo Morten Elle)

In order to understand the history of Sharing City Nijmegen, one must understand both the development of the different initiatives under the umbrella of Sharing City Nijmegen, and the

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history of the core group. We will briefly illustrate the development of the core group with the history of Nils Roemen's activities:

Sharing City Nijmegen initiator Nils Roemen used to work as an ordinary consultant in a consulting company. In 2005, he realized that there were a lot of opportunities missed in the rigid, formal societal structures. Much needed to be done, but in order to do it, the consultant needed to develop a project proposal with a budget, apply for the money, and sign a contract and then carry out the actual project. Nils decided to put the standard business model up-side down: solving important problems first and inviting people to give, if they thought he had done a good job. In 2006 he developed the 'durftevragen' – dare to ask – concept, inspiring people to dare to ask for help – based on the general idea that most people has a surplus and will like to help others. The concept is described in the book *Durftevragen* written together with Fanny Koerts. In the spirit of giving there is no copyright on the book – but a 'copy-left', an invitation to copy. Several have copied the book and many have copied the concept of dare to ask (interview with Nils Roemen October 24th 2015).

Nils is very inspired by the story of the Estonia Cleanup in 2008. The country was filled with garbage in nature, but by using the internet to organize people, the entire country was cleaned up by 50000 volunteers the 3rd of May 2008. In 2009 Nils started a series of 'Nijmegen in dialoog' – Nijmegen in Dialogue – events in order to strengthen the dialogue between people in Nijmegen. In 2010/11 Nils was part of organizing the '7 days of inspiration' and developing the Waarmakerij – Waarmaakdagen together with Juul Martin. It is a concept for realizing people's dream of doing, using other people competences and skill to realize the dream (<http://waarmakerij.nl/waarmaakdagen/>)

Nils met Neal Gorenflo from the Shareable initiative in 2013 and found that much of what was going on in Nijmegen was aligned with the visions of Sharing Cities. Subsequently Nils made Nijmegen a member of the transnational initiative and had the first Sharing Day in Nijmegen in 2014. Sharing Nijmegen did not have to implement any further elements to join the transnational Shareable initiative. The Shareable initiative provides the concept of Sharing City, which serves on a conceptual basis to interrelate various initiatives that were previously primarily linked through personal contacts. The transnational network also collects examples of sharing initiatives and this collection of sharing cases work as inspiring narratives to the Nijmegen Sharing City network. Becoming a member of the transnational network does not necessarily imply that the local authorities are involved, this happened at a later stage: The 24th of October 2015 a number of actors, including the Municipality of Nijmegen and Shareable signed a declaration supporting further development of sharing activities in Nijmegen.

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Figure 10.: The Elder(wo)man of Nijmegen, Harriët Tiemens, signing the declaration of support of further sharing activities in Nijmegen (Photo: Morten Elle)

The primary contact point is via Sharing City Nijmegen's homepage: (<http://nijmegendeelstad.nl/deelstad>).

The extended core group of the most active people are for the time being Mieke Miltenburg, Peter de Jong, Hanneke Beekmans, Anne Martens, Argé Nieuwenhuijzen, Remco Janssen, Johnny Kerkhof, Anne Hurkens and Juul Martin and Nils Roemen. The initiative does not have a regular office, but the most active meet at the Deelwinkel (Sharing Store): Pasage Molenpoort 36a, Nijmegen. (Communication with Nils Roemen December 8th 2015) But though the principle of sharing Sharing City Nijmegen has access to other facilities, for instance the DROOMvilla Lux

The activities under the umbrella of Sharing City Nijmegen are, as mentioned quite diverse. Some of the activities are in the following 12 categories:

Car Sharing	Repair Café	Garden Sharing	Co-housing
Book Sharing	Exchange	Co-working	Bicycling without age
Manpower – help	Food Sharing	Sharing Vouchers	Sharing Store

In the following examples of these activities are presented for further analysis. Other activities such as sharing-vouchers, which have become quite popular and spread to other sharing cities as post-cards, are not presented further due to limitations of space. The following cases are thus examples of the sharing activities related to Nijmegen Deelstad rather than a complete description.

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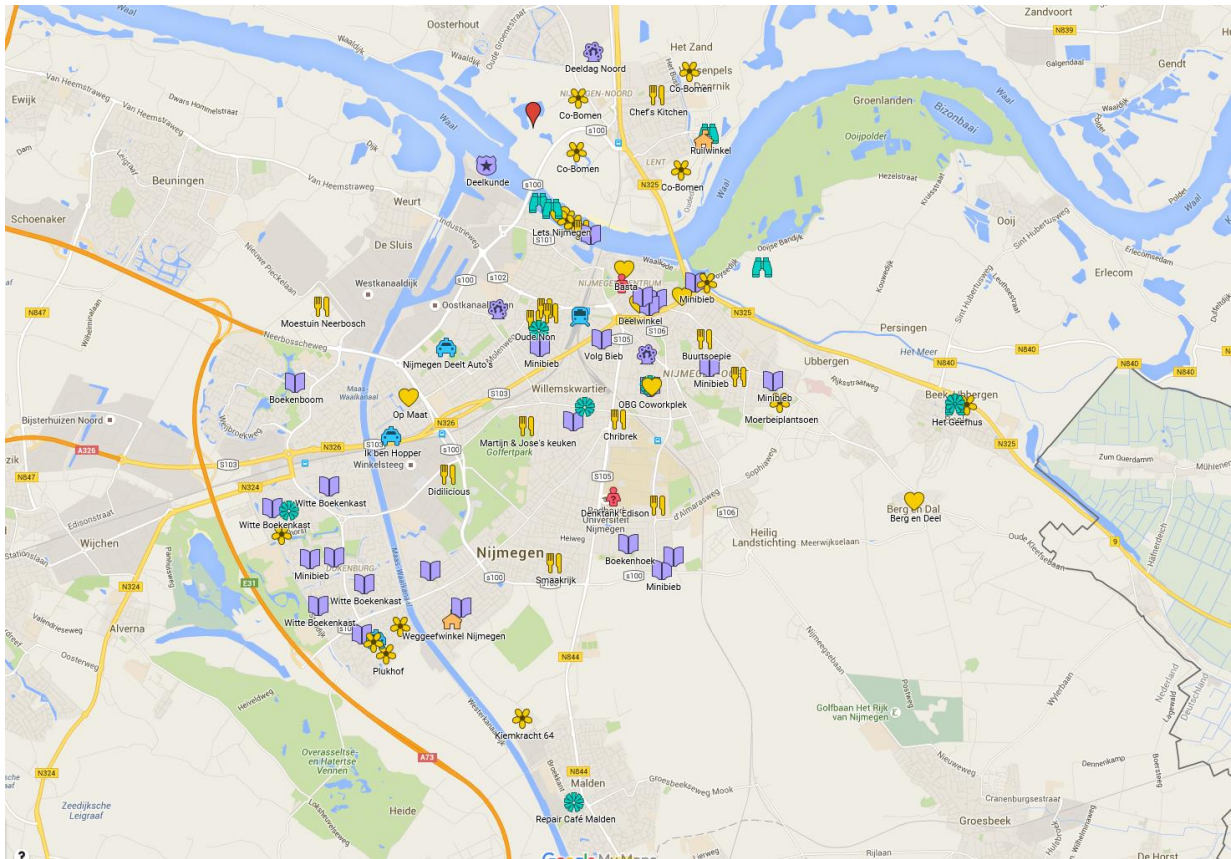


Figure 11: Physical map of initiatives related to Nijmegen Deelstad, from the Deelstad's homepage.

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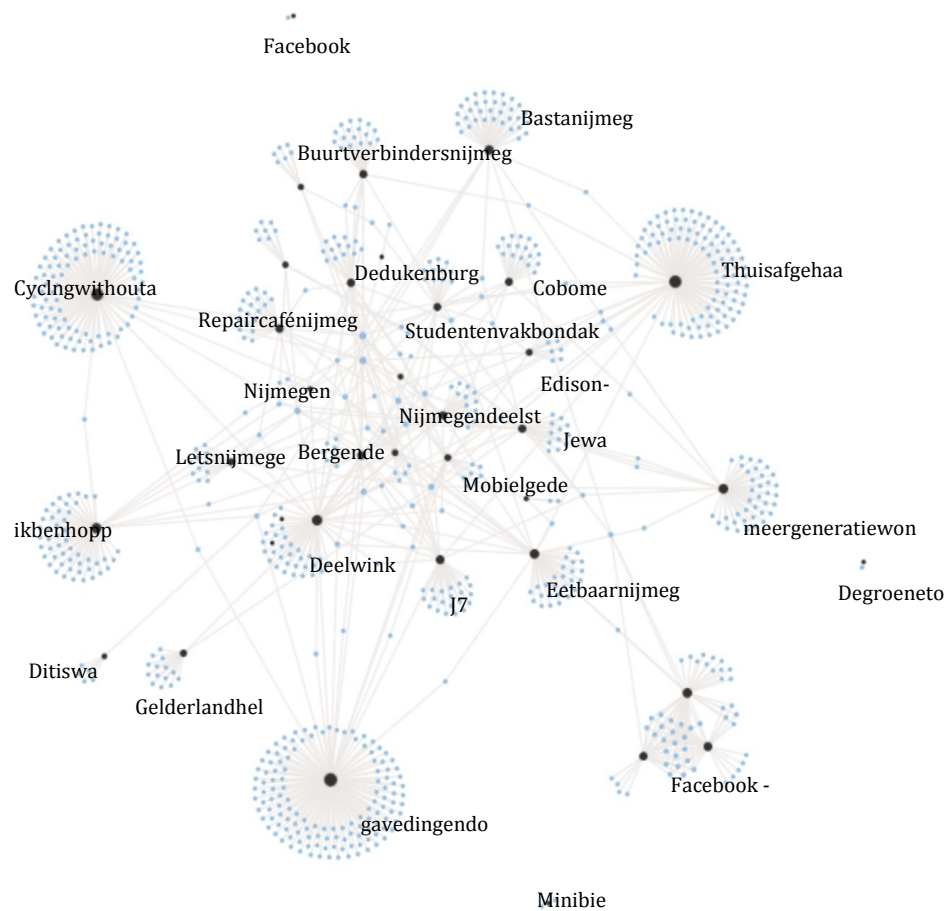


Figure 12: Actormap. Web crawler map of relations between Nijmegen Deelstad and other Nijmegen sharing initiatives. Several of these initiatives (eg Cycling Without Age) are national and have many more contacts outside Nijmegen than to the local members of the Nijmegen Deelstad network, while some of the local initiatives (eg Nijmegen Deelautos) are very small.

Repair Cafés is an old initiative dating back from 2005 in Amsterdam. People in the Transition Town movement in Nijmegen contacted the initiator of the repair café in Amsterdam in 2010 in order to copy the concept. After a year they were allowed to copy, if they followed the concept, which implies running the initiative on a voluntary basis, using the Repair Café logo, which is protected by copyright and referring to the repaircafé.org website (Postma 2015). The first steps towards the first Repair Café in Nijmegen was taken in February 2011 as a part of a Durftevragen event with Nils. A team of 6 persons met up every month preparing the Repair Café, with a trial in October. The official start was in January 2012. Now there are 9 Repair Cafés in Nijmegen. The largest one has 25 volunteers working for 3 hours once a month, working with electro-mechanics, bicycle repair, wood repair and clothes repair. The volunteers like the social part of the repairing, getting recognition for their skills and the idea of avoiding to throw good products away. It is, however, difficult to convey the more abstract ideas of transition towns and of sharing cities to them. The Sharing City Nijmegen concept thus has virtually no influence on the Repair Café initiatives, which claim legitimacy from their own transnational network (Interview with Repair Café coordinator Olav Buunen).

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Garden Sharing is quite new in Nijmegen, dating back from the first sharing day in Nijmegen in 2014. It was developed with the help of Juul Martin. (Garden Sharing is an internationally established concept. It is big in San Francisco). The garden sharing initiative is referred to by many of the other initiatives under Sharing City Nijmegen. It is, however, still a local experiment in Nijmegen. The basic idea is to match people, who would like to garden, but have no garden, with people, having a garden but not the resources to take care of it. Many are interested in the idea, but until now only four matches have been made (Interview with Sharing Garden coordinator Cobi van Kollenburg)

Car-Sharing is an old idea, representing a number of different concepts. There are several car-sharing initiatives in Nijmegen, some are very small (consisting of 2 neighbours sharing a car) to large networks being a part of national scheme like snap-car. Our contact with car-sharing in Nijmegen was the municipal initiative trying to stimulate all forms of car-sharing in Nijmegen. The municipality finds Sharing City Nijmegen very useful in developing more car-sharing by using it as a framework to engage citizens. The Municipality of Nijmegen aims at winning a national contest concerning car-sharing. The aim is to get 100000 shared cars. The municipality contacted the organisers of the contest, Natuur en Milieu in November 2014; the contest started officially in March 2015 and will end in February 2016. Car-sharing is a part of the municipal strategy for sustainable mobility. Nijmegen missed to be the Green Capital of Europe 2017 by a narrow margin, but aims at being Green Capital later (Interview with Civil Servant Municipality of Nijmegen, Sustainability Section Anne Hurkens and Dolf Kutschenreuter)

DROOMvilla LUX is a social initiative working for and with socially vulnerable people, partly sponsored by the old foundation Driestroom. People having severe problems and perhaps impairments gets employment, for instance in the restaurant in DROOMvilla LUX. There is a crew of professionals and volunteers that make it all work. There is a combination of getting work and happiness – people share their work and their skills to make other people lives better. A guest who visits the restaurant becomes part of a bigger vision – a bigger dream. There is a symbiotic relation to Sharing City Nijmegen. Nils has helped with ideas how to run DROOMvilla LUX, and DROOMvilla LUX opens the doors for Sharing City Nijmegen's Sharing Days. A special part of that is the free lunch for all, made out of donations from different food companies and prepared by the cooks of DROOMvilla LUX. The basic vision is that you gain from giving good things – much in alignment with Sharing City Nijmegen (Interview with Director DROOM VillaLUX Ineke Cruysen).

Food Sharing is an initiative on national level, started in January 2012. You can participate as a cook, and on the specially developed homepage you can announce that you cook a number of extra portions of a certain dish at a certain time, inviting people to buy the portions for the price of the raw materials. Some cooks only cook a few extra portions; others cook several extra portions every day. The extra portions are to be picked up at the cook's address. A special part of the project is the special food sharing, aiming at connecting with elderly and disabled persons, helping with the coordination and transport. Some vulnerable people are cooks and are using the activity to strengthen their social network. The special food sharing started nationally in 2014, and after a meeting in Sharing City Nijmegen the special food sharing started in Nijmegen in November 2014 (Interview with Project Leader Bijzonder Thuisafgehaald (special food sharing) Annemarieke Bloom)

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Youbedo is an internet based bookshop that offers 10 % of each sale to a charity of the buyer's choice – it is the sharing with charities that makes Youbedo interested in Sharing City Nijmegen. Youbedo is also advising other firms how to develop internet trading with integrated charity donation. The idea of Youbedo was partially developed in dialogue with Juul Martin. (Informal interview with Director Youbedo (charity sharing internet booksale) Michael van Loenen).

