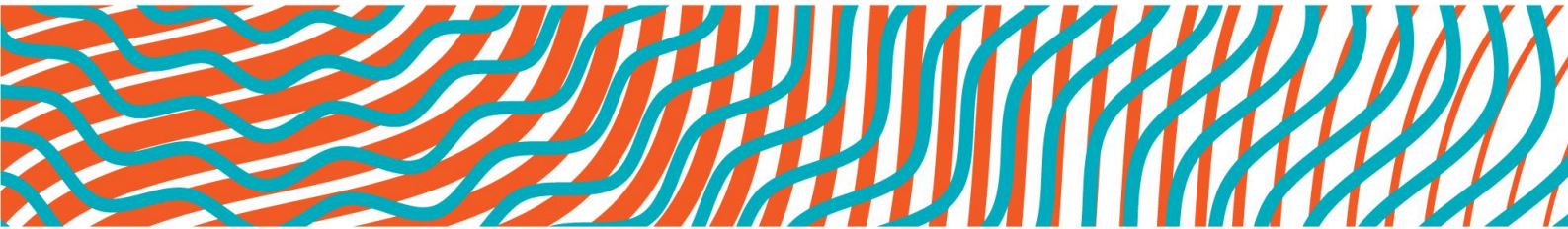


**transformative
social innovation
theory**



TRANSIT WP3 deliverable D3.3 – A second prototype of TSI theory

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1 Introduction and reading guide

The purpose of this deliverable (D3.3) of the TRANSIT research project is to report on the development of a ‘second prototype’ of a middle-range theory of transformative social innovation. The version of the prototype presented here has been further developed during months 18-30 of the project, based on the following four main areas of research activity:

- 1) Consolidating the initial theoretical and conceptual framework for Transformative Social Innovation (hereafter referred to as the ‘TSI framework’) that was presented in last WP3 deliverable (D3.2), resulting in the TSI framework working paper, that is reproduced (in part) in section 2 of this deliverable (and presented in full in annex 1 of this deliverable).
- 2) Developing a mapping of the social innovation discourse in Europe, as basis for a further empirical grounding of the TSI theory in the contemporary practice of social innovation (see annex 2).
- 3) Developing further theoretical and conceptual contributions towards the prototype TSI theory: both as standalone elements/contributions to the theory and as the basis for further integration into the TSI framework during the remainder of the project (see annexes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9).
- 4) A second Theoretical Integration Workshop (TIW#2) which brought together the findings of the TRANSIT case studies (see Jørgensen et al. 2014, 2015, 2016) with the theory development. Based on the outcomes of the TIW#2, the WP3 team developed a next iteration of a set of propositions on TSI agency and dynamics. The resultant set of twelve propositions are presented in section 3 of this deliverable (see also annex 10 for a set of consolidated notes from the workshop).

The resultant TSI framework and proto-elements of a middle-range TSI theory provide a resource that is intended to be *generative* of further empirical research and theory development, rather than being a ‘fully formed’ theory at this stage. Thus it brings together different theoretical resources and ‘building blocks’ in ways that are not yet fully integrated but that rather frame further theory development, and similarly the propositions about TSI agency and dynamics presented, are not yet fully validated statements about TSI but rather represent a preliminary and tentative structuring of our insights about TSI, and imply the questions that need to be asked in further developing a theory of TSI.

This deliverable (D3.3) represents a ‘work in progress’: it will be followed by one final iteration of the TSI theory (in year 4 of the project). Its purpose within the timeline of the research process is three fold: firstly, it provides presentation of the prototype TSI theory as developed so far in the research process, and a basis for the next steps in the theory development work during the remainder of the project; secondly, it informs the task of integrating the meta-analysis being conducted in WP5 into the TSI theory; and, finally, it informs the further processing and analysis of the findings of empirical case study research.

