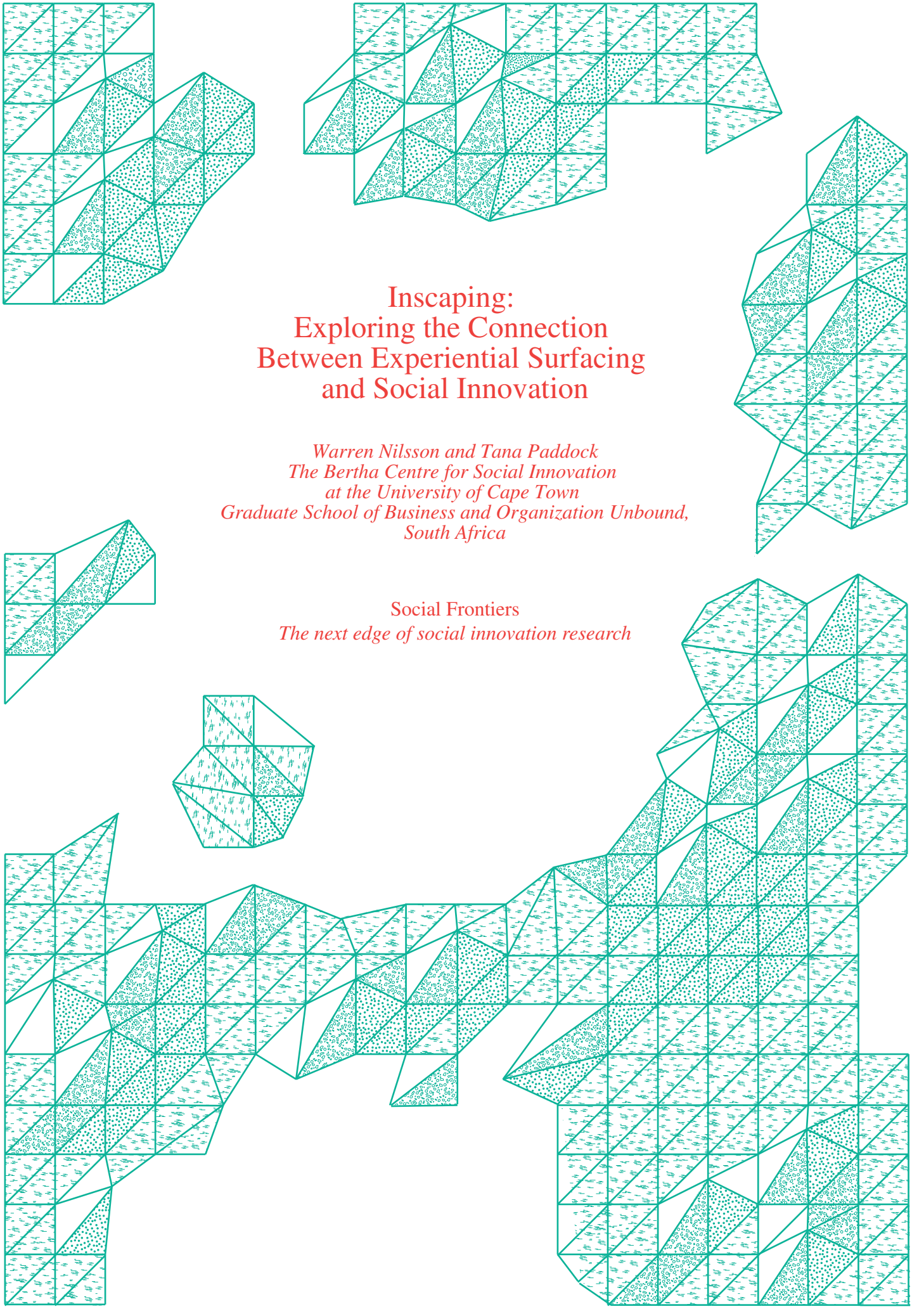

Inscaping: Exploring the Connection Between Experiential Surfacing and Social Innovation

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Abstract

We explore the enabling role that experiential surfacing plays in helping to foster the capacity to initiate and sustain social innovation. Building from institutional theory in sociology, we argue that because systemic social patterns are embedded in everyday interactions, an experiential approach to organizing offers rich possibilities for understanding and ultimately transforming deep-seated institutional patterns. We examine the relationship between the practice of experiential surfacing – which we refer to as 'inscaping' – and various dimensions of social innovation. We illustrate this relationship with examples of social innovation springing from five organizations: a meals-on-wheels service, a cleaning company, an eco-learning village, a campus sustainability fund, and an urban public school. We discuss a number of specific inscaping dynamics that contribute to social innovation: permeability, dialogue, pattern recognition, disrupting social identity and role boundaries, empathy, and growth orientation.