Municipality of Nijmegen became officially involved in Sharing City Nijmegen when the Elder (wo)man signed the declaration October 24th 2015. The municipality has, however, been informally involved for a longer period – people in the Municipality knows Nils and Juul from Durftevragen. “We knew them before the Deelstad – the Waarmakerij, Durftevragen” (Interview with Change Manager, Municipality of Nijmegen Barbara Bosman)

The basic ideas of Sharing City Nijmegen fit well with the on-going transformation in the municipality. Nils and Juul are used as consultants by the municipality. They make consultation hours every other week in the municipality. This activity is not directly connected to the Sharing City Nijmegen, but can be seen as a part of the numerous activities that are advancing the idea of sharing. The idea of sharing helps the municipality achieving its goals on social aspects and sustainability. Sharing helps automatic contacts between people. “The effect is much broader than the simple transaction you maybe are doing” (Interview with Barbara Bosman). The interaction with Sharing City Nijmegen helps establishing contacts across the different sectors in the municipality (Interview with Barbara Bossman). However, it is important to stress that Sharing City Nijmegen is not a municipal activity, it is an activity taking place in the geography of Nijmegen and the municipality is supporting the development of the idea of sharing.

Many socially innovative organisations in Nijmegen are members of Sharing City Nijmegen, but not all. An example of a non-member is:

Binnenstadservice is a small organisation started in 2008 by a consultant of the local chamber of commerce. The basic idea is to save the inner city from the large number of trucks coming with a few goods to the shops, having a point of delivery in the outskirts of the city. From this point an environmentally friendly truck brings all the goods to the different shops. The idea is old and has been tried without success in a number of cities. It is very hard to make the small shops in the city contribute. Hence, Binnenstadservice has changed their focus to the larger transport firms, making agreements with these concerning a number of Dutch cities. With this changed focus it seem less obvious to join Sharing City Nijmegen (Interview with Director Binnenstadservice (City Logistic Freight) Birgit Hendriks)

Summing up:

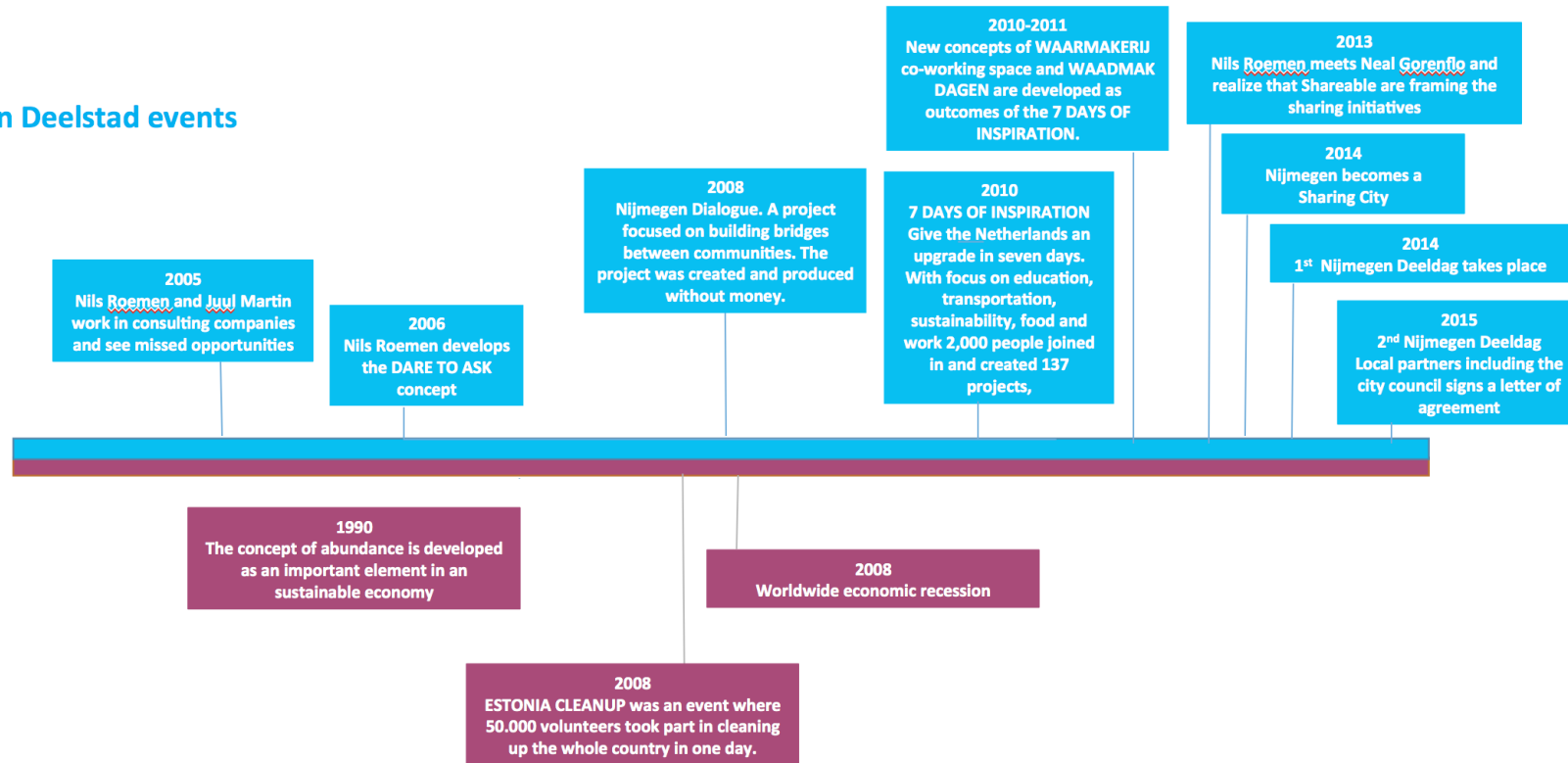
Sharing City Nijmegen is socially innovative by insisting on giving and sharing in ways that mostly does not involve any money (or time-registration as in timebanks). The different and very diverse tangible activities, like food-sharing, implies more than sharing the food, they strengthen the social networks. The vision is a society driven not by market economy, but by giving. Acting outside the monetary economy is faster than being dependent on formal projects financed by governmental or private funds. The different practical arrangements can be seen as arenas for giving. The official Sharing City Nijmegen is very new, but it also incorporates the combination, networking and further development of activities that have already existed – some (Repair Cafés) dating almost 10 years back. Sharing City Nijmegen is inspiring the initiatives already existing, is inspiring the

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creation of new sharing activities and is creating a platform for interaction between the different networks.

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Nijmegen Deelstad events



Societal Conditions and Discourses

Figure 13: Timeline for Sharing City Nijmegen

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4.2 TSI dynamics

Sharing City Nijmegen is a network which provides some shared policies and a loose coupling to a number of initiatives in Nijmegen, which are of very different scale. Some only exist in Nijmegen (Deelwinkel) whereas most are national (Thuisafgehaald, Ikbenhopper, Gavedingendoen) and even transnational (Repair Café). The emergence of Sharing City Nijmegen in 2014 is to a wide extent the outcome of interaction of these networks and changes in the social context of the networks. Some of the participants in initiatives feel that a more general trend towards more sharing has emerged in the Dutch society during the last decade (Director Binnenstadservice (City Logistic Freight) Birgit Hendriks). Most of the networks that have been mapped as contributing to Sharing City Nijmegen have experienced a change in the governance structure related to publicly funded social work.

The local government of Nijmegen describes an on-going Dutch policy of decentralisation, which is not specific for Nijmegen. “There are more and more things that we try to decentralize [...] This trend is taking place in all Holland, it not specific for Nijmegen, there are cities that do much more than we are, and it also has to do with that there are a lot of tasks decentralized from the government to the local government last year: social stuff, youth, health and that sort of things [...] Then they had to think about how we deliver this kind of service, and that is in the neighbourhood (Interview with Barbara Bosman).

This decentralization has very different aspects relating to it. One aspect is the effort of trying to redefine tasks as task to be carried out by civil society. Many tasks that were previously a part of national administration have been decentralised to local government, and local government has in parallel to this had to decentralise municipal efforts to various neighbourhood centres which offer assistance with school and education, health, psychological problem or disadvantages of the elderly (Fledderus et al 2015). The other aspect of the decentralization is the possible empowerment of the civil society. Barbara Bosman states “The direction is that we try to leave more to the community [...] and help and facilitate whenever needed, and then go back. To be more conscious about the role you take [...]. The ambition is more social cohesion, to connect initiatives, but not to take over all the time. We believe that the sharing concept helps, the end goal is not sharing, but by sharing you can connect people (Interview with Barbara Bosman)

In a response to the challenges of the transformation of the welfare state and the relations of the individual citizen to the local municipality, various initiatives, including some initiatives related to Sharing City Nijmegen, have been initiated in order to help citizens that have little or no connection to the labour market to improve their competences – both as potential employees and as local entrepreneurs. The citizens participating in these initiatives have quite different backgrounds including immigrants, former criminals and unemployed people with poor qualifications. The initiatives similarly range from very basic employment with tending public parks that aim to enhance the participants experiences with working-life structure (getting up in the morning, living by a schedule) to more advanced projects that introduce specific competences with regards to repairing bicycles, cooking fast-food or sewing and mending clothes in order for the participants to become qualified to obtain ‘real’ jobs (Fledderus et al 2015). Whereas these initiatives are described in rhetorics of empowerment that emphasize the building of qualification of the citizens, a parallel development of individual responsibility is taking place. The municipal responsibility of the

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collective of the citizens is transferred to the individual as a personal responsibility of accommodating and complying with the demands and the structure of the labour market.

As a social enterprise DROOM Villa Lux relies also partly on public funding. As public funding has been diminishing through cut backs, it has been necessary to develop new ways of sustaining the social activities. The sharing concept provides a new platform for understanding social enterprise as not just an isolated altruistic project but rather as an element in a wider social transformation. The sharing concept introduces a discourse of attributing value to helping others. The experience of providing room for the Deedag events is important in shaping the understanding of how the public reacts to the sharing ideal. “Many people experience that they cannot take something without giving something back” and “The happiness from giving somebody the possibility of developing is priceless” (Interview with Director DROOM Villa Lux Ineke Cruysen) describe how they perceive the connection between social inclusion and sharing. Villa Lux is still based on a budget, which has to be approved by the board, but the sharing concept provides a possibility for thinking of future development, which is not only cut-backs, which is very important.

At the municipal level, the sharing city is seen by the local government as a versatile tool, which can both stimulate the building of improved social cohesion, which is necessary for the decentralisation process to be successful and provide bottom-up local structure that can take over some of the previous municipal tasks provided by neighbourhood centres and similar facilities. Sharing initiatives thus work to alleviate some of the effects of municipal budget cut-downs. At the same time however, the bottom-up element of the sharing concept provides a step up on the ‘participation ladder’ (Arnstein 1969) as more citizens are engaged in contributing to the social and sustainability goals of Nijmegen municipality while the local government can move from regulation to facilitation as governance tool. This local empowerment strategy is nicely captured in the recently launched “We are Nijmegen” strategy (Wij Zin Nijmegen) which boasts slogans as “Together we make the n’ in Nijmegen” (Samen maken we de & van Nijmegen!) and “Nijmegeners are creative: they think up great things and are happy to take initiatives” (Nijmegenaren zijn creatief: ze bedenken zelf leuke dingen en gaan graag zelf aan de slag) (<http://www.wijzijnnijmegen.nl/>). These municipal initiatives addresses Nijmegen citizens in general, not only the vulnerable citizens.

Nijmegen is in general considered to be one of the most left wing municipalities in The Netherlands (previously nicknamed Havana aan de Waal) and it is a common understanding in the Sharing City network that Nijmegen is a critical case: If it is possible to make widespread implementation of the sharing concept it should be done in Nijmegen. “If it works, it certainly works here” (Interview with Change Manager, Municipality of Nijmegen Barbara Bosman). At the operational level, the municipality is using the sharing concept as a platform for extending the use of car sharing. This group uses Sharing City/Nils Roemen and Juul Martin directly as a consultant in setting up workshops to develop new car sharing initiatives. This group applies an instrumental perspective where it is not so much the alternative economy of the sharing society, nor particularly the social cohesion and improved democracy but rather a strong transformative ambition linked to the perspective of having an instrument which holds a promise of lowering congestion and air pollution without extra cost of the community. There is convincing support for the sharing concept here, but also concern that the concept will have to prove itself by delivering results (more car sharing, less congestion ...) within a limited timeframe in order to remain a viable policy option (Interview with Civil Servant Municipality of Nijmegen, Sustainability Section Anne Hurkens and Dolf Kutschenreuter).

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An example of the direct implementation of the sharing concept is with the food sharing initiatives targeting elderly and handicapped people. Food Sharing is a national spread concept in NL, but in the Nijmegen context it has been developed as an output of the Sharing City activities to use public brokering to include groups that could normally not participate. Whereas most of the participants in the food sharing networks understand themselves in relation to the concrete activities of cooking and distributing food, there is also at the coordinative level an understanding, that the food sharing network is an movement to spread experiences with sharing in the public and thus paving the way for broader sharing activities and stronger local cohesion “So it is not only important that there are sharing communities for food or sharing communities for stuff or for sharing cars. It is also a little bit about the culture, about trusting our neighbours. That is why Nijmegen Deelstadt, the Sharing Cities, are so (important). I really believe that if just try to change the way people think about it, it is (important)” (Interview with Project Leader Bijzonder Thuisafgehaald (special food sharing) Annemarieke Bloom). At the coordinative level the food sharing initiative makes reference to the national WeHelpen concept and their agenda of shaping a new culture of participation at the very decentral level by help of IT based tools.

Another example of direct implementation of the sharing concept is the garden sharing, which was initiated at the Deeldag 2014. The garden-sharing concept demonstrates some of the problems with bringing the visionary ideas to a level of concrete implementation. Whereas the idea of sharing gardens was appealing to many people, few realised that the actual meaning of ‘garden’ is often different between the garden owners and garden users. Garden owners expect a flower garden, whereas garden users typically want to grow vegetables. This may be less problematic with big gardens where there may be room for both flowers and potatoes, but with the Dutch tradition of narrow row-houses and small gardens that can also only be accessed through the house it is very problematic. Hence the possibilities of implementing the shared visions clearly depend on the local context (Interview with Sharing Garden coordinator Cobi van Kollenburg).