The deliverable is structured as follows. Section 2 provides a succinct statement of the TRANSIT conceptual framework (the full ‘TSI framework’ is presented in Annex 1). Section 3 presents a set of twelve propositions on TSI agency and dynamics that have been developed based on the confrontation of the ‘TSI framework’ with the TRANSIT empirics, and that represent a central element in our development of a middle-range TSI theory thus far. Of equal importance however, section 4 lists reports on the further research that we have conducted (in the last year) towards developing a prototype of TSI theory—and these reports and papers are presented as annexes to this deliverable. Finally, section 5 details our plans for completing this research during the remainder of the TRANSIT research project.

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2 Central elements of a conceptual framework for TSI

Annex 1 to this deliverable is a draft working paper that sets out the theoretical and conceptual framing developed thus far in the TRANSIT project, as a basis for developing a prototype of a middle-range theory of TSI. Here we reproduce the penultimate section of that paper which provides a concise summary of the conceptual framework for TSI that we have now developed. In TRANSIT, the image and metaphor of an “innovation journey” appears to be useful for studying processes of transformative social innovation. The image of a journey captures the dynamic and open-ended nature of TSI-processes, the directionality of change processes (which stems from the intentions of those involved expressed in narratives of change) and the interaction with context. We can use it as a guiding metaphor in, for example, developing propositions about TSI. The central elements of the TRANSIT conceptual framework for TSI are as follows:

Social innovation and the agents of social innovation (section 2.1)

- **Social innovation (SI)** – changes in social relations, involving new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing.
- **Social innovation agents (SI-agents)** – agents that are engaged in social innovation, with a focus on individuals, SI-initiatives, SI-networks and/or SI-fields.

Transformative social innovation, coevolution and the socio-material context (2.2)

- **A socio-material context** – that includes institutions, resources and practices; and processes of structuration that result in varying degrees of institutionalisation across the context.
- **Transformative change (TC)** – change that challenges, alters and/or replaces established (and/or dominant) institutions in (parts of) the socio-material context.
- **Transformative social innovation (TSI)** – and the ‘TSI-journey’ which challenges, alters and/or replaces established (and/or dominant) institutions in the socio-material context.
- **The perspective of coevolution** – as a metaprocess occurring between some form/s of situated novelty (e.g. SI) and (parts of) the socio-material context.
- **Institutional Logics (ILs)** – which both regularize behaviour and at the same time enable agency and change; may be contested, multiple, and/or overlapping
- **Strategic Action Field (SAF)** – as the ‘web’ of socio-material relations and institutional arrangements through which the emergence and unfolding of a TSI ‘journey’ takes place.

TSI-agency and (Dis)Empowerment (2.3)

- **TSI-agency** – capacity of SI-agents to contribute to transformative change.
- **Transformative impact, potential and ambition** – as different levels in the extent to which SI-agents contribute to transformative change.
- **(Dis) Empowerment** – process in which SI-agents gain a sense of autonomy, relatedness, competence, impact and meaning.
- **Narratives of change** – discourses about (transformative) change and innovation.

The resulting TSI framework builds on sustainability transition studies, SI research, and social psychology studies of empowerment to deliver a hybrid theoretical and conceptual framework, grounded in a relational-complex ontology, which is used as the basis for developing a middle-range theory of TSI. The following sections briefly articulate each of these key conceptual elements.

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2.1 Social innovation and the agents of social innovation

Consistent with a relational ontology, a careful distinction is made between the phenomena of social innovation itself and the actors, organisations and other ‘agents’ that create and further a social innovation. The distinction is clarified in the following working definitions.