1 Introduction

Anyone pursuing social innovation is soon confronted with the impossibly tangled state of the world, what playwright Tony Kushner calls the "inevident welter of fact, event, phenomenon, calamity" (Kushner 1994). Social problems refuse to confine themselves to neat categories like health, education, poverty, or climate change. They are mutually implicated and embedded in stubborn, sedimented patterns of thought and action.

Researchers acknowledge this complexity by taking an increasingly institutional view of social innovation. Institutions (in the sociological tradition) are self-reinforcing practices that are sustained across social space and time (Berger & Luckmann 1967; DiMaggio & Powell 1991; Giddens 1984). Social innovation from an institutional perspective, then, is less about the immediate needs met by particular products or processes than about the degree to which those products or processes reorganize fundamental social practices. Westley and Antadze (2010), for example, emphasize the way that social innovation changes "basic routines, resource and authority flows, or beliefs" (p. 2). The most powerful social innovations don't just address issues; they "alter the frameworks within which issues are addressed" (Adams & Hess 2010, p.144). One of the hallmarks of the institutional perspective is that institutions are maintained primarily through our ordinary daily interactions. The kind of social knowledge that upholds institutions is largely practical rather than discursive (Giddens 1984). It is the lived, embodied knowledge of everyday reality (Berger & Luckmann 1967), often in the form of subconscious, taken-for-granted rules, norms, and beliefs (Suchman 1995; Scott 2001). Institutions are structured and carried in the "intense subjectivity of immediate experience" (Rathunde 2001, p.140). This experiential immediacy is what gives institutional patterns great inertia. Institutions are deeply habitual and ingrained. But this same immediacy also opens up space for institutional change. Surfacing and working with experiential knowledge can be a robust form of institutional agency (Lawrence et al. 2011; Nilsson 2013). Exploring taken-for-granted routines, norms, beliefs, and relationship patterns means that they are no longer taken for granted. An experiential orientation opens up "the possibility for novelty and active meaning making outside the lines, so to speak, of societal expectations" (Rathunde 2001, p.138). Confronting and reconciling internalized institutional contradictions can provoke a very personalized, context-sensitive type of activism (Creed et al. 2010; Seo & Creed 2002). The experiential approach to agency is particularly meaningful when it acknowledges that institutional experiences are not just cognitive but also affective and physical (Voronov & Vince 2012; Callahan 2004).

Complicating matters, however, is that institutional agency is often distributed across the efforts of multiple actors who may or may not be coordinated (Lawrence et al. 2011; Kaghan & Lounsbury 2010). Institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006; Lawrence et al. 2009) frequently takes the form of "partaking" or "convening," especially in the case of complex social problems (Dorado 2005). Given the distributed nature of institutional agency, experiential surfacing may be most powerful as a driver of social innovation when that experiential surfacing is shared. For example, Mulgan (2006) argues that empathy is a core catalyst of most social innovations, and that social innovators need to think like ethnographers. Similarly Hart and Sharma (2004) ascribe social innovation capacity to an organization's ability to develop rich, context-sensitive, dialogic relationships with "fringe stakeholders" who are typically seen as outside the organization's strategic boundaries. Less attention has been paid, however, to how experiential surfacing *within* social purpose organizations might strengthen the organization's capacity for social innovation.

In our own research and practice we have begun exploring the connection between social innovation and the organizational practice of experiential surfacing. Adapting a term from the poet Gerard Manley Hopkins, we have called this practice 'inscaping' (Nilsson & Paddock 2013). We define organizational inscaping as: *surfacing the inner experiences of organizational members during the normal course of everyday work* (p. 3).