The Yubedo Company uses market institutions – and fixed national book prices – to promote an altruistic agenda. They are now approached by other companies who want to set up altruistic schemes as elements in their CSR profile. The initial aim of Yubedo was to develop an alternative economy, and they now appear to be successful in doing this by help of the existing market economy. The initial vision survives as a driver for expanding the altruistic element to more companies and new markets.

The Repair Café network is loosely coupled to the Sharing City Nijmegen, but also to other networks as Transition Towns. The Repair Cafés was initially in 2009 developed as a concrete activity in the Platform21 network. These civil society networks still play a role in the Repair Café movement, where activists also refer to activities in the Transition Town network. As a national network Repair Cafés have however gained a stronger independent momentum than Transition Towns. The local activist reflects, that such abstract concepts as Transition Towns or Sharing Cities over time may develop to become like doughnuts – i.e. there is little activity at the core while at the same time many activists are engaged in the concrete activities of the sub networks like establishing community gardens, organising repair cafés and building car haring systems (Interview with Repair Café coordinator Olav Buunen). The Repair Café fixers aim to teach citizens to repair products and envision a society with more repairing and less throwing away.

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Nils Roemen has been developing concepts around the idea of a value based economy, where it is possible to engage in new initiatives without being limited by lack of capital assets. The vision of a sharing economy has become concrete in concepts as Waarmakerij (www.waarmakerij.nl), Durftevragen (www.durftevragen.nl) and now Sharing Nijmegen. The dominant vision is a society of abundance, where there is plenty for everybody if we start sharing what we have. In the sharing society it is an important value to be able to give things away. In Nils Roemen's vision an important element in the concrete sharing activities is to give the participants an experience of this joy of offering. The individual participants hence can be part of the transformative ambition of the Sharing Nijmegen initiative even though they do not initially carry any ambitions themselves.

Summing up across the dynamics of the various networks that contribute to the Sharing Nijmegen initiative, it is notable how the on-going public decentralisation plays an important role in the understanding of the social context of the networks of Sharing Nijmegen. This movement to some extent supports the sharing vision, as it is a model sustaining social initiatives that would otherwise be rationalised. At the same time it appears that the sharing vision also contributes to the constitution of the decentralisation agenda as a programme towards a stronger civil society. It is also worth noticing that most people involved in the different initiatives under Sharing City Nijmegen apparently are motivated by the opportunity of doing something that they feel important and the opportunity to create a better social network – and not by a vision of societal change.

There are no accounts of important particular events in the sharing networks, but a shared sense of increased general attention to sustainability issues is commonly referred. The exemption to this is Nils Roemen who is very inspired by the Estonia Clean-up initiative 2008. This serves as a continuous example to him that collective action can provide solutions at a societal level.

Several sharing initiatives piggyback onto existing publicly funded initiatives using fx their facilities or the available workforce. This is also an opportunity for these initiatives to appear with improved link to the local community. While the larger visions of a transformed society of abundance is important to the central organizers of Sharing Nijmegen, these visions only serve as an abstract reference to the participants in the individual activities. The visions do not carry a program of action at central level, but leaves room for implementation of concrete activities at the local level. That the empowerment of the local level also leaves room for further decentralization of the state and municipal social obligation appears as an unintended consequence.

4.3 Agency in (T)SI

The overall vision of Sharing City Nijmegen is to create a society driven by the need for giving rather than market forces. The problem is not the uneven distribution of wealth as such, but that too many important tasks are not done because economic coordination is missing or not adequate. The transformation to a sharing society will happen if sufficiently many involved actors start practicing giving by sharing in all different aspects of daily life. Even though money is involved in some of the activities, the focus is on a moneyless economy. The sharing society is seen as a new important platform for a value-based society where the importance of helping others is better recognised.

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The abstract vision is not necessarily shared by all the participants, many focuses on the more practical function as for instance helping people repairing household appliances or helping vulnerable people to carry out a job. However, when people are recruited into the sharing initiatives and do concrete helping initiatives they experience that it is deeply meaningful to help other people by giving them something that they need. As the Change Manager of Nijmegen Municipality says: *'But the effect is broader than the simple transaction'* (Interview with Barbara Bossman). Developing agency is thus core to Sharing City Nijmegen and can be traced back to Sharing City Nijmegen initiator Nils Roemens development of the Durftevragen and Waarmakerij concepts. People are brought in situations where they realize their own potentials – and realize that others are happy to help them.

The Sharing City Nijmegen initiative is run with a very flat and informal organisational structure. There is a small core group which develop strategies, and there have been no conflicts that have not been settled in peaceful dialogue in this group. (Communication with Nils Roemen December 8th 2015)

As a network of networks, the different initiatives under the umbrella of Sharing City Nijmegen also have their own specialized visions, referring to their specific area of interest. Some of the more specific visions are supported by many, but still difficult to realize in practice. An example of this is the garden sharing. Garden sharing is seen as an important initiative, and the idea is supported by a large number of people. There are, however, often a conflict of interest between the people, who have a garden, and the people, who wants to become gardeners. Most of the people, wanting to become gardeners, have the idea of growing their own food. Most of the people with a garden want the gardener to develop a pretty garden – not a vegetable garden (Interview with Sharing Garden coordinator Cobi van Kollenburg). The Nijmegen Deelstad initiative is a relatively weak network compared to some of the wider national and transnational network, which it is related to. The vision of some of these networks are also not also particularly aligned with the sharing economy vision: The repair café vision is actually moving towards the improved ownership/right to fix program of iFixit, others are more oriented towards having access to healthy food (eetbaarnijmegen, cobomen) or integrate material elements of fx sustainable housing materials (meergeneratie woonproject) as important elements in their vision.

The specific visions are thus inspired by other initiatives – for instance is Repair Café is now inspired by the iFixit vision of empowerment to repair your own stuff (Interview with Repair Café coordinator Olav Buunen). The Municipality of Nijmegen has the vision of getting a more 'flat' municipal structure and using sharing to renew democracy. Sharing is seen as a kind of multi-tool with which you can repair a number of things – most important is the capability to connect people (Interview with Barbara Bossman). Car-sharing is seen as a test of the more general vision of a sharing economy, and the sharing economy can help in positioning Nijmegen as the Green Capital of Europe (Interview with Civil Servant Municipality of Nijmegen, Sustainability Section Anne Hurkens and Dolf Kutschenreuter).

Many people participating in the differing initiatives under Sharing City Nijmegen has developed agency because their skills have been acknowledged – they are praised as good radio-mechanics, excellent cooks etc. – and because the activities make them members of a social network. The initiatives are anchored locally (Interview with Repair Café coordinator Olav Buunen) (Interview with Project Leader Bijzonder Thuisafgehaald (special food sharing) Annemariëke Bloom).

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The sharing dialogue internally in the Municipality of Nijmegen is partly bringing the younger part of the municipal staff in front, making them more visible in the sea of predominantly elder people. (Interview with Civil Servant Municipality of Nijmegen, Sustainability Section Anne Hurkens and Dolf Kutschenreuter). The municipality is aiming for empowering civil society, and the different initiatives are part of local social empowerment (Interview with Change Manager, Municipality of Nijmegen Barbara Bossman) (Interview with Repair Café coordinator Olav Buunen).

The different initiatives see the core group of Sharing City Nijmegen as empowering each of the initiatives, especially by sharing knowledge about possible organisation of sharing activities, knowledge about making people participate in activities and by trickling down inspiration. The core group is seen as very competent and trustworthy. The core group is used as experts by the Municipality of Nijmegen, in the same way as the municipality involves researchers from the university (Interview with Civil Servant Municipality of Nijmegen, Sustainability Section Anne Hurkens and Dolf Kutschenreuter). This type of interaction between the core group of Sharing City Nijmegen and external actors have created the basis for the officially signed declaration supporting further development of sharing activities in Nijmegen.

Apparently there are only few external factors hampering the development of sharing activities. The most evident is found outside the Sharing City network, where rules concerning free competition are hindering the municipality in regulating the use of trucks in the inner city in a way that would favour the use of Binnenstadservice (Interview with Director Binnenstadservice (City Logistic Freight) Birgit Hendriks).

The internet is a very important tool as a mediator in most of the different initiatives. The hub calendar or virtual exchange bourse is a key element in many initiatives – spreading information of events, organising the mundane exchange of products and coordinating the participation of volunteers – building virtual communities. Some initiatives provide their own IT platforms while others rely on existing social networks, particularly Facebook for these services. You can find the shared car on the internet, the internet provides you with information about possible meals to share, and where to find help and (more) One of the tools is the sharing map, displaying the location of the different sharing activities. The Deel Dashboard is an internet based tool under development in Nijmegen, which should make it easier to share things, food, help and transport.

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Figure 14: Nils Roemen in dialogue with one of the participants in the Deeldag Nijmegen concerning the development of the Deel Dashboard (Photo Morten Elle).

Much of the resources used for the activities are provided by sharing. One of the examples of this was the Sharing Day Nijmegen October 24th 2015. It was quite natural that DROOMvilla LUX provided the facilities for the sharing day for free. Active volunteers collected raw materials for the free lunch, served during the day. The lunch was prepared by volunteers, including the cooks at DROOMvilla LUX. The Sharing Day had a number of activities where different volunteers helped the participants with realizing their projects and the different initiatives had the possibility to introduce the participants to their activities.

Before the free lunch there were a number of speeches introducing different aspects of sharing. TomLlewellyn from Shareable told about the development of the transnational initiative and the strong narrative of sharing. Juul Martin introduced the potential of sharing: how much will be saved if we consequently start to share, including the saved space if we share cars and the saved time if we share for instance cooking.

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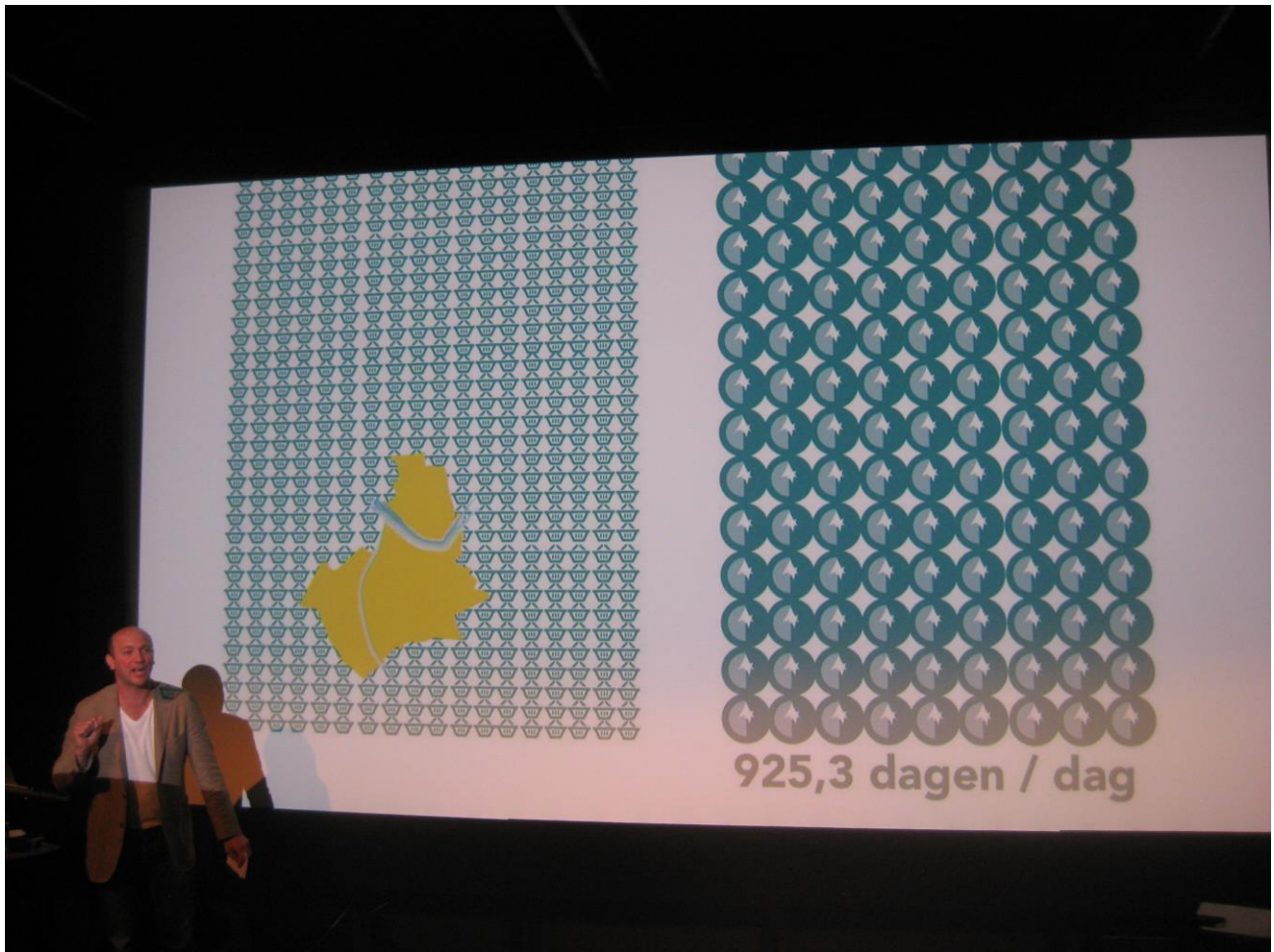


Figure 15: Juul Martin introduces the potential time saved in Nijmegen by sharing (Photo: Morten Elle).

After the Deeldag October 24th 2015, Juul and Nils spent some time discussing the future development of the different activities with the activists, meeting the new partners and developing the strategy. The strategy now consists of three stages: creating awareness about the potential of sharing, educating and training of sharing skills, creating environments that invite you to make sharing your default habit. According to Nils, several new connections were made on the Deeldag. For instance: the local library and Yubedo have started collaborating (Communication with Nils Roemen December 8th 2015).

Some of the different initiatives are trying to follow up on the results and researching the impact of the activities. Half of the participants in Food Sharing are involved to get to know people, 15 % knowing the other so well that they start doing other things together as well. The results are, however, difficult to quantify, and this could make monitoring misleading. Three cooks may have only little success in creating social networks, whereas one good cook can change an entire village (Interview with Project Leader Bijzonder Thuisafgehaald (special food sharing) Annemarieke Bloom). Some see a conflict between the really important things, like making people happy, and the formal monitoring getting an economic balance in the activity (Interview with Director DROOM VillaLUX Ineke Cruysen).