Social Innovation = A change in social relations, involving new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing. We approach SI as a process and as a qualitative property of ideas, objects, activities and/or (groups of) people. All of these can *be (or become) socially innovative* to the extent that they engage in/contribute to a change in social relations, involving new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing. Combinations of ideas, objects and activities that are considered to be socially innovative, can be referred to as ‘social innovations’. (Groups of) people that are considered to be socially innovative, can be referred to as ‘social innovators’ or ‘social innovation actors’. In the following we use the term ‘SI’ when we refer to SI as a process. SI is conceptualised as a phenomenon that involves a diverse **agents of social innovation (SI-agents)** that can be considered as being ‘socially innovative’ or contributing to ‘social innovation’. We recognise an ‘ontology of TSI agency’ – reflecting how we’re conscious of the dispersed ‘rhizomic’ nature of agency characterizing TSI phenomena (Scott Cato & Hillier 2010). This includes different (groups of) people (e.g. individuals or communities) and various combinations of objects and ideas (e.g. narratives of change, theories, discourses, products). It also includes multiple functional, temporal, social and/or spatial delineations of combinations of ideas, objects, activities and/or (groups of) people that can be considered to be socially innovative: organisations, places, projects, fields, (local) initiatives, (transnational) networks, discourse coalitions, alliances, and (social) movements.

In the TRANSIT project, we focus primarily on the agency of individuals, initiatives, networks and fields, and how those engage with ideas, objects, activities and (groups of) people that engage in a change in social relations, involving new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing. We conceptualise a **SI-initiative** as a collective of people working on ideas, objects and/or activities that are socially innovative. We conceptualise a **SI-network** as a network of initiatives working on ideas, objects and/or activities that are socially innovative. As a general category, we refer to **“SI-agents”** as any collection of individuals, initiatives, networks and/or ‘field’ (see 4.3 below) that engage in social innovation.

SI involves different types of actors interacting together in groups, networks and other organisational forms to reproduce current social ‘forms’ and ‘patterns’ and to also ‘innovate’ new ones. From a relational perspective SIs are not defined only in terms of changing social practices but rather social relations—and the changes in social relations brought about by a SI—are given ontological primacy. This way of conceptualising SI differs then from the many previous definitions that define SI in terms of changing social practices and it also differs (but strongly resonates with) previous definitions such as that of Moulaert et al. (2013: 2) who defines SI in terms of *“innovation in social relations, structures of governance, greater collective empowerment, and so on”*. We argue that the definition provided here builds on both types of previous definitions and in a way combines the two in a more comprehensive image of what SI can be, incorporating the ideas both of changing social relations, but also comprehensively addressing the different ‘dimensions’ of the ‘things’ that SIs do using the simple framing of new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing. It foregrounds the view that SI refers to new social relations, associated with new productive activities aimed at satisfying one’s needs and those of others; but also that the ‘innovation’ may be in terms of social relations, irrespective of whether or not they are productive in instrumental terms.

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2.2 Transformative social innovation, coevolution and context

The socio-material context (the context) = the set of relevant contextual factors that SI takes place within and that a SI-agent must operate within, including: i) established institutions and structures, ii) other individuals, initiatives, networks and fields (with which the SI-initiative has relations), and iii) the ‘broad societal framework conditions’ which can be characterised in terms of e.g. an institutional logics approach. Socio-material relations are understood to include physical infrastructure, artefacts and social-ecological relationships, etc. In TRANSIT, the context is conceptualized from a relational perspective, instead of an ontology of hierarchical levels. The context is understood as the sum total of the actors and their social relations, as well as the institutions and resources with which a SI interacts. **Established (and/or dominant) institutions** are understood as: both formal and informal institutions (as norms, rules, conventions and values; Cajaiba-Santana 2014, p46) that constrain and enable social relations and established patterns of doing, organising, framing and knowing. The co-productive relations of SI-initiatives/networks operating in the context can be understood (following a structuration perspective) as both reproducing established institutions and being constrained/enabled by them—and also, to the extent that they are ‘socially innovative’, working to challenge, alter and/or replace them.

Transformative change (TC) = change that challenges, alters and/or replaces established (/dominant) institutions in a specific socio-material context. TC can be understood as a persistent adjustment in societal values, outlooks and behaviours of sufficient ‘width and depth’ to alter any preceding situation” in the socio-material context (see Annex 1 of deliverable D3.3). It is a matter of interpretation when something counts as a ‘transformative change’ and when not. In general, a change in one dimension (of the socio-material context) only does not count as a social transformation or transformative change. There have to be (related) changes in several aspects simultaneously, not just in one place but widely across society, and addressing multiple types of relationship in the socio-material context e.g. authority, resource flows, basis routines/practices, belief patterns, and external rules (Moore et al. 2012).