Inscaping can take an almost endless variety of forms. It may happen through simple check-ins at the start of meetings, through experiential revelations in informal conversations, or through incorporating experiential questions into planning and evaluation processes. For example, during a planning session in addition to defining programmatic objectives, a team can also ask, "how do we personally want to experience this project, service, or event?" (Nilsson & Paddock 2013). Inscaping involves sharing both work experiences and broader life experiences.
Below we offer some initial thoughts on the relationship between inscaping and various dimensions of social innovation. We present specific illustrations of this relationship drawn from our own research and practice.

2 Inscaping for Programmatic Social Innovation

Many social innovations are primarily programmatic in nature - innovations in the kinds of products, services, and methods used to generate social change. Most programmatic social innovations are not conceived out of whole cloth but rather are woven together from pre-existing approaches and disciplines (Mulgan 2006). Consequently, bridging knowledge boundaries is a key capability for social purpose organizations (Moore & Westley 2011). A robust culture of inscaping can help organizations do this.

2.1 The Santropol Roulant Rooftop Garden Project. Social Innovation: Fusing meals-on-wheels with sustainable urban agriculture

The Montreal organization Santropol Roulant began life in 1995 as an intergenerational meals-on-wheels project, cooking and delivering meals to people living with a loss of autonomy. Despite its relatively straightforward program, the Roulant quickly gained a reputation as an unusually engaging place. It attracted hundreds of young volunteers and seemed to draw on the energy of the community in consistently surprising ways.

Many complementary projects have sprung up through the Roulant over the years, all while it has maintained its demanding, year-round, meals-on-wheels commitment. The farthest-reaching of these projects has been the Rooftop Garden Project, started in 2004. It began humbly enough: a handful of volunteers wanting to get their hands dirty, a tentative partnership with an environmental organization, some hydroponic experiments on a borrowed roof. Today, the project spans a large rooftop on the Roulant's new building, a larger garden on the campus of McGill University, and an even larger peri-urban farm plot. During the peak summer months, the Roulant grows 90 per cent of the produce used by its meals-on-wheels program. The project is entirely organic and also includes vermicomposting, beekeeping, frozen meals for students, and weekly basket subscriptions. The Rooftop Garden Project represented more than just an addition to the Roulant's project portfolio. It was a big institutional leap, turning the organization into a technical expert in urban agriculture and extending its membership more deeply into the Francophone and environmental communities. It also changed the way the Roulant understood its purpose, launching it into broader activism around environmentalism and food justice.

In 2008, the Rooftop Garden Project won a national urban design award and the *Phénix de l'environnement*, Quebec's highest environmental honor. The Roulant also became a founding member of the *Groupe de travail en agriculture urbain*, which received a Mayor's prize in democracy for citizen engagement. More generally, the Roulant's reach in the community continues to grow. Recently, it even had to put a temporary stop to accepting new volunteers for the first time in the organization's 18-year history because of the overwhelming interest.
The Roulant has always been an organization steeped in inscaping. Staff, volunteers, and clients all talk about the unique warmth and humanness of the organization, and they recognize that that humanness is anchored in how keenly organization members pay attention to each other's experiences. Formal meetings and informal conversations alike are peppered with check-ins and experiential questions. A volunteer says, "You need to make an effort not to start with a search for a solution . . . First we need to know what everybody is thinking and what everybody is feeling . . . and what we see around us on the terrain. Then, we'll start trying to find a way to the solution" (Field interview 2009). The result is an unusually transparent culture, even when times or relationships are difficult. One of the benefits of this transparency in terms of social innovation is how permeable it makes the organization to divergent ideas and relationships. New initiatives typically arise due to personal curiosities and interests. They grow, morph, or die based on how much energy they can draw to themselves and how aligned they end up being with the Roulant's purpose and culture. The Rooftop Garden Project started because of a few people who were interested in sustainable urban agriculture and who were connected to the NGO Alternatives, a large Montreal-based environmental organization that was looking for a local grassroots partner.