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Social learning is evidently taking place in the core group, learning about carrying out sharing activities and ways of making people believe in their own resources, by following all the different activities under the umbrella of Sharing City Nijmegen. It can be illustrated by the fact that Nils was very eager to get our feed-back from our research process at the end of the sharing day.

Summing up, the individual experiences of the network participants are not linked to a vision of a collective agency as a program to be achieved through the meticulous combination of particular elements. Rather, in a bottom up process individuals will be inspired to start changing their practices through the concrete experiences they have gained with various sharing initiatives. The initiatives thus develop a sense of agency in local networks – *we* can provide food for a group of people that would otherwise not get home-cooked meals, *we* bring down the number of cars, *we* can avoid that so many old products are thrown away. Still, this is primarily an empowerment towards dealing with the concrete tasks of cooking, repairing etc. and not a sense of being part of a certain program or roadmap towards a more sustainable society. Hence there is a transformative ambition, while the actual transformative program lies implicit in the adding up of the individual cases and examples of sharing initiatives.

4.4 Summary, synthesis, conclusion

How does SI emerge? How do SI-initiatives, SI-networks and the 'SIs themselves' relate and develop through space and time?

Sharing City Nijmegen is socially innovative by working on practical testing and development of content of the sharing society. This initiative provides real experiences and insights into the implications of sharing economy as a society, where the outset is that there is plenty and the driver is the pleasure of helping others by giving them something they need. The Sharing City Nijmegen initiative is only quite new, but as a network of networks it can be seen as a further development of similar activities dating almost 10 years back. Sharing City Nijmegen is inspiring the initiatives already existing, is inspiring the creation of new sharing activities and is creating a platform for interaction between the different networks.

Most of the sharing activities that are taken up in this sharing network increase sustainability as the save materials and energy by using less cars, less stoves, less land and avoiding excess throw away of products. The larger visions of a transformed society of abundance is important to the central organizers of Sharing Nijmegen, but these visions only serve as an abstract reference to the participants in the individual activities. The visions do not carry a program of action at central level and hence leaves room for implementation of concrete activities at the local level. Thus, the individual experiences of the network participants are not linked to a vision of a collective agency as a program to be achieved through the meticulous combination of particular elements.

How does the social innovation and the SI-network interact with/contribute to transformative change in its social context?

The central organizers envisage how individuals in a bottom up process will be inspired to start changing their practices through the concrete experiences they have gained with various sharing initiatives. The initiatives do develop a sense of agency in local networks – *we* can provide food for

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a group of people that would otherwise not get home-cooked meals, we bring down the number of cars, we can avoid that so many old products are thrown away – and we appreciate to become part of a local social network. Still, this is primarily an empowerment towards dealing with the concrete tasks of cooking, repairing etc. and not necessarily a sense of being part of a certain larger transitional program or roadmap towards a more sustainable society. Hence there is a transformative ambition, while the actual transformative program lies implicit in the adding up of the individual cases and examples of sharing initiatives.

Where lies the agency in (T)SI processes? How are actors dis/empowered in/by the SI-networks in relation to (T)SI?

Nijmegen Deelstad is a heterogeneous network of networks in a flat structure, where new bottom up initiatives emerge autonomously and link up with existing networks. The sharing vision mobilises resources in the local community to strengthen civil society and make it possible for this to take over some of the responsibilities previously supported by the welfare state. The sharing idea provides a narrative, which has a broad appeal to different networks and at a network level contributes to build connections between communities with slightly different visions. At the same time the individual activists, who are recruited and remain in their activities through local social networks, do not hear the transformative potential of the sharing narrative.

The context of public decentralisation in Nijmegen is important to understand the situation of the networks that constitute Sharing Nijmegen. The move towards increased decentralisation is a dual process, where the one part is empowerment of individuals and civil society and the other part is cost-cutting of publicly funded institutions and activities.

The apparent sustainability of the Sharing City Nijmegen is ascribed to the alternative economic vision, where there is no formal economy connected to the various sharing activities, which promotes decreased use of energy and resources. We recognize the success of the sharing concept as intrinsically linked to wider social movements of increased decentralisation, which implies engaging and empowering citizens and strengthening the networks of the civil society, but also cut-backs of publicly funded institutions and initiatives that have previously been established as important elements of the welfare society.

5 Local Initiative Sharing Gijon

We approached this local initiative as an ‘atypical’ or ‘extreme’ case of Sharing Cities: ‘Atypical or extreme cases often reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied’ (Flyvberg 2006: 229). In communication with Claudio, Tom expressed his concerns choosing this case: ‘Neal and Las Indias made that map with few other community members in 2014 but none of them showed up a year later (presumably at Somero 2015, CdM)’. By studying a ‘failed’ local initiative, we hope to uncover processes that ‘clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences [...]’ (Flyvberg 2006: 229).

The extent to which this local initiative is actually successful or not, is an empirical question that is beyond the scope of this research.

5.1 Emergence Sharing Gijon

We suggest that the emergence of local initiative Gijon as Sharing City (in the following: Sharing Gijon) can be analysed on at least two levels (see figure 1 and 2 in case demarcation): firstly, the city-level – ‘Sharing Gijon’ – and secondly, the activities that are associated to Sharing Gijon. In short, the ‘label’ Sharing Gijon is quite young, but the activities related to it date years, sometimes decennia, back. In this chapter, we focus on three interrelated types of activities. In the first place, the activities at the city-level of ‘Sharing Gijon’. In the second place, ‘mapped’ activities within ‘Sharing Gijon’ and thirdly, activities that are based in Gijon and were part of the ‘Shareable lab’ in Gijon during Somero 2015. This is how we will be able to present a full picture of what ‘Sharing Gijon’ entails.

‘Sharing Gijon’ is the name of the ‘Mapa de recursos colaborativos de la ciudad de Gijón’ (Sharing Gijon, unknown)², the ‘Collaborative resources map of the city of Gijon’ (see figure 19) that was created during a #mapjam Gijon in 2014.

This mapjam was attended by Shareable’s Neal Gorenflo, who met Las Indias’ David de Ugarte during a ‘Ouishare’³-event in Paris, 2014, where he was speaking (Gorenflo 2014). They clicked and found they had ‘similar ways of seeing the world’ (Interview Neal Gorenflo 14th December 2015). Neal was invited to ‘Shareable lab’ in Gijon as organized by Las Indias with the use of his ideas (idem). Las Indias is a cooperative that, since 2002 ‘is dedicated to create knowledge, networks, products and services for empowering individuals, communities and organizations with innovative tools that enhance the sustainability and resilience of their projects’ (Las Indias, unknown).

Part of this Lab was a ‘commons mapping exercise’, a #mapjam as organized by Las Indias, Mar de Niebla – a non-profit organization working for social inclusion, and Jaucinto Santos from the socialist party sitting as opposition in the local municipality. Other participants included the director of ASATA and Contejada de la Oposicion (Gorenflo 2014, Interview to Maria Rodriguez, December 18th 2015). During the mapjam, about twelve people were present, about 1/3 from Las

² All quotations are in Spanish. They are saved in Atlas.ti and are translated in this report.

³ Ouishare describes itself as ‘a global community and think and do-tank’. Their ‘mission is to build and nurture a collaborative society by connecting people, organizations and ideas around fairness, openness and trust’ (<http://ouishare.net/en/about>, visited on 17th December 2015). It started in Paris in 2012 and sees itself as ‘an international leader in the collaborative economy field’ (idem). Ouishare and Shareable are both active in the field of collaborative economy.

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Indias. The mapped initiatives were not present during the exercise (Interview Neal Gorenflo 14th December 2015) and the extent to which they actually self-identify as part of Sharing Gijon is unclear, although there are many interconnections between the initiatives. All initiatives pre-date the initiative of Sharing Gijon and –as the timeline demonstrates – many of them were founded decennia ago.



Figure 16: Mapjamming in Gijon, 2014. Picture from Gorenflo (2014).

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Figure 17: Claudio de Majo (front right) and Linda Zuijderwijk (next to him) sitting at the same table with Neal Gorenflo (bottom left) and Tom Llewellyn (next to him) during The Sharing City Workshop (1st day of Somero 2015). Maria Rodriguez, Carolina Ruggero and Natalia Fernandez from the cooperative group of las Indias are also present, accompanied by Facundo Martin from Podemos Gijon. Picture from Las Indias (2015a).

There are several local initiatives that are mapped as part of Sharing Gijon:

Initiative	Core activity
CRISTASA	Co-working office
Parroquia de Fátima	Clothing distribution
Ateneo de la Calzada	Library
Centro de Iniciativas Juveniles	Repair and access to computers and Internet
Banco de tiempo de la Federación de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Gijón	Timebanking
Agrupación de Sociedades Asturianas de Trabajo Asociado y Economía Social. ASATA	Association of labor unions and associations
Fundación Proyecto Hombre	Care for addicted people
Biblioteca Jovellanos	Library
Picu Rabibu	Fair trade and consumption group
La Cooperativa	Cooperative for production and consumption, including a supermarket and garden-supplies
La Osa ecológica	Association for ecological production
Emaus / Ekoshop	Educational projects for an inclusive community

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Colegio La Andolina	Education
Bolera del Laurdeal	Social bowling
Bolera Reculta	Social bowling
Club Voleyball la Calzada	Volleybal club
Club de Rugby La Calzada	Rugby club
Centro Comunitario Mar de Niebla	Educational projects for an inclusive community
Centro de Inserción Solidaridad y Empleo	Educational projects for an inclusive community
Consejo de la Juventud	Educational projects for an inclusive community
Fundación Hoga de San José	Educational projects for an inclusive community
Fundación Siloé	Educational projects for an inclusive community
Fundación Albergue Covadonga	Community services
Centro Municipal Integrado Pumarín Gijón Sur	Community services
Asociación Alambique	Free advice on social rights
ACCEM	Help for refugees and immigrants
Secretariado Gitano	Integration of Gypsy-community
Centro Asesor de La Mujer	Free advice on social rights (for women)

Not mentioned on the digital map, but mapped were (Rodriguez, unknown):

Asociación de Vecinos	Various
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These initiatives are engaging in a variety of activities, including sports, community centres and associations for an inclusive community. According to Las Indias' Maria, they have in common that they have 'a collaborative spirit of putting resources in common and creating a direct economy' (Interview Maria Rodriguez, 18th December 2015). The objective of the mapjam was to demonstrate that initiatives that at that moment received governmental funding, were able to survive without this public funding, 'if people would unify' (idem). It was also an attempt to restore a cooperative spirit (typical for Gijon, as will become clear in the next section), and an attempt to empower local communities that were experiencing scarcity because of the crisis, but are still financially dependent of local institutions and policy-making (idem). By making the map openly accessible through Google Maps, the initiators are able to show what type of initiatives are existing, which could facilitate self-organization and making use of abundant resources available in these initiatives.

Neal noticed that these are activities that are usually not mapped. Through the mapjam, he found that he and the other participants did not 'match in the way they saw things', referring to a different understanding of the 'commons' (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015). Neal: 'They mapped more than what I would have mapped, such as local soccer clubs and NGO's, instead of the tool library or time-banks that are usually mapped'. However, Neal continues, 'it is smart as they were mapping the potential allies, the coalition of the commons'. He urges that this is exactly how they wish to understand the commons as well: 'as polycentric, according to the local context'. How the local context is of importance in 'Sharing Gijon' is discussed in Dynamics.

Although this type of mapjam was not repeated in 2015, Maria finds that the initiative organized the people and that progression takes place: 'thanks to the empowering power of the Mapjam and the principles of sharing learned by the people' (Interview Maria Rodriguez, 18th December 2015), and Neal finds that 'Sharing City Gijon' is perhaps more a vision than a reality, as

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he is unsure whether there is 'cohesive group that carries the banner of Gijon as Sharing City' (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015).

During a 2015-event in Gijon coordinated by Las Indias and Shareable⁴, a type of 'meta-mapping' took place. In the first place, the idea was to record the state-of-the-art of the collaborative practices of cities that belong to the Sharing Cities network. In the second place, the goal was to come to the minimum of requirements that should be available in a city within the collaborative economy with the goal to attract talent, create jobs, wealth and social cohesion (Las Indias 2015). Hence, the emphasis was not on mapping activities as part of 'Sharing Gijon', but on mapping collaborative experiences and practices and to map what should be minimally available in a city to function in the collaborative economy. In the end, what was actually mapped were the ideas for plug-ins that could be developed by and within the distributed digital social network of GNU Social, such as insurance, mutual credit systems and time-banks, giving and free-cycling and a lending club.

⁴ This meeting was joined by Natalia, David, Carolina and Maria of Las Indias, Faguno - a representative of Gijon Podemos, Teresa - a representative of the social movement or civil society in Bilbao, Ines - a representative of the Chamber of Commerce in Bilbao, Shareable's Tom and Neal, and Paul of Acorn community - a community in Virginia, USA⁴ who was invited to speak during Somero 2015 and Linda and Claudio of IHS, Erasmus University Rotterdam.