Broad societal transformations such as the industrial revolution, European integration, or the rise of the market economy and the ideology of economic liberalism, as described by Polanyi in the ‘Great Transformation’ (1944) have historically transformed the socio-material context, and these types of transformations form a backdrop to our work in TRANSIT. However in looking for relationships between SI and TC in contemporary empirical cases we need a more tractable notion of TC, hence our conceptualisation of TC as change that challenges, alters and/or replaces dominant institutions in the socio-material context. Inspired by McFarland & Wittmayer (2015) we further specify the differences between challenging, altering and replacing as follows: to ‘challenge’ refers to questioning the legitimacy or existence of dominant institutions (as ways of doing, organising, framing, and knowing); to ‘alter’ refers to changing and or supplementing (parts of) dominant institutions; to ‘replace’ refers to replacing (parts of) dominant institution(s) with new institutions.

This definition then expresses TC in terms of institutional change, and leads to a further set of questions concerning how processes of institutionalisation are constituted and vary across the context. Institutional change is a necessary but not sufficient condition: all institutional change might be considered as ‘social change’ but not all is institutional change can be considered as TC. If a law is added to the existing set of laws, something changes, technically speaking, but it does not need to be transformative. This is why it is important to add that ‘dominant institutions’ are challenged, altered, or replaced. Unpacking what we

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in fact mean by ‘dominant institutions’ is then framed as a question for our empirical analysis of case studies: understandings of relevant ‘patterns’ of dominance should emerge from analysis of our empirical cases, rather than as assumptions of ‘a theory’.

Transformative social innovation (TSI) = change in social relations, involving new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing, which challenge, alter and/or replace established (/dominant) institutions in a specific socio-material context. TSI can now be understood as a process that alters existing patterns of structuration (in local practices) resulting in varying degrees of institutionalisation as a ‘TSI journey’ unfolds across time and space. In TRANSIT, we consider TSI as a process rather than as a ‘type’ of innovation.

Co-evolution = In TRANSIT we adopt a less restrictive definition of co-evolution as being when developments in different subsystems are interlinked *and* partially independent. Co-evolution is a special type of interdependency: *A* influences but not determines *B* and *C*, which in turn influence but not determine *A*, although both *A*, *B* and *C* change irreversibly. The different units of evolution enjoy relative autonomy in development (Kemp et al., 2007). When technical change co-evolves with institutional change (within systems of governance and organizations and culture) both processes mutually influence each other, but do not determine each other. Within this less restrictive definition of co-evolution then we are interested in the co-evolutionary dynamics between some form/s of situated novelty (e.g. SI) and the socio-material context. In TRANSIT, coevolution is considered a metaprocess (in the socio-material context) and it is important that, empirically, coevolving ‘elements’ are defined in terms of the varying degree of institutionalisation with which they can be (empirically) associated and NOT in terms of properties such as ‘technologies’, ‘actors’ or specific ‘social identifiers’.