Inscaping exposes organizations to divergence, but perhaps more importantly, it also increases an organization's capacity for working productively with that divergence. To enact a social innovation, an organization must have a dialogic capacity – the ability to see and develop non-obvious connections between seemingly separate ideas and cultures. The cultures of the Roulant and Alternatives could scarcely have been more different. The Roulant was relational and community-based. Al-

ternatives was technical and expertise-based. Despite the goodwill of everyone involved, finding alignment was challenging. People from Alternatives had difficulty understanding the amount of time and energy the Roulant put into relationships. The Roulant's project coordinator remembers being asked by an Alternatives staffer, "What do you do with your time?" in a friendly but baffled way. And she found the international scope of Alternatives' work and outlook quite daunting at first. But the team stayed committed to personalizing the work and to digging into conflicts, even when they were uncomfortable. As the project moved forward, struggles lessened, alignment increased, and eventually it became tightly integrated into almost everything the Roulant does.
The Roulant is not necessarily filled with people who are technically gifted at facilitation or conflict resolution. It is filled with people who have become gifted at wanting to see and to connect. Inscaping at the Roulant has helped create a tissue of high-quality connections (Dutton & Heaphy 2003; Stephens et al. 2012). High-quality connections are energizing, mutual connections of positive regard with three important structural features. They have a high capacity for emotional expression. They are tensile, maintaining resilience under strain or change. And they are generative, open to "new ideas and influences" and able to "deflect behaviors that will shut down generative processes" (Dutton & Heaphy 2003, p.266). Reflecting on her overall experience, the Rooftop Garden Project's first coordinator, who later became the Roulant's executive director, says:

> *I think I'm a better person. I've had some fundamental shifts in the way that I think based on just the different ways that my co-workers and volunteers think about things . . . There is beauty and challenge in the world and there is beauty and challenge in people. This place deals in the interaction between those things. And because of how we work, I see the best of human nature come out in this place and in me when I'm paying attention (Field interview 2007).*

2.2 Zenith Cleaners. Social Innovation: Cleaning as personal, organizational, and social development

Inscaping may seem like an interior, even insular, pursuit, but in practice it is expansive, ultimately enhancing an organization's ability to understand the connections between its particular mission and wider webs of social change. Moore and Westley (2011) identify pattern recognition as a key skill for innovators wanting to provoke systemic, institutional change across complex networks. The social enterprise Zenith Cleaners is an illuminating, if unlikely, example of pattern recognition capacity. Zenith is an eco-cleaning company founded in 2004 by Tolulope (Tolu) and Ibironke Ilesanmi. It has anchored its work in inscaping, tuning in regularly to the experiences of both cleaners and clients. With cleaners, the company creates multiple avenues for sharing not only cleaning experiences but life experiences. Tolu says, "We don't think seriously about the idea of brand ownership, we just create that space for people to feel comfortable being themselves and being whatever they want to be" (Field interview 2012). About clients, Tolu adds, "We want clients who will engage with us as much as we will engage with them. We want clients who will dance with us" (Field interview 2012). Zenith has turned away, and even fired, clients who weren't interested in developing an honest, appreciative, and authentic relationship with the company.

Inscaping has pushed the organization beyond simple norms of customer service or employee care. And as the shared understanding has grown of what an authentic cleaning relationship really feels like, so has the shared understanding of what "cleaning" represents and how it might connect to wider social themes. In Tolu's words:

> *Cleaning is the process of removing dirt from any space, surface, object or subject thereby exposing beauty, potential, truth and sacredness. In a way, we are cleaning our understanding of cleaning and what cleaning as practice means (Field interview 2013).*

This understanding has emerged from the experiences of cleaners who have found the practice energizing, meditative, connected, and humbling. Zenith has had staff who elsewhere were in professional and leadership roles, but who joined the company as cleaners to reconnect with a different sort of work rhythm than they experienced in their offices.
Experiential inquiry has lead Zenith to a kind of deep metaphor that is proving programmatically generative. The company is now working to create cleaning experiences for CEOs and executive directors as part of what it offers. And in recognizing the links between physical cleaning and broader patterns of leadership and transformation, it has started to position its work as organizational development and social change:

> *We are in the final stages of introducing cleaning as practice in a private school in Montreal as a prelude to introducing it in schools across North America. So when we clean a school, we are not just cleaning the hallways and the bathrooms but, if they permit us, there is a possibility of cleaning their system of education. When we clean a church, our intention is to introduce cleaning as a spiritual practice. When we clean for a real estate developer, we can work with them to use real estate developments to clean an environment and a culture (Field interview 2013).*

Zenith's journey illustrates the way that inscaping can help foster a whole-person orientation toward engaging with an organization's social purpose. And that whole-person orientation in turn can lead to a whole-system orientation, a way of seeing cross cutting themes and relationships in complex social contexts.