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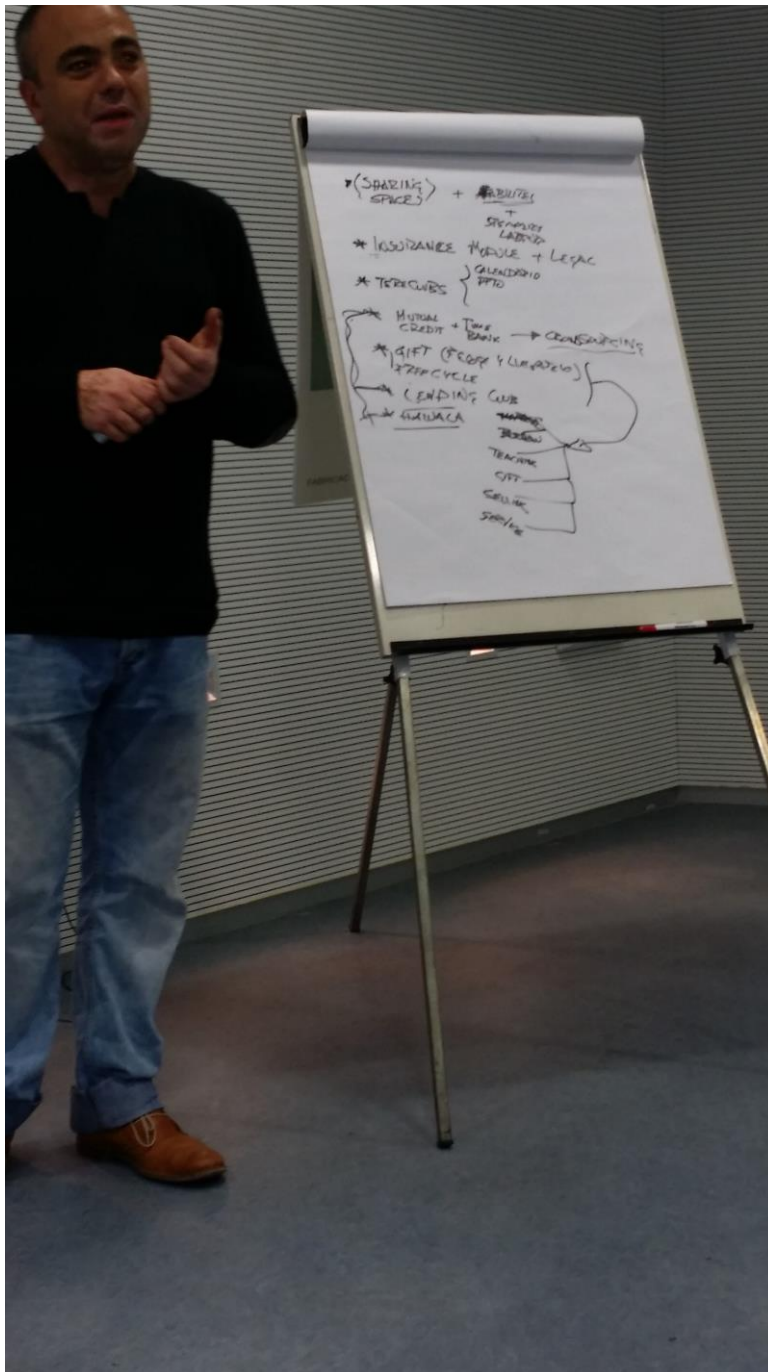


Figure 18: David de Ugarte taking notes during the completion of Shareable Lab, 8th October 2015. Picture by Linda Zuijderwijk.

Based on a random selection of these initiatives that are also accessible through webpages, we discuss six initiatives in 'Sharing Gijon'.

1. Asata - Association of Asturian Associated Work and Social Economy.

Asata is the The Association of Asturian Companies Associated Work and Social Economy. The independent and cross-sectoral organization represents and defends the interests of associated regional businesses. It gathers cooperatives, labor corporations, partnerships and labor – the companies that are wholly or partly owned by workers, as well as the services that contribute to the development and consolidation of these (Asata 2015). Asata is member of the Executive

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Committee and Founder of the Spanish Confederation of Societies and Labor (CONFESAL) and is member of the Advisory Board of the Spanish Confederation of Labor Cooperatives Associations (COCETE) (idem).

Asata and its partner Laboral Kutxa organize various types of events and projects, such as The Day of the Social Economy, a course on entrepreneurship and self-employment for immigrants and the Startup Weekend Education. It provides a service for jobseekers, in which the profiles and qualifications are evaluated, support for entrepreneurs, and advice and information services (idem).

2. La Calzada voleibal – Volleyball club (and a neighbourhood)

The club was founded in the 1980s in cooperation with the school 'Miguel de Cervantes. Currently they have over 100 children playing volleyball. Gradually, the sport became consolidated (for women especially) in the neighbourhood La Calzada, but also the city and the region. The women's team is part of the national competition and qualified for European Competition. This weighs heavily in terms of financials on a club like this and that became tangible when sponsors pulled back and institutions provided little support. Nowadays, the club is one of the well known Asturian volleyball clubs and provides many players for the national team.

The club provides trainings and activities for teams of women, men, boys and girls of all ages (starting with the 'mini-benjamins', Club Voleibal La Calzada 2015). Especially the women and girls teams do well in the competitions.

3. Colegio Andolina – Education for infants and elementary school in Gijon

The school works together with the families, is non-profit and has a social interest. It is an officially recognized school, but sets the curriculum itself (pedagogic autonomy). In this curriculum, they developed an innovative working plan that allows students to reach their full potential, that exceeds what they would have reached using the normal curriculum. They organize amongst others activities such as a family yoga workshop, an integrated communication workshop, workshop drawing, workshop over Enneagram, Introduction into the Psychology of communities, Sexuality and development and assertivity- and conflict management for adults (Colegio Andolina 2015). The starting-point is providing a safe environment which is the basis for daily activities. They have full confidence in the abilities of children to learn and the child can be the 'true protagonist of their learning processes'. They respect the growing processes and pace of each child, 'without judgment, demands and expectations'. The child decides when and how he learns (Colegio Andolina 2015a).

4. OSA – Ecological association 'La OSA'

This association aims to facilitate consumption and access to ecological, healthy, toxic-free, non-genetically manipulated products, through their shop. By supporting other ways of production (supporting agriculture and organic livestock), they aim to contribute to the protection of the environment and health (WebAsociación La Osa 2015, 2015a). They want to fight food insecurity by offering 'guaranteed food' and by using an 'ecological stamp', they ensure that production and manufacturing are chemical free. You can become a member for 30 euro a year and have a discount of 4 – 5% on the price (WebAsociación La Osa 2015).

5. EL CISE – Centre of Initiatives in the field of Solidarity and Employment

This centre is a non-profit organization that promotes the social and labor inclusion of groups that face difficulties. They do so by providing training and employment. Children with a psychosocial risk are also targeted by various programs in schools (CISE - Centro de Iniciativas Solidaridad y Empleo (2015). Their activities include a labour integration program, in which they provide support and guidance in finding employment, in conducting training activities, a children's program during the Youth Day, tutoring, leisure activities, outdoor games, cultural outings and a family support program (idem).

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The Fablab Asturias and Podemos Gijon are both based in Gijon and were part of Shareable lab during Somero 2015:

6. FabLAB Asturias

The FabLAB Asturias is a part of the global network of fablabs, engaging amongst others in digital manufacturing and fabrication of objects by computer-controlled machines (fabLAB Asturias 2015). The FabLAB network is said to be 'building one of the world's largest network of distributed knowledge' (idem). It is based in a centre for Art and Industrial Creation and focuses on the connection between Art and new technologies, in a triangle of the cultural industries, ICT and educational institutions. It aims to build a community that promotes the cultural and economic development of its surroundings. The applications, devices and tools that the FabLAB uses are made publicly available in the spirit of open source philosophy. It offers resources to local educational institutions, as well as offers courses, workshops. By doing so, it wants to share knowledge and access to techniques, and support creativity. They create a 'public repository of information that can inspire the same processes in its local and global environment (idem). During open house days and through a membership, the public can make use of the machines for their own projects.

7. Podemos Gijon – Local political party

Podemos actively challenges and opposes dominant institutions within the municipality of Gijon, in its explicit position oriented in attempting to challenge and radically reform dominant institutions in order to achieve social change (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014). It guarantees that they will only be working for 'the people' (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014a). They believe that other parties cannot bring about necessary changes as many are unemployed and demand more prosperity (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014). Podemos advocates social change and a better future for everybody by promoting policies that strongly contrast conventional forms of democracy promoting a more grassroots participatory approach to governance and policy-making (idem).

In terms of (new) ways of doing, organising, framing and knowing, we conclude that these local initiatives engage in various ways of doing, organizing, framing and knowing. The above indicates two main (new) ways of DOFK.

In the first place, many of the initiatives are engaged in *the promotion or facilitation of personal or communal learning processes*. They do so by organizing events or meetings, as Asata, El Cise and the FabLAB do, or by performing this on a structural basis as their core-activity, as La Calzada voley and Colegio Andolina do. In this promotion or facilitation of personal or communal learning processes, human development or transformation is centralized. We may understand this as them carrying out of a 'holistic approach of human development' (Interview Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015). Las Indias as well implements projects that promote 'education, opportunities and personal development of children and adolescents' (Las Indias, unknown-I).

In the second place, many of the initiatives are aiming for a *democratization of or facilitation of open access to various processes of production, consumption, ownership and learning*. Initiatives that engage in these types of DOFK are Colegio Andolina, OSA, Asata and FabLAB Asturias. Colegio Andolina has as its starting-point that pupils can themselves elaborate their learning process, which is comparable to FabLAB Asturias, in which people can make use of a public repository that can inspire similar processes or activities elsewhere. Which processes or activities is up to the people making use of this repository. Both OSA and FabLAB work towards the democratization of production and consumption. OSA focuses on facilitating access to ecological products, whereas the FabLAB aims to facilitate open access to production and digital manufacturing. Asata promotes the organization of ownership through cooperatives, corporations and partnerships.

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Las Indias and Shareable, both being the driving force behind 'Sharing Gijon' (2014) and the meta-mapping exercise in 2015, engage in *democratization of or facilitation of open access to abundance of resources* within these local initiatives. They aim to give open access to and distribute this knowledge about the abundance, i.e. to not organize knowledge within a centralized institution, but to decentralize this kind of knowledge through open access maps

Understanding these (new) ways of doing, organizing, framing, knowing as socially innovative to the extent that they imply a change in social relations, we conclude that the initiatives within 'Sharing Gijon', 'Sharing Gijon' and the meta-mapping exercise can be understood as socially innovative, as they engage in processes and activities that imply a change in dominant social relations. 'The economy' and 'the democracy' are predominantly organized, done, known and framed by the State and the Market. This should change, explicitly according to Podemos and Las Indias. They aim at changing these dominant practices towards the commons, or peer-to-peer relations, in which actors can practice in direct relations with each other. This changing towards peer-to-peer relations is understood as a cultural transformation (Interview David de Ugarte, 12th November 2015) that is preceded by a personal and individual transformation, through which we can understand *the promotion or facilitation of personal or communal learning processes*, as also identified in the local initiatives in 'Sharing Gijon'.

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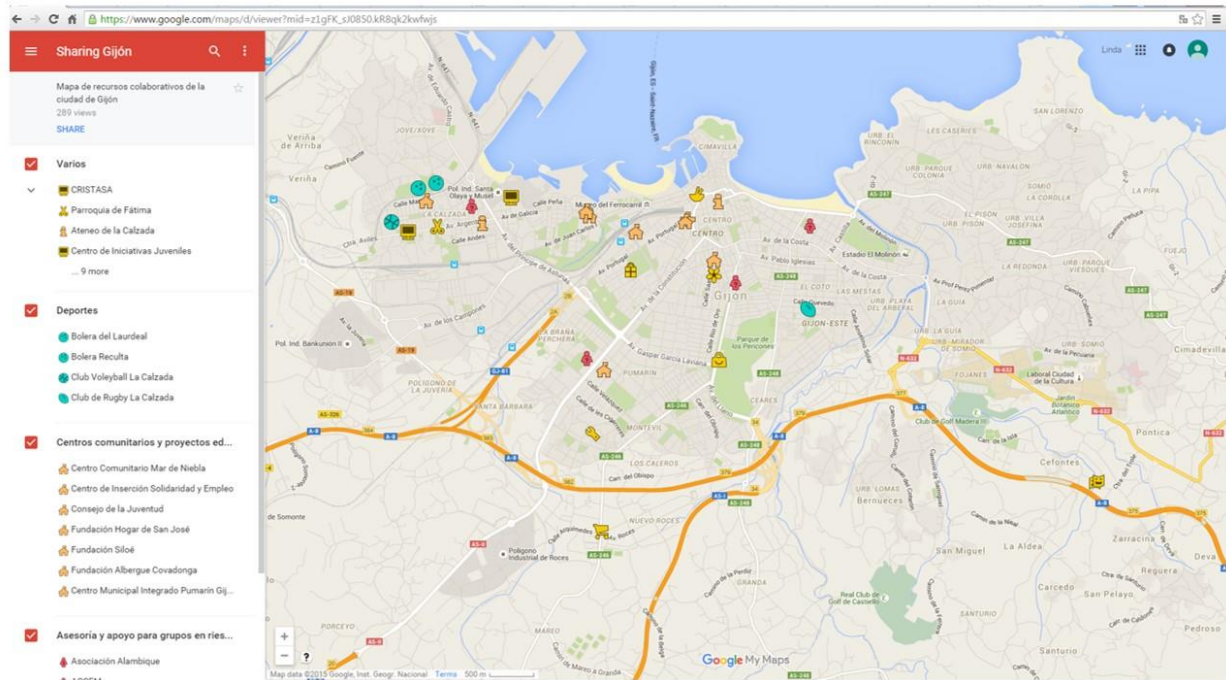


Figure 19: Screenshot of 'Sharing Gijón', a result from the Mapjam 2014 (Sharing Gijón, unknown).

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Events

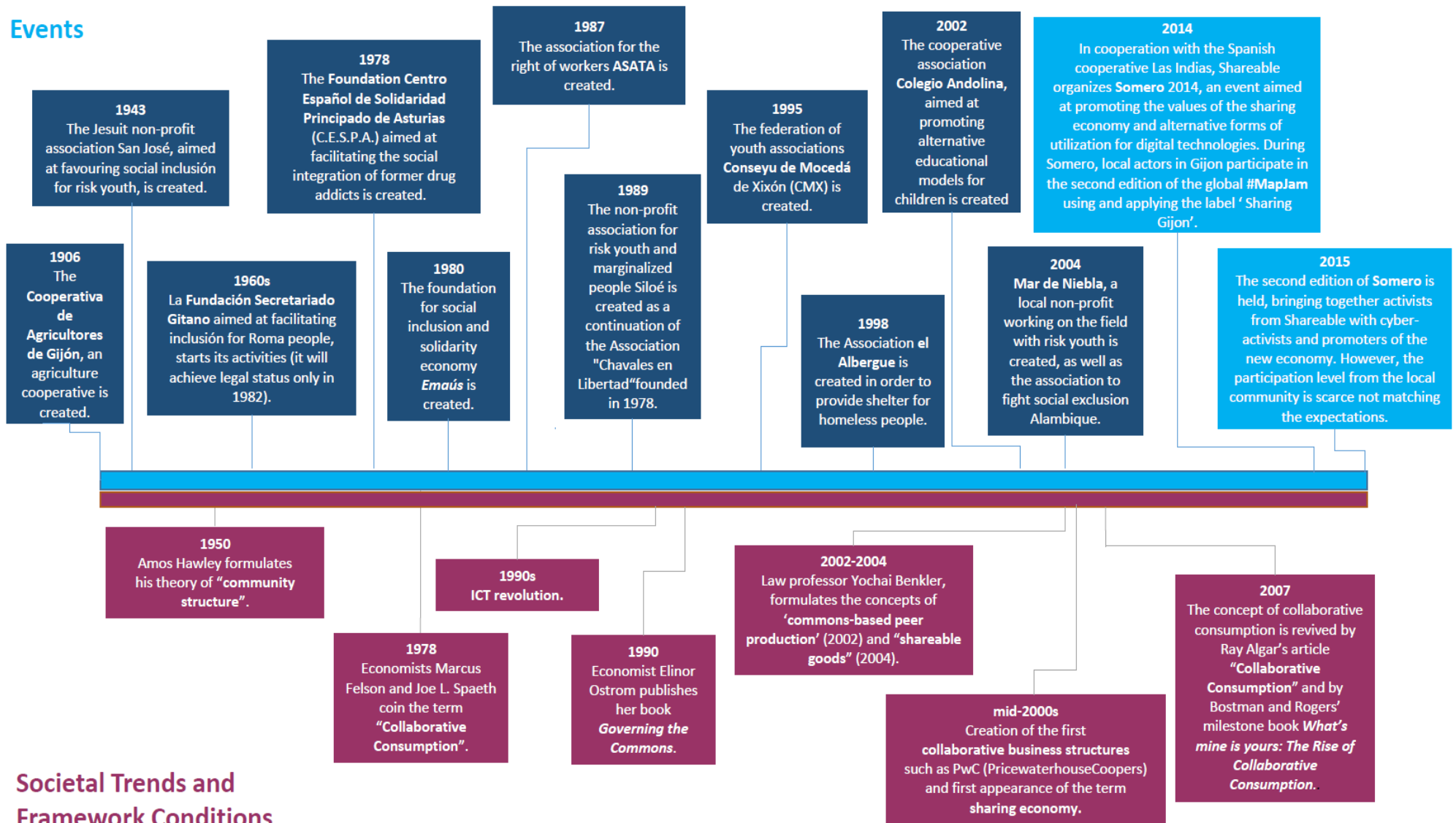


Figure 20: Timeline for Sharing City Gijon, showcasing a selection of the initiatives mapped.