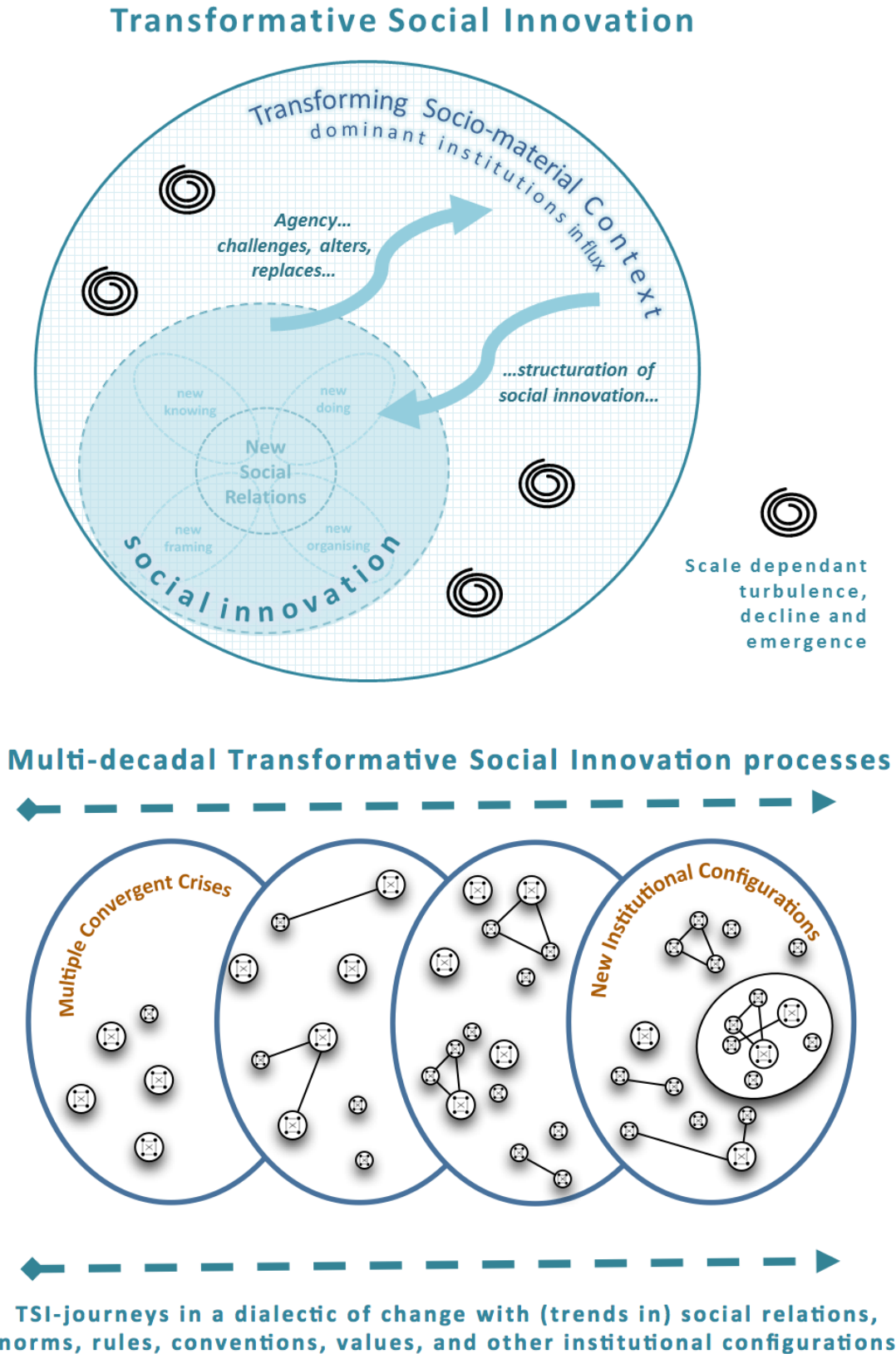
Institutional Logics are defined as *“the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality”* (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, p. 804).” Institutional Logics conceptualise how processes of institutional change associated with SIs are conditioned (cf. structured) by the socio-material context in which they unfold. They represent different arrangements (or complexes) of established and dominant institutions covering e.g. market, state, and civil society.

Strategic Action Field (SAF) = the ‘web’ of socio-material relations and institutional arrangements through which the emergence and unfolding of a TSI ‘journey’ takes place. Institutional change occurs within/through the Strategic Action Field, understood as a ‘mesolevel’ social order where the field’s ‘rules’ (cf. institutions) are both reinforced and contested: rules may be temporally differentiated from the broader context as a SI process unfolds.

A simple visualisation of the interaction between TSI processes and the context is given in Figure 1. TSI processes exist in a dialectic relationship to context: the TSI-agents involved, and the social relations between them, undergo change as a result of voluntary interactions with new partners (such as social impact investors) and because of specific demands imposed upon them by government and judges through legal rulings. TSI processes will also be affected by broader processes of cultural change entering TSI projects. TSI processes can be understood as contributing to change in the context, but equally as reproducing the institutional make-up of the context and/or as an emergent property of the context. A TSI may exhibit a degree of autonomy from the socio-material context, implying that it is able to (partially) influence the structuration of local practices.