3 Inscaping for Inclusive Social Innovation

Another dimension of social innovation focuses less on what is being done than on who is doing it. Whereas the programmatic aspect of an innovation is about bridging thought worlds, disciplines, and cultures to produce new solutions to stubborn social problems, the inclusive aspect of an innovation is about bridging social identity (Hogg & Terry 2000; Turner 1999) boundaries. Inclusive social innovation challenges taken-for-granted social categories and reimagines structures of power and decision-making. This kind of inclusion or "universal citizenship" (Novy & Leubolt 2005) is a foundational goal of many social initiatives. "Increas[ing] the level of participation of all but especially deprived groups in society" (Moulaert et al. 2005, p.1976) is often seen as a moral imperative in and of itself. But it may also contribute to system resilience (Westley & Antadze 2010). Inscaping is a powerful way to disrupt institutionalized exclusion of certain groups within organizations. It also increases the organization's capacity to effect inclusion within the wider social system as the organization interacts with other constituencies.

3.1 Kufunda Village. Social Innovation: Breaking socio-economic, educational, and racial barriers around finance and governance

Kufunda Village in Zimbabwe is an unusual hybrid initiative – part nonprofit organization, part intentional community. Founded and built by local people a decade ago, it is an eco-village and learning center, a place for people from surrounding communities to explore everything from alternative building and farming techniques to collaborative governance, integrative education, and personal growth and leadership.

Kufunda members bring diverse talents and backgrounds to the project, but few have extensive formal education or long-term experience in formal, professionalized organizations. The village has experimented with collaborative self-governance from its inception, but certain technical areas, particularly fundraising and financial management, remained the province of the few people who had experience doing things like writing grants, managing budgets, and sitting on boards. Because this group also clustered in an atypical band of educational, language, and racial demographics, the issue was particularly sensitive. After several years it became clear that this approach to management was limiting the project's growth in terms of overall self-governance. There was no real way to segment out financial decisions from broader strategic decisions and organizational values. And the lack of participation in finance was making it difficult for everyone to fully engage and to share power. So in 2011, the village made a decision to form a finance team.

Despite widespread agreement on the need for such a team and the role it would play, when the call for volunteers went out at the organizing meeting, not one person stepped forward. There was dead silence. It would have been easy to ascribe this silence to lack of real commitment, and indeed, the group had a dispirited moment. But as group, Kufunda members are highly practiced at inscaping, so rather than assuming that people simply weren't engaged, they decided to go around the room, person-by-person, asking everyone simply to share whatever they were thinking and feeling at that moment. It turned out that people weren't disengaged at all. They were hesitant for a variety of reasons. Some people were worried that they didn't have the required expertise; they were interested in joining the team, but only if they could be accepted as learners. Others were worried that volunteering for the team would be perceived as an attempt to increase their status; they were willing to join the team if people understood it as an act of service rather than arrogance. Once these concerns were shared, the team formed quite naturally in short order. The whole process took maybe ten or fifteen minutes.

It was a simple moment in the long and complex life of an organization, but there was much contained in it. People's hesitancy was neither idiosyncratically personal nor simply a product of the kinds of functions they had or hadn't been trained for. Institutionalized strands of class, race, education, and collective vs. individual cultural norms were all tacitly embedded in the conversation, carried consciously or unconsciously by all the people in the room. There is nothing remarkable about that. That is how institutions work. What is remarkable is that by just a brief moment of experiential surfacing, those deep-seated institutional patterns began to shift.

Two years later, strategic financial management is now handled at the village council level. More importantly, the formation of the finance team proved to be a catalytic expression of a larger shift toward more distributed leadership. Kufunda is increasingly seeing its initiatives developed and supported by a wider variety of its members, generating much more energy not only to launch social innovations but also to sustain them.

3.2 The McGill University Sustainability Projects Fund. Social Innovation: Creating a culture of sustainability at a university by bridging divides between staff and students

The previous example shows how inscaping can help surface and disrupt institutionalized assumptions around social identity categories. Inscaping can also help surface and disrupt institutionalized assumptions around functional categories or roles.

In 2009 at McGill University, student organizers teamed up with school administrators and faculty to create the $2.5 million Sustainability Projects Fund (SPF), with funding coming equally from student fees and the central administrative budget. The SPF was something of an organizing triumph. The student vote for approval of the fee increase had the second largest turnout in campus history, and the financial commitment of the administration was made during a challenging budget situation. But the SPF was even more notable for its focus on seeding a culture of sustainability across the university and for its emphasis on student/staff collaboration.