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5.2 TSI dynamics



Figure 21: the beach and boulevard in Northern Spain city of Gijón (Picture taken by Linda Zuijderwijk during Somero 2015)

In terms of societal changes, we first of all point out the combination between emerging sharing ideas and practices and modern network technologies such as free software and decentralized networks (Las Indias, unknown) as tools that are enable movement-building processes and the creation of new values (Gorenflo 2014). It is not a coincidence that this topic became the focus of the second Somero, held in Gijón October (Gorenflo 2015a). During Somero 2015, it was found that this combination is particularly important for the expansion of the sharing movement in Gijón and Worldwide as it can give a crucial contribution to the expansion of sharing practices all over the world (Las Indias 2015).

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Figure 22: participants of Somero 2015 – including the participants of GNU Social, representatives from Bilbao, Las Indias, Podemos Gijon, a US-commune, Linda and Claudio, and Shareable Las Indias (2015b).

Las Indias foresees as the main horizon of the combination between sharing and network technologies, the creation of a new economy, that they define as “direct economy” (Las Indias 2015) based on concepts such as collaborative consumption, co-creation and cooperatives and materialized in co-working spaces, coops and Fablabs (Gorenflo 2014) that could create a more equal and cohesive society (Las Indias 2015). According to Gorenflo (2014, Las Indias 2015), this process would also favour the development of a different lifestyle based on concepts such as altruism and collaboration.

As for major local societal trends from the past and present, the same Neal Gorenflo during his interview for our case-studies has indicated the unique ecosystem of Gijon, with its cooperative history. In Asturias alone, there were over 800 cooperatives (Interview to Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015). This unique history is illustrated by referring to the ancient ritual traditions with sharing at their core, such as sipping cider together, that have permeated the Asturian culture for many centuries (Gorenflo 2014). Every block has a bar and people like to get together and talk – Gorenflo (Interview 14th December 2015) finds the people of Gijon exercise a certain social capital. Combining this with a certain cultural scene, this favours processes of community-building and cooperation.

Nowadays, Gijon is a secondary city, bypassed by global capital, settling in primary cities as Barcelona and Madrid. Secondary cities too need to re-think their position in this world of global streams of capital: how can choose for a different developmental path? One of the opportunities is to focus on social, human and cultural capital within these cities (Interview to Neal Gorenflo, 14th December 2015). Different from primary cities that are larger and more diverse in terms of population – where a ‘trend’ like ‘sharing cities’ may find breeding ground immediately, secondary cities lack this diversity in population and ecosystem. According to Maria, the small dimensions of the city also presented a benefit in the adaptation of the idea of ‘sharing’: it makes it possible to

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gain visibility on such a small scale, and to really make a change as people need to disentangle from the influence of the state (Interview Maria Rodriguez, 18th December 2015).

Moreover, the deindustrialization process that has invested the city of Gijon over the last decades with all the social problems connected to it, has brought the urgency for the city – and in general the entire Asturian region – to engineer innovative practices that could inaugurate new developmental trends in the region (Gorenflo 2014). The urgency for creating new developmental paths for the city of Gijon becomes particularly interesting if inserted in the current urbanization worldwide trend that sees cities as the cores of socioeconomic growth (idem). In this sense, we suggest that events aimed at mapping and defining actual and potential resources owned by the community such as Beyond the Sharing Economy (idem) and Somero (Las Indias 2015) constitute an interesting social innovation lab for the establishment of game-changing practices based on sharing and digital technologies in the city of Gijon (idem).

In terms of support from external actors, it is worth noticing that generally institutions are playing and have played a supportive role facilitating and in certain cases stimulating the development of sharing activities in Gijon (Gorenflo 2014). However, in some occasions local initiatives have been inhibited by the lack of support, mainly in economic terms, from big institutional actors (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014). As in the future governmental support may decrease even further, the mapjam was organized as to counteract this development and to showcase the abundance within the ‘network’ of Sharing Gijon.

In terms of present events and trends that have been important catalyzers for the creation of sharing Gijon, we identify in the first place the development of network technologies, that are favouring the development of a digital culture based on collaborative principles whose main aim is to achieve cultural and economic development in form of social innovation and redistribution of technological assets (Las Indias, unknown – I, Las Indias 2015). ‘Hacker ethics’ are also connected according to Maria, as they work for the sake of knowledge and turning their ideas into practice – and are always looking for alternative forms, challenging dominant forms of production (Interview Maria Rodriguez, 18th December 2015).

According to Las Indias, in a world marked by economic recession and social inequalities, digital technologies can play a great role in favouring wealth redistribution processes if combined with the emerging sharing trends based on the concept of collaborative consumption (Las Indias 2015). The rise of the ‘sharing trend’ is the second catalyser we identify. The combination between these two trends can indeed favour the development of the city on many levels, fostering the creation of innovative practices and structures that generate wealth by creating employment, valorising talents and enhance social justice and cohesion (idem). This potentially innovative trend has been defined by the cooperative group of Las Indias as “direct economy” (idem). As we have suggested in 5.1, many of the local initiatives engage in practices of democratization, facilitating open access and transforming current relations into peer-to-peer relations.

As observed by Maria Rodriguez, member of the cooperative group Las Indias, institutions historically played a central role in the creation of cooperative activities in the city of Gijon since the 1990s. Indeed, the socioeconomic texture of the city, based on large-scale industries dependent either on private or public capitals, has favoured the creation of cooperation activities directly or indirectly dependent on institutional support. However, the current economic crisis has made necessary the creation of activities that are untied from state influence through the development of new productive patterns based on small-scale forms of production fuelled by the combination

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between new technologies and sharing practices (Interview to Maria Rodriguez, December 18th, 2015).

Therefore, on a general level, local initiatives in sharing city Gijon still display a certain degree of interconnectedness with major institutional actors on a multi-scale perspective as well as private ones. An example is constituted by the Fablab Asturias, a platform aimed at favouring technological innovation in the whole region that has collaborated with several national and international institutions (fabLAB Asturias 2015a), especially in the field of education (fabLAB Asturias 2015). This is comparable to La Calzeida Voley, depending on governmental funding.

Collaboration and cohesion with institutional actors and structures is also being favoured by transnational initiatives aimed at favouring community-building both on an international and on a local level such as “Beyond the Sharing Economy” and “Somero” that have been organized by Shareable and Las Indias over the last two years (Gorenflo 2015a). These could contribute in terms of networking between different actors, from governmental actors, to young professionals and from academics to entrepreneurs (Las Indias 2015). Also, they have enjoyed the economic support of important institutional actors such as the Ministry of Defence and the Municipality of Gijon (idem). Another example of networking between transnational actors is the Anchovy League, an emerging innovation network gathering cities from the Southern Atlantic coast aimed at fostering cooperation among its members through a commons-based approach to production and development (Gorenflo 2014).

Podemos Gijon actively challenges and opposes dominant institutions within the municipality of Gijon, in its explicit position oriented in attempting to challenge and radically reform dominant institutions in order to achieve social change (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014).

In terms of relations to dominant discourses and emerging narratives of change, sharing Gijon mainly focused on trying to find an alternative narrative approach that could challenge dominant profit-oriented economic discourses and conventional sharing economy paradigms strategies by promoting a commons-based approach to production and consumption also defined as “new economy” (Gorenflo 2014, Las Indias 2015). As observed by Maria Rodriguez from Las Indias, Gijon has a strong potential in challenging current dominant economic narratives and practices, as “people are realizing that it is not possible to rely on resources provided by institutions as the economic recession has shown and that they can take charge personally in trying to change and alter the current system” (Interview Maria Rodriguez, December 18th, 2015). This affirms Gorenflo’s position that a sharing city challenges the idea of the city as a marketplace and instead promotes a more collaborative approach based on cooperativism and the rejection of top-down hierarchies of dominant State and Market institutions (Interview Neal Gorenflo, December 14th 2015).

According to Las Indias, thanks to the action of some local actors, such as Shareable and Las Indias, Gijon is becoming one of the main laboratories for the implementation of practices that promote new ways of production and are the result of the interaction between different actors, both local and transnational and consequently both internal and external. In this sense, Somero 2014, the event that propelled the mapping of sharing city Gijon by bringing to the table the basic tools in form of knowledge for the creation of an alternative economic paradigm. This is based on the combination between sharing practices and network technologies and has promoted a networking processes between actors from different social contexts and backgrounds, such as academics, entrepreneurs, institutional actors, activists and people from the world of cooperation (Las Indias 2015). The same unifying trend was continued the following year, Somero 2015, that received the direct support of the Town Council, the Spanish Government and the Ministry of Defense (Gorenflo 2015a) that become an even wider aggregation core for actors from different backgrounds, social contexts and

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nationalities (Las Indias 2015). According to Maria Rodriguez, the number of actors involved in the second edition of Somero grew consistently compared to the previous edition, mirroring the expanding trend of sharing practices as well as the development of sharing Gijon, that received endorsement from three different political parties – conservatories, Podemos and socialists – the first two of them also members of the institutional majority (Interview Maria Rodriguez, December 18th, 2015).

The local initiatives seek collaboration with external actors, often in the form of membership. For example Asata and La Calzado Voley have members, i.e. companies, cooperatives and entrepreneurs, and children, women and men playing volleyball. OSA offers the opportunity to become a member and El Cise, promoting the inclusion of disadvantages groups, cooperates with schools.



Figure 23: Maria Rodriguez and David de Ugarte, members of the cooperative group Las Indias during Somero 2015 (Picture by Linda Zuijderwijk)

In terms of ambition, potential and impact related to transformative events, a central element for sharing Gijon is the promotion of social change through the interconnection of sharing economies principles and practices and modern digital technologies such as open software and peer-to-peer platforms, creating a new direct economy that can empower local communities (Las Indias (unknown), also in terms of (urban) resilience (Las Indias 2015). In other words, the aim of sharing Gijon goes beyond profit-led forms of sharing economy, as it focuses more on the creation of social change through the transformative power of the sharing economy and the creation and fostering of peer-to-peer relationships (Gorenflo 2014).

This set of innovative ideas and ambitions have encountered support from the emerging grassroots political party of Podemos, whose agenda is mainly focused in favouring wealth

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distributions and ensuring a better future for most marginalized and compromised groups (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014). Also, Podemos Gijón displays an explicit transformative ambition in its will to reform traditional institutional actors that are considered as inefficient and corrupted, making the interest of major financial actors and jeopardizing the well-being of the majority of society (idem). As confirmed by Maria Rodriguez, on a local level the party has experienced an important expansion during the last municipal elections and has been able to implement successful political actions thanks to a fruitful dialogue with the conservatory party in power, an independent spin-off of the right wing popular party (Interview Maria Rodriguez, December 18th, 2015).

We could not identify implicit or explicit transformative ambitions, potentials and impacts of the local initiatives.

Tangible unintended side-effects of sharing Gijón haven't been observed (yet). Maria Rodriguez, member of the cooperative group Las Indias, has observed that so far effects were mainly positive, although it would be beneficial if local communities would keep working in order to disentangle themselves from the influence of the state to an even higher degree (Interview Maria Rodriguez, December 18th, 2015).

5.3 Agency in (T)SI

The main vision of Sharing Gijón is to resurface the collectivist past history of the city through a cooperative approach based on the principles of the sharing economy and commons (Gorenflo 2014). The city is also part of the Anchovy League, an emerging network of cities on the southern Atlantic coast that is trying to resurface cooperative and collective values through a commons-based strategy. In achieving this transformation, the city relies on different theoretical insights from different socioeconomic paradigms and different strategies (idem).

In terms of theories, Sharing Gijón has been directly influenced by the initiatives organized by Shareable and the cooperative of Las Indias in the city where new definition of sharing cities mingled with new media and networks were created (Las Indias 2015). A central role was played by the organization of the social camp "Somero", both in 2014 and 2015, where the principles of the Sharing economy were better defined and conceptualized as they also met with innovative economic paradigms such as the new economy and the theory of abundance promoted by Las Indias (idem). By making use of the idea of 'distributed networks', they aim to work towards distributing knowledge, information and resources (as also FabLAB does).

As for strategies, Sharing Gijón is influenced by the general lesson of the sharing economy, where each city tries to draw from inspiring cases taking place in other cities, trying to merge territory-specific needs with the general ideas related to sharing (Gorenflo 2014). In the first place, the mapping and meta-mapping are strategies they have implemented. In the second place, they make use of technology and software production as the digital backbone of the working towards the 'commons'. In the third place, they actually theorize on the commons and on the sharing economy as such (Las Indias 2015).

As for the local initiatives within Sharing Gijón, strategies range from all sorts of educational activities aimed at community members of different ages and social segments (Colegio Andolina, Asata, Fablab, Cise), in particular sport activities (Club Voleibol La Calzada) to selling ecological products (OSA) and other forms of business development (Las Indias, unknown-I). Projects try to investigate and assess the relation between educational activities with technological innovations trying to shape new pedagogical patterns (idem). Also, some projects are aimed at

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preserve and defend the interest of workers, one of the major issues with unemployment linked with the deindustrializing trend that the city has been experiencing over the last two decades (Asata 2015a). An example is the cooperative groups ASATA and CISE, founded during the 1980s in order to preserve workers' rights as well as promote new form of sociolaboral inclusion (Asata 2015, CISE - Centro de Iniciativas Solidaridad y Empleo 2015). Podemos works with direct democracy through direct and open elections of various fora within the party (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014).

In terms of agency, the following can be suggested: it takes place through enabling participation and through offering self-government to participants within the initiative. The local non-profit organization Mar de Niebla hosted the first #MapJam in its headquarter, thus allowing people from the most disadvantaged communities to actively contribute in the mapping process as well as gaining insights over commons-based forms of cooperation.

Somero was co-organized by Shareable and Las Indias and it was hoped to bring inspiration to local communities and helping them in developing a sense of agency, which can be facilitated by technological innovations. As an example, Somero 2015 has brought to the table a new definition of sharing city (Las Indias 2015) linking it to the work of cyberactivists from all around the world attempting to promote technological innovations, through alternative digital means such as free-software and decentralized socials (idem).

Within the local initiatives, agency is promoted by amongst others the Colegio Andolina, stating that 'he [the child] is the one who decides when and how they want to learn' (Colegio Andolina 2015a). The same can be argued for Asata, organizing courses on entrepreneurship and self-employment. The same starting point goes for FabLAB, enabling people to make use of machines for their own projects. Although it is not made explicit by the local initiatives, we can suggest that through these offerings, they aim to increase a sense of agency among the participants.

One of the main promoters of Sharing City Gijón is Las Indias, created in 2002 and they literally state that they aim to develop and create "knowledge, networks, products and services that could empower people, communities and organizations by providing them with innovative tools that would reinforce the sustainability and resilience of their projects" (Las Indias, unknown). The collaboration between the Cooperative Las Indias and the Fundación Antonio Boulda, in the attempt to incorporate technologies and digital resources with education should allow youngsters and adolescences to develop their attitudes (Las Indias, unknown-1). Las Indias implements projects that work towards empowerment of local people (Las Indias, unknown).

An example of initiative aimed at empowering local communities is the Colegio Andolina that mainly aims at the development of student's intellectual capabilities following a specific curriculum that help young generations to develop a good attitude towards education as well as self-organizing skills (Colegio Andolina 2015). Podemos as well values and practices self-government – through direct democratic procedures (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014a)

As observed by Maria Rodriguez from the cooperative group Las Indias, "being Gijón a small city there are several spontaneous informal ways of coordination such as meetings and mutual exchange as every initiative knows about the other" (Interview Maria Rodriguez, 18th December 2015). Therefore, internal governance arrangements at sharing Gijón are normally based on democratic, participatory decision-making processes that are open to every community-member. Moreover, participatory models are divided in territorial and sectorial governance, respectively following spatial and professional boundaries (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014).

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One example of small-scale participatory governance models is the Citizen Assembly (Asamblea Ciudadana) promoted by the emerging non-aligned party Podemos, that gathers local citizens registered to the party over the age of 18, allowing them to actively participate in decision-making processes through tools of participatory democracy. Nowadays, the assembly consists of about 3.000 citizens from the local municipality (idem). This method also allows more disadvantaged neighbourhoods to play a central role in mapping and managing their territorial resources.

Generally, external governance processes have been characterized by mutual collaboration and support between sharing initiatives and the city's local administration (Gorenflo 2014). This was confirmed during the first #MapJam that took place in the city in 2014 with the support of the local municipality (idem). In other cases, however, scarce support from local institutions has determined the cessation or interruption of some activities (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014)

Mainly, the initiatives of Sharing Gijon are non-profit associations or cooperatives with a declared social aim – that is, to improve the conditions of local communities making them more resilient and to valorise their potential (Colegio Andolina 2015). Therefore, the majority of the resources put on the table by these associations are acquired through participatory means and donations (Las Indias, unknown), whereas contributions from major institutional actors are consistently decreasing over time (Las Indias 2015, Club Voleibal La Calzada 2015a, Llewellyn 2014).

Relevant examples of resources on the table include intellectual resources, mainly through educational activities in different fields, familiar experiences and artistic resources (Colegio Andolina 2015) – as alternative to monetary resources that are decreasing and technological resources are still limited (Interview Maria Rodriguez 18th December 2015): 'Knowledge is still the main tool in this process, especially if united with current digital technologies such as free software and hardware, open source and internet' (Interview Maria Rodriguez 18th December 2015).

Social learning is important in Sharing Gijon. It was observed that this takes place through the organization of events or through a more structural engagement in the practice of teaching or facilitating human and personal development. Two were the events organized so far - Somero 2014 and Somero 2015, during which Shareable co-founder Neal Gorenflo, together with Organizing Director Tom Llewellyn, shared all the network resources with the attendant (Gorenflo 2015a). Their lectures were completed by those delivered by the members of the Spanish commune Las Indias, whose self-identified job is mainly focused in promoting sharing economy tools through modern social media and network technologies in order to generate social change and create opportunities of significant innovation for local communities (idem).

The promotion of unconventional forms of personal development, based on self-reliance and getting acquainted to common resources are the main forms of social learning of Sharing City Gijon. In particular, the main process of social learning in sharing city Gijon concerns education and the valorisation of unemployed people – one of the major issues in the former industrial city of Gijon. An interesting process is the development of formative programs for young children, social inclusion programs for newly graduated and psychological support for families (CISE - Centro de Iniciativas Solidaridad y Empleo 2015). In the case of Colegio Andolina, the school is developing innovative working plans for the development of specific tools aimed at valorising the individual's potential and not restricted to conventional forms of curriculum (2015). These tools try to accomplish the simultaneous development of both physical and emotional capacities in children, as well as the capability to self-manage themselves during the learning process (Colegio Andolina 2015a). Other projects are centred in creating supporting services for unemployed people in order

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to help potential employees in valorising their profiles and finding jobs that are in line to their professional career (Asata 2015).

5.4 Summary

How does SI emerge? How do SI-initiatives, SI-networks and the 'SIs themselves' relate and develop through space and time?

The emergence of local initiative Sharing Gijon can be analysed from a city-level – 'Sharing Gijon' – and secondly, by studying the activities that are associated to Sharing Gijon. Sharing Gijon is result of a #MapJam that saw the active participation of shareable under the person of Neal Gorenflo and of the Spanish Cooperative group of Las Indias, who conceived the #MapJam during an event organized in Paris by Ouishare and decided to create an event aimed at connecting sharing practices with peer-to-peer forms of production and digital network technologies – Somero 2014.

In this context, Las Indias chose Gijon as a privileged location, given its past cooperative history and the current crisis due to the 2008 financial crack and to previous decades of deindustrialization. Therefore, in order to revive the local community, Shareable and Las Indias were directly connected in the #MapJam process that was opened to virtually every social layer of the city. The main actors who took part in the process were the non-profit organization working for social inclusion Mar de Niebla and Jaucinto Santos from the local socialist part, occupying an opposition seat in the local municipality.

However, although the existence of Sharing Gijon was officialised by the many of the activities mapped were date back to several decades and in some cases even more than a century.

Initiatives mapped in Sharing Gijon include a wide range of activities such as sports, community centres and associations for an inclusive community, all characterized by a collaborative spirit of putting resources in common and creating a direct economy.

Local initiatives in sharing Gijon are mainly divided in two categories. First, initiatives that are engaged in *the promotion or facilitation of personal or communal learning processes* mainly by event organization, such as Asata, El Cise and the FabLAB, or as their main activity such as La Calzada voley and Colegio Andolina. Second, initiatives aimed at achieve *democratization of or facilitation of open access to various processes of production, consumption, ownership and learning* such as Colegio Andolina, OSA, Asata and FabLAB Asturias.

The main effects of the #MapJam was first of all to further increase the cooperative spirit of local communities, favour the coordination between local groups and also to increase local awareness about the potential of grassroots initiatives, originating from local communities that can have an impacting effect on society if combined with digital technologies and peer-to-peer market practices. This can constitute a major step in terms of disentanglement from local institutions, to which the city is historically attached given its industrial past, in the light of a future development of local sharing initiatives.

How does the social innovation and the SI-network interact with/contribute to transformative change in its social context?

The main contribution to social innovation in sharing Gijon lies in the combination between emerging sharing ideas and practices and modern network technologies such as free software and

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decentralized networks as they can favour processes of community-making and consequently the spread of sharing values. It is not a coincidence that this topic became the focus of the second Somero, held in Gijón in October 2015.

The combination between these two socioeconomic processes is seen by some of the main actors in sharing Gijón such as the cooperative group las Indias as the main factor in the creation of a new economic paradigm also known as “direct economy” based on concepts such as collaborative consumption, co-creation and cooperative work. This process is seen as particularly impacting on local communities as it could be implemented on a small-scale and with little financial budget. Moreover, this process would be the result of the expression of the identity of these small communities, thus enabling the development of personal artistic skills and inclinations.

The deindustrialization process that has invested the city of Gijón over the last decades with all the social problems connected to it, has brought the urgency for the city – and in general to the entire Asturian region – to engineer innovative practices that could inaugurate new developmental trends in the region.

Moreover, in terms of social context, it is worth remembering to the remarkable cooperative history of the area characterized by ancient ritual traditions with sharing at their core that have permeated the Asturian culture for many centuries and the more recent industrial history of the city. These traditions also favoured the development of a fervent cultural scene in the city that to this day remains the ideal breeding ground for artists from all over the world.

Therefore, although Gijón is nowadays considered as a secondary city in terms of its relations with global capital, the small dimensions of the city also presents a potential benefit for the implementation of alternative socioeconomic relations as it makes possible to achieve movement building and coordination promptly and by the use of informal processes such word of mouth and mobile chats.

In terms of support from external actors, it is worth noticing that generally institutions are playing and have played a supportive role facilitating and in certain cases stimulating the development of sharing activities in Gijón (Gorenflo 2014). However, in some occasions local initiatives have been inhibited by the lack of support, mainly in economic terms, from big institutional actors (En Xixón PODEMOS 2014). As in the future governmental support may decrease even further, the mapjam was organized as to counteract this development and to showcase the abundance within the ‘network’ of Sharing Gijón.

Where lies the agency in (T)SI processes? How are actors dis/empowered in/by the SI-networks in relation to (T)SI?

Processes of agency in Sharing City Gijón mainly take place through enabling participation and offering self-government to participants within the imitative, such happened during the 2014 #MapJam when the local non-profit organization Mar de Niebla hosted the event in its headquarter, thus allowing people from the most disadvantaged communities to actively contribute in the mapping process as well as gaining insights over commons-based forms of cooperation. Other examples of events actively promoting agency processes within the municipality of Gijón are the two editions of Somero, organized by Shareable and the Spanish cooperative group Las Indias both for promoting transnational networking processes between actors from different context and backgrounds and for providing a source of inspiration for the local community in developing its own sharing narrative.

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Therefore, in order to achieve social transformation, the city relies on different theories and strategies. In terms of theories, Sharing Gijon has been directly influenced by the initiatives organized by Shareable and the cooperative of Las Indias that favoured the development of a new definition of sharing city as the centre of digital commons such as decentralized networks and media technologies. As for strategies, Sharing Gijon follows the general pattern of the network in looking for inspiration in narratives from other cities trying to adapt those instances to its own socioeconomic context.

Agency is also promoted on a local level by different initiatives in sharing Gijon, that tackle different social issues such as unemployment, social exclusion, digital divide within the community and risk youth education by bringing to the table sharing practices and open source technologies that allow the inclusion of normally marginalized social groups and favour the circulation of knowledge and culture.

Naturally, this process also favours the empowerment of local communities and the development of social learning instances within the city. Indeed, the initiatives of Sharing Gijon are non-profit associations or cooperatives with the explicit aim of improving the conditions of local communities and thus valorising their potential. Therefore, the majority of the resources provided by local initiatives based in Gijon are acquired through participatory means and donations whereas given the political crisis resulting from the collapse of the national economy, contributions from major institutional actors are consistently decreasing over time.

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6 Synthesis

6.1 Emergence of Social innovation (SI).

- *How did the SI emerge? How did/do SI-network and Si-initiatives and the social innovations themselves relate and develop through space and time?*

Shareable is manifest as a non-profit online magazine and connection hub created in the late 2000s in order to promote practices based on the principles of the sharing economy. It established the Sharing Cities network (SSC), which today gathers almost 80 cities all over the world that also include the cities of Gijon and Nijmegen. Shareable partly originates from the vision of former corporate entrepreneur Neal Gorenflo, who realized the importance of sharing practices in a world characterized by profit-oriented economic discourses as well as the great potential of peer-to-peer platforms in creating a more democratic and distributive economic system.

However, the genesis of the two studied local manifestations can be traced back to long time before the creation of the Sharing Cities Network, as the result of ideas and practices embraced by local communities and based on the idea of sharing – many of the concrete individual sharing initiatives have existed for already a decade (Nijmegen) and the broader vision of sharing can also be seen reflected in organisation of previous activities as far as a century back (Gijon). The historical instances that are characteristic to the countries as well as the cities of Nijmegen and Gijon are reflected in the origin of the two local networks.

Just like in the case of the network of Shareable, Sharing City Nijmegen is first of all the result of the personal experience of an individual coming from the corporate world. Nils Roemen, a former consultant who realized the potential of sharing and collaboration practices as early as 2005 and worked to enact his vision consisting in reverting standard profit-oriented business models. His idea was to create new organisational arrangements to be able to address and solve important social problems by actively involving local communities. This idea is resumed in a the concept of ‘durftevragen’ – dare to ask – developed in 2006 aimed at inspiring people to dare to ask for help – based on the general idea that most people have a surplus and will like to help others. In terms of actors, the network is mainly coordinated by a core group of a few volunteers that include the initiator Nils Roemen, Juul Martin and Mieke Miltenburg. A wider set of volunteers has been added to this small group over time, thus creating the main structure of Sharing City Nijmegen.

On the other hand, Sharing Gijon is the result of the joint effort of external actors such as Shareable, the Spanish cooperative group Las Indias and local initiatives such as the association for risk-youth inclusion Mar de Niebla. All together these actors fuelled the creation of Sharing Gijon by organizing and actively participating in the 2014 #MapJam, where a lot of initiatives present in the city were collected, especially those present in the former workers districts. The main aim of the #MapJam was to favour the revival of sharing initiatives in Gijon, creating resilient communities able to tackle current social and economic challenges without necessarily relying on institutions. Indeed, historically the city of Gijon has been characterized by cooperative initiatives and a lot of active associations, recently struck by the deindustrialization process that have invested the city over the last twenty years and the more recent economic crisis.

In terms of structure, the three networks present different characteristics that make each one different from the other, reflecting the heterogeneity and diversity present in the Sharing Cities

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Network. Shareable can be defined as a 'loose network' whose relation to many local initiatives is mainly achieved through the production and dissemination of narratives by coordination and alignment of story-telling.