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Figure 1. A simple 'cognitive map' of our mutual influence model of TSI and a socio-material context (the 'petal diagram' showing the dimensions of DOFK is adapted from Chilvers and Longhurst 2014).



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2.3 TSI-agency and (Dis)Empowerment

TSI-agency refers to the capacity of SI-agents to contribute to transformative change. In our perspective on ‘distributed agency’, SI-agents can include individual and collective human actors but also ideas, objects, activities, discourses and narratives of change. We focus on four types of SI-agents: SI-individuals, SI-initiatives, SI-networks and SI-fields. Although we acknowledge agency as a distributed phenomenon that is not confined to human actors, we are (also) particularly interested in understanding the agency of *human* actors – individual and collectively - to co-produce SI with transformative potential and impact.

Understanding the process through which SI-agents contribute to transformative change, requires one to acknowledge different ways and degrees of contributing to transformative change. The comparison of empirical cases in TRANSIT so far (see deliverable D4.4), has already showed that SI-agents differ from each other in important ways in terms of their transformative aims, level of organisation, narratives of change, and development trajectories. We use: **Transformative ambition** to signify when an initiative or network holds a vision or ambition to achieve/contribute to an identified transformative change. This may be through the formal vision, aims, or mission statement of the SI-initiative/network, or it may be more implicit; **Transformative potential** to signify when an object, idea, activity or initiative displays inherent and/or intended qualities to challenge, alter and/or replace dominant institutions in a specific socio-material context; and, **Transformative impact** to signify when an initiative or network shows evidence of having achieved a transformative change. In TRANSIT, we hypothesise that SI-agents with transformative ambitions can increase transformative potential by ‘playing into’ the co-evolutionary interactions between the different meta-processes of change and innovation in the socio-material context (Avelino et al. 2015). For instance, by linking with multi-layered ‘narratives of change’ in both mainstream and grassroots movements, and by couching their initiatives in a discourse that aligns well with other SIs (Smith 2007; Pel & Bauler 2014). Or by playing into the ‘game-changers’ of their times, while also connecting to political changes or reform.

(Dis)empowerment is a process through which human actors (both individually and collectively) gain (or lose) the ability to act on goals that matter to them and develop effective strategies to do so. At both an individual and collective level, empowerment relies on the optimal satisfaction of basic psychological needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness and on the development of autonomous motivation that is sustained over time, which leads to pro-active and shared strategies for change that are considered important and/or become an integral part of the self, also contributing to meaning-making. Empowered people can challenge, alter or replace elements of the social context that thwart the satisfaction of these basic psychological needs, and as a consequence, lead to passivity and alienation, as well as social relations and institutions that do not support the natural human potential for growth, integration and pro-active, engaged and committed behaviour.

Narratives of change refers to sets of ideas, concepts, metaphors, discourses or story-lines about change and innovation (Wittmayer et al. 2015: 2). We distinguish two types: firstly, those on the level of society, e.g. the narrative of change on the ‘social economy’, which can be considered ‘generative’ in the sense that actors can draw upon them to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena (cf. Murray et al. 2010); secondly, those brought forth by SI-actors themselves to counter existing framings and discourses. A social (counter-)movement such as the anti-globalisation movement, attempts to create a narrative of change that counters dominant discourses, and co-evolves with new paradigms on how society approaches processes of globalisation (cf. Polanyi 2001).