This collaborative spirit was evident in the early days of the effort to create the fund. Students and administration typically had an arms-length, even antagonistic, relationship in terms of university strategy and finance. The organizing team consciously tried to break this pattern, working hard to understand the various priorities, pressures, values, mindsets, and personalities of the administrators they were talking to. As politically savvy as the team turned out to be, they spent much of their time in the early days of the project simply listening and sharing experiences in an unguarded way, with the administrators and with each other.

This cross-role-boundary ethos was mirrored in the structure of the fund itself. The fund was managed by an eight-person committee comprising half students, half staff. Anyone from the extended university community was eligible to apply for project funding. The committee made decisions via consensus and because of this tended to take a developmental approach with applications rather than making a straight yes or no decision. Often the advice they gave to applicants included ways of making the proposed projects more collaborative across boundaries, so the projects began to reflect the same collaborative approach as the fund itself.

For example, one of the projects that ultimately received funding involved a major exploration of ways that the campus food system could be more locally sourced and sustainable. The project sought to create an ecology of experimentation that would include dining halls, the agricultural school and its farm, plant science and environmental faculty and students, local farmers, and distributers. The project's lead organizer says:

> *So then you've got curriculum and operations merging together and producing academic opportunities in a real world setting where you are effecting change. And you start to get an idea of what this culture of sustainability looks like . . . How do we define success in this system: Are the students and professors excited to study it? Are the staff excited to run it? And best of all, is the community proud to eat from it (Glencross 2010)?*

One of the moments where this project really got off the ground reflects an unusual and creative type of inscaping. The project leaders went to meet with the director of food and dining services, an administrator who rarely needed to interact substantively with students while managing his logistically daunting job. Rather than confront him with a list of demands or predefined strategies, the team simply gave him a copy of Michael Pollen's book *The Omnivore's Dilemma* (2006). They talked about their own experiences with the book, saying that it had inspired and motivated them. They weren't sure exactly how to approach campus sustainability issues given the technical demands of the university food system, so they asked the director if he would read the book, think about it through the lens of his own experience, and then brainstorm with them about what might be possible. The director took the book home, became quite involved in it, shared it with his wife, and soon began excitedly taking the student team with him on visits to suppliers, employees, and various sustainable food projects. The result was that within two years McGill went from having one of the worst university food services in Canada in terms of sustainability to being one of the leaders. Projects funded by the SPF in its first three years have been remarkably diverse, focusing on issues ranging from energy to land use to health and wellness to social justice and community building. Seventy-five per cent of the projects have involved collaboration between students and staff. More specifically, project teams have included 72 McGill faculties and departments, 49 stu-

dent groups, 106 community groups and 19 other universities. At an experiential level, 75 per cent of people involved with SPF projects report feeling more connected to the McGill community than they had before their respective projects (McGill University Office of Sustainability 2013).

4 Inscaping for Experiential Social Innovation

One of the most powerful modes of social innovation is also maybe the least apparent and least understood. An ultimate goal of almost any social innovation is to improve the quality of the lived experience of human beings (and sometimes other beings) - to make that experience healthier, more connected, more fulfilling, more just, etc. Yet hat experience may be difficult to see directly, so the social innovation conversation tends to revolve around the kinds of programmatic and inclusive innovations we have highlighted above. Experiential innovation, however, may or may not include visible shifts in the who or the what of social activity.

4.1 Southwest Baltimore Charter School. Social Innovation: Transforming the qualitative experience of teachers and staff in an urban public school

From the beginning, Southwest Baltimore Charter School (SBCS), an eight-year-old public elementary and middle school in the United States, was determined to feel like a different sort of place. Schools in the city were typically difficult environments to sustain staff engagement and healthy, energizing relationships. The founders of SBCS wondered why schools – even those working in the most difficult social contexts – couldn't be more joyful.

Their approach wasn't to try to shape positive experience directly. Instead, they focused on experiential transparency. They wanted the school to know itself. They wanted people to be able to talk about whatever they were feeling - what they were excited about, what they were struggling with, what they were afraid of. The sustained, experiential transparency at the school has proven transformative. The teachers and staff at SBCS have previously worked in a wide variety of educational settings, and they almost universally describe SBCS as the most vital, engaging, and innovative learning environment they have encountered.