The network structures of Sharing City Nijmegen and Gijon are different. Sharing City Nijmegen presents heterogeneous features, as its local initiatives are very diverse and connected to each other through a common sharing vision and a common sharing idea based on collaboration, the pleasure of philanthropy and the concept of abundance. The initiatives of Sharing cities Nijmegen comprise of a number of sharing activities, among those are: Car Sharing, Book Sharing, Manpower – help, Repair Café, Exchange, Food Sharing, Garden Sharing, Co-working, Gift Vouchers, Co-housing, Bicycling without age, Sharing Store. These different activities have their own special foci but it is characteristic for most of them that they at the same time are solving specific problems and are strengthening the local social network.

As for Gijon, the network is mainly based on initiatives loosely connected by informal relations such as mouth-to-mouth processes, but homogenised by the past cooperative history of the city. In fact, local initiatives in Sharing City Gijon can mainly be divided in two categories: initiatives that are engaged in the promotion or facilitation of personal or communal learning processes mainly by event organization and initiatives aimed at achieving democratization of or facilitation of open access to various processes of production, consumption, ownership and learning.

6.2 TSI dynamics

- *How do social innovations, SI-network and Si-initiatives interact with/contribute to transformative change in a social context?*

In terms of relations to the social context, the networks display consistent differences due to the different territorial range of their action. Indeed, whereas Shareable's agenda is focused in engaging with society on a transnational level, Sharing City Nijmegen and Gijon present more locally based sets of relations and patterns of interaction.

Shareable explicitly addresses current social and economic challenges connected on a transnational level. Therefore, central to its agenda are the major issues involving contemporary society. First, the worldwide economic recession started in 2008 with its devastating social impact and the consequent institutional crisis related to it. Second, although Shareable does not dismiss the idea of a market economy also due to its origin in peer-to-peer market platforms, the network openly challenges traditional forms of market. The main vision of Shareable is the redefinition of market from profit-led to peer-to-peer platforms aimed at creating a redistributive economy that is based on direct interaction between actors and promotes communitarian forms of resource management generally known as commons. Last-but-not-least, Shareable openly addresses current environmental problems by promoting no-impact resources and sustainable consumption. In addressing these issues, Shareable's main aim is to contrast individualization tendencies present with practices based on cooperation, promoting a feasible alternative to the mainstream contemporary trend of corporation-led smart cities with its sharing cities model.

As for local manifestations, it is worth noticing that both Sharing Nijmegen and Gijon present an agenda focused on the same issues – i.e. economic recession, social exclusion etc. – although the aim of their action is mainly focused on a local level. However, given the different socioeconomic texture in which the two initiatives are located, social problems and consequently

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the modality of reaction to them present a different degree of gravity and action, although presenting some common features as well.

In the case of Gijon, the relationship between the network and the social environment is very complex given the many problems and challenges in which the city is currently involved. The city of Gijon presents a remarkable cooperative history characterized by traditions based on sharing that have permeated it for more than a century and have been consistently increased by its more recent industrial history. However, the deindustrialization process that has invested Gijon over the last two decades has produced several social problems, such as unemployment, social exclusion and risk youth, making urgency for the city to implement innovative practices that could inaugurate new developmental trends in the region. Therefore, the city has actively been engaged in practices with a social aim aimed at rehabilitating marginalized communities, creating alternative forms of income through cooperative practices for unemployed people and helping risk youth to acquire the right tools for a better future. In implementing its ambitious agenda the city of Gijon mainly relies on the combination between emerging sharing ideas and practices and modern network technologies such as free software and decentralized networks in order to achieve social innovation. It is not a coincidence that this topic became the focus of the second Somero, held in Gijon October.

The city of Nijmegen presents a less explicitly politically formulated agenda, also in relation to wealthier socioeconomic context and a less devastated overall economic scenario. The vision is a change from a pure focus on monetary economy to a gift based economy. However, despite to its relatively wealthy condition, even Nijmegen has been impacted by the economic recession of the late 2000s. It is not a coincidence in this sense that just like in Gijon, many activities in sharing have been conceived in order to engage citizens with less employment opportunities to better connect to the labour market and improve their competencies. These projects involve citizens from problematic social contexts such immigrants, former criminals and people with poor qualifications. In practical terms, initiatives range from very basic employment aimed at increasing people awareness over working-environments to more advanced projects that help people in gaining more specific skills and therefore in being more valuable for the labour market.

As for relationships with institutions, identifying dominant discourses and narratives and engage in dialogue with major actors, constitutes the privileged strategy of the network. The most significant example of successful dialogue with institutional actors is probably the municipality of Seoul, where former activist and current mayor Park Won-soon has initiated a fruitful cooperation with Shareable co-founder Neal Gorenflo in order to turn the metropolitan city of Seoul into the sharing core of the world.

As for local initiatives, both Nijmegen and Gijon present relevant differences and analogies in terms of practices and context. Both initiatives are developed in a context of economic difficulties caused by the economic crisis of the late 2000s, especially in the case of Gijon. Therefore, both networks are promoting sharing practices in a context of progressive public decentralization and demise of institutional actors, seeking alternative forms of empowerment for local citizens and communities. However, whereas in Nijmegen disentanglement from institutions is happening in the context of a national plan for decentralization and redefinition of the tasks of civil society, in Gijon the decentralization process presents a lot of controversies: as new initiatives are implemented and pushed forward by civil societies members, institutions continue to play a role in providing their support under different forms – i.e. economic and logistic support witnessing an strong historical attachment to the surrounding social context. Evidence of this process is provided by the fact that Jacinto Santos, a member of the Spanish socialist party sitting at the opposition in Gijon's

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municipality took part to the 2014 #MapJam and later on members of the majority including the right-wing conservatives and Podemos supported sharing initiatives in Gijon such as Somero 2015.

6.3 Agency in (T)SI

- *Where lies the agency in the (T)SI process under study? How are/were actors dis/empowered?*

In terms of actors involved in the network's agency processes, all the initiatives present a similar configuration. Indeed, the networks core is composed by a few very motivated individuals, whereas the majority of the people involved in Shareable actions and campaigns are people who embrace the values of the sharing transformation and act on a voluntary basis in order to improve their lives and those of their communities without necessarily obtaining economic returns. In the case of Shareable, despite its transnational horizon, the network's core staff is composed only by three people, co-founder Neal Gorenflo, organizing director Tom Llewellyn and communication coordinator Ambika Kandasamy. To these, a small team of writers is added, thus ensuring a certain amount of articles published on the network's online magazine. The same applies in the case of Nijmegen whose core group is formed by the initiator Nils Roemen, Juul Martin and Mieke Miltenburg, while a wider set of volunteers have added over time to this small group. The same applies to Gijon, although with some differences. In fact, although Sharing Gijon is the result of the initiative of transnational actors such as Shareable and Las Indias and local actors such as Mar de Niebla, given the long-standing tradition of co-operatives present among the initiatives within the city, different actors have developed a loose network based on informal relationships that has a great potential in terms of future expansion and growth, enabling more and more people to take part in the initiative. Therefore, if on the one hand, the core of the network originates from external actors, it also displays a great potential for growth and future expansion.

In terms of agency processes, the three networks work with the same mission – that is empowering both communities in making them more self-reliant and independent as well as individuals who learn how to valorise their skills and capabilities putting them at the service of the community. However, on the other hand, all the networks display relevant differences in terms of action, although they follow the same theoretical patterns – that is the accomplishment of a 'sharing transformation' both on a community level and among individuals.

In the case of Shareable, its agency processes are mainly divided in storytelling practices – that is the creation of stories aimed at rewriting the narrative of the sharing economy promoting distributive markets based on commons – and contribute to policy-making processes by actively networking and cooperation with institutional actors. A good example of the combination of these two agency strategies is Policies for Shareable Cities – a guide for urban policy makers and planners edited by Shareable and aimed at implementing transformative practices based on the principles of sharing.

The agency-making action of Shareable can also be directly engaged with local networks through some of the initiatives conceived in order to favour agency processes that can contribute to relevant social transformations within the cities. Relevant examples include first of all #MapJam initiatives, where local members of local communities meet in order to map all the resources and initiatives based on sharing on their territory to which occasionally members of Shareable itself take part such as in the case of Gijon in 2014. A second example is constituted by ShareFests,

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where local sharing communities present the results of their works to other members of the city and possible to people from abroad, such as in the case of Nijmegen on October 2015.

As for local manifestations, both Nijmegen and Gijon share the purpose of fostering grassroots forms of participation and developing self-government practices disentangled from major institutional actors. The aim of these agency processes is to empower individuals as well as create self-reliant communities by tackling different social and environmental issues. In Nijmegen many initiatives are directly aimed at improving environmental sustainability as well as social cohesion in challenged groups; people that are retired, disadvantaged or unemployed. In Gijon the focus is on unemployment, social exclusion, digital divide within the community and risk youth education. The final aim of both agency processes is to allow the inclusion of normally marginalized social groups and foster the circulation of transformative cognitive and cultural processes.

Even in terms of strategies the two networks display a certain degree of analogies they both seem to draw their inspiration from external successful narratives from other cities trying to adapt them to their own socioeconomic context.

Both local network manifestations in Gijon and Nijmegen as well as Shareable as coordinating concept are developed in the aftermath of the economic crisis of 2008. Many of the concrete initiatives that contribute to these networks hence suffered from public budget cuts. Sharing as a model of organisation can thus to some extent be seen as a practical response to this withdrawal of concerns of the welfare state. The retraction of state leaves room alternative social organisations and empowerment of the individual citizens through these new configurations. At the same time, sharing as a concept is intrinsically linked to the fundamentals of sustainable economy.

As for disempowerment processes, the network and local initiatives present the same problems that are embodied in the social texture of contemporary sharing initiatives. The possible interpenetration of profit-oriented forms of business can potentially disempower the whole network. A second disempowerment element addresses the systemic structure of the sharing movement itself – that is in the excessive interdependence between processes of personal development and community resourcing. The demise of one can lead to the decline of the other, bringing the whole system to collapse, as Shareable, Nijmegen and Gijon are significantly dependent on the continuous efforts of specific key actors.

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8 Annex

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B. List of interviews

Inter-viewee ID	Position	Name	Date(s)	Duration	Interviewer(s)	Relevant for cases:
0	Organizing Director for Shareable and coordinator of the international Sharing Cities Network	Tom Llewellyn	August 11 th 2015	About 1 hour	Linda Zuijderwijk	Shareable
1	Organizing Director for Shareable and coordinator of the international Sharing Cities Network	Tom Llewellyn	October 25 th 2015	About 2 hours	Linda Zuijderwijk, Claudio de Majo	Shareable
2	Member of the multinational worker cooperative, LasIndias	David de Ugarte	November 12 th , 2015	About 2 hours	Linda Zuijderwijk, Claudio de Majo	Shareable
3	PhD researcher and governance analyst for the sharing cities network	Monica Bernardi	December 2 nd , 2015	1:10	Linda Zuijderwijk, Claudio de Majo	Shareable
4	Sharing economy entrepreneur, founder of the carpooling platform 'Clacson'	Giuseppe Colistra	December 7 th , 2015	2 hours	Claudio de Majo	Shareable
5	Civil Servant Municipality of Nijmegen, Sustainability Section	Anne Hurkens (interviewed together with Dolf Kutschenreuter)	October 23 th 2015	57 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Car Sharing
6	Project Leader Bijzonder Thuisafgehaald (special food sharing)	Annemarieke Bloom	October 24 th 2015	57 min	Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Food Sharing
7	Change Manager, Municipality of Nijmegen	Barbara Bossman,	October 23 th 2015	52 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Contact in Municipality of Nijmegen
8	Director Binnenstadservice (City Logistic Freight)	Birgit Hendriks	October 23 rd 2015	79 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Outside Sharing City Nijmegen
9	Sharing Garden coordinator	Cobi van Kollenburg	October 24 th 2015	27 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Garden Sharing

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Inter-viewee ID	Position	Name	Date(s)	Duration	Interviewer(s)	Relevant for cases:
10	Civil Servant, Municipality of Nijmegen, Mobility Section,	Dolf Kutschenreuter (interviewed together with Anne Hurkens)	October 23th 2015	57 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Car Sharing,
11	Director DROOM VillaLUX,	Ineke Cruysen	October 23rd 2015	45 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Partner
12	Director Youbedo (charity sharing internet booksale)	Michael van Loenen	October 24th 2015 (informal)	30 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Partner
13	Sharing City Nijmegen initiator	Nils Roemen	August 19th 2015 (Skype) October 23th 2015 (informal) and October 24th 2015 (short).	60 min + 45 min + 40 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle	Sharing City Nijmegen Initiator
14	Repair Café coordinator,	Olav Buunen,	October 24th 2015	55 min	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen	Sharing City Nijmegen Repair Cafés
15	Shareable co-founder	Neal Gorenflo	December 14th, 2015	1 hour	Linda Zijderwijk	Sharing City Gijon
16	Member of the Spanish cooperative group Las Indias	Maria Rodriguez	December 18th, 2015	1:25	Claudio de Majo	Sharing City Gijon
17		Neal Gorenflo & Tom Llewellyn	January 20th, 2016	1:15	Linda Zijderwijk	Shareable

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C. List of meetings and events attended

Table

Meeting and events attended as part of data collection, dialogues, etc.	Purpose of attending	Date and duration	Attending from the research group
Sharing Cities Workshop	Getting to know the main actors of Shareable as well as meeting some major actors of Sharing City Gijon	7-8 October 2015 (17 hours)	Linda Zuijderwijk, Claudio de Majo
GNU Social Camp,	Exploring experiments merging sharing practices with digital network technologies, as well getting information about local initiatives in Gijon	8-9-10 October (31 hours)	Claudio de Majo
Share Fest Nijmegen	Meeting with Tom Llewellyn in order to bring him to Rotterdam and arrange an interview for the next day	October 24 th (1 hour)	Claudio de Majo

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Meeting and events attended as part of data collection, dialogues, etc.	Purpose of attending	Date and duration	Attending from the research group
Sunday Urban Commons Brunch	Exploring current ideas on urban commons from the world's major expert, such as Bollier, Bawens and Iaione. Getting information about the new multimedia project on commons promoted by Shareable	November 8 th (5 hours)	Claudio de Majo
Preparation of Deeldag, core group work	Getting an idea of how the Deeldag was organised and how the core group was working together	October 23 rd 2015, approximately 3 hours	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle
Participation in the Deeldag	Getting and idea about the Deeldag concept, observing how people connect and collaborate, and seeing the link to the transnational organisation	October 24 th 2015, approximately 5 hours	Erik Hagelskjær Lauridsen and Morten Elle