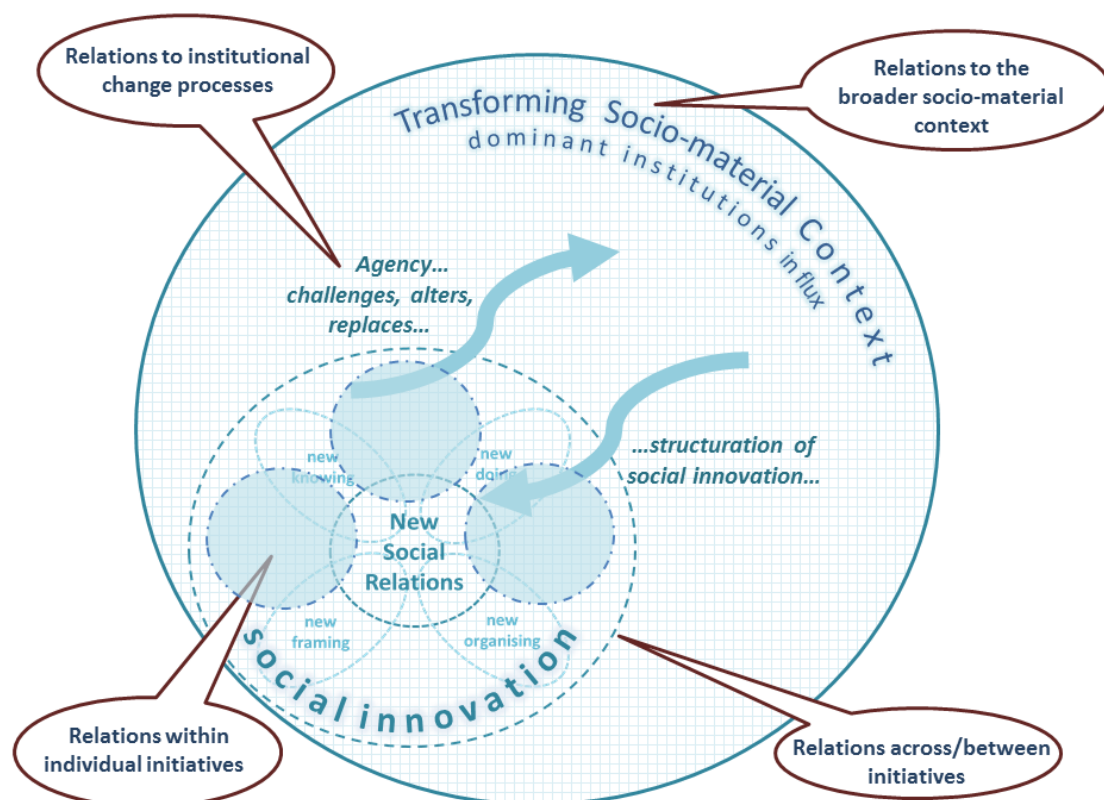
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3 Twelve propositions on TSI agency and dynamics

Twelve propositions on Transformative Social Innovation, grouped around four clusters

In this section we present a set of twelve propositions on the agency and dynamics of TSI. Why propositions? Well, as discussed in previous TRANSIT deliverables, we have grappled with the challenges of how to both develop and present a prototype TSI theory. Choices regarding the method of theory development were addressed in a previous deliverable D3.2 (Haxeltine et al. 2015) and are summarised in the TSI framework paper (see Annex 1). In terms of the presentation and the structuring/organising of a new social theory, we were inspired by the work of Fligstein and McAdam (2011) who present a new theory on Strategic Actions Fields in the form of a set of propositions—we used their work as a benchmark presentation of a new social theory (addressing similar empirical phenomena). The device of developing a set of propositions on TSI has provided us with a pragmatic way of structuring the confrontation of our theoretical and conceptual framework for TSI with the TRANSIT empirical case studies.

A second Theoretical Integration Workshop (TIW#2) held in Copenhagen on 18th and 19th May 2016 provided an opportunity to confront the TSI theory development with the data from the completed set of TRANSIT case studies of transnational social innovation networks (see Jørgensen et al. 2014, 2015, 2016). A consolidated set of notes from the workshop are provided in Annex 10 of this report. Based on these TIW#2 notes, and subsequent discussions, we then developed a next iteration of the TSI propositions as presented in this section of the deliverable. As a starting point, and also based on discussions held