> *For me, the difference here is always the relationships. In the first school where I taught, there were no strong relationships with anyone – kids, parents, faculty, principal, nothing. Here it is completely different. –Teacher (Field interview 2009)*
> *There is something here that feeds me when I have low energy or am sick or whatever. I come back here, because this is just like home. –Teacher (Field interview 2009)*
> *It's just a welcoming space to be human . . . It's not even like a job to me. I can't believe that even after eight years it's still like 'not working' . . . I don't try, I don't try, I just <u>am</u> here. This was never work to me. This was just the best thing that ever happened. –Aide (Field interview 2013)*

The warmth and vibrancy of SBCS are so palpable that during an early visit from the superintendent of the Baltimore School System (a system that includes 200 schools) the school was asked if it would be willing to relocate one of its classrooms to the main administrative offices some miles away, in order to serve as a kind of showcase. The school politely declined.

Why has the commitment to inscaping – and the consequent accretion of all the dialogues, questions, vulnerabilities, and even conflicts – had such an effect? Inscaping seems to increase the organizational capacity for empathy. As people reveal themselves more fully to each other, the points of empathic contact increase. Underneath the surface of stark cultural, professional, and temperamental differences, people discover unexpected connections. These connections in turn help people to feel more appreciated and less judged. They feel freer to look for support when they are struggling. A teacher describes the difference between SBCS and her previous school:

> *Before, I would be freaking out if I didn't know how to do something or didn't quite understand what direction I was supposed to take. I don't feel that at all [here], because I know we are kind of all learning and going with it and doing what we need to do. So that takes a lot of pressure off me . . . It's going to work out. I don't know how. I don't know when. But it will work out, or I will find the answer, or we will find the answer together (Field interview 2009).*

This sense of psychological safety creates a shared orientation toward personal and organizational growth. People also feel freer to explore their own strengths and aspirations, and they are inspired by the transparent growth they see in each other. Inscaping reveals both potential and rough edges. It reveals what people can be when they are at their best, and it reveals all of the places where they are still developing. One teacher sums up the SBCS growth culture this way:

> *I think that more than any other place that I've worked, SBCS has really pushed me and put me through the ringer in a really good way . . . I was coming from places where I felt like a big fish in a small pond. And I was very used to being the guy who did all the cool innovative stuff and everyone else was just sort of making it work. And here I'm surrounded by a whole bunch of people who are all doing cool innovative stuff. And that was challenging at first. To just be one among really incredible equals. I couldn't just rest on the fact that I had my bag of cool tricks that I could pull out. I had to grow (Field interview, 2013).*

5 Conclusion

We hope these brief examples open up some new lines of inquiry into the ways that an experiential approach to organizing can foster social innovation for profound institutional change. Such an inquiry would be especially useful for illuminating the puzzle of social innovation *capacity*. We know much more about the dynamics of specific social innovations and the characteristics of individual social innovators than we do about the generalized organizational capacity for continuous social innovation (Seelos & Mair 2012a; Seelos & Mair 2012b). How does such a capacity develop? How is it sustained? Collaborative experiential surfacing may offer one set of answers to these questions. The experiential perspective also has implications for the study of scaling social innovation. On the one hand, inscaping may have a natural scaling effect.

In the examples above, we can see how a culture of inscaping may push organizations to pursue their missions in more systemic ways. They synthesize strategies from multiple domains, build relationships across social and disciplinary boundaries, and in general take a more root level, institutional view of the work they are doing. What has been remarkable to us in spending time with these organizations is to see how expansive – how generously ambitious – they become as they more fully explore the lived experience of their social purpose. At the same time, if experiential surfacing is a significant driver of social innovation capacity, does it make sense to focus scaling efforts on the programmatic and structural outputs of that capacity, i.e., the products and processes that seem to be having a social impact? Or might it be more important to scale the experiential relationship patterns that capacitate the organization in the first place? How would such patterns, in fact, scale? Can they be replicated without falling into the trap of reproducing only surface-level behaviors and structures rather than the qualitative experiential patterns that lie underneath? These questions have not been explored to date in either the institutional or social innovation literatures. We think they offer considerable promise for future research directions and practice experiments.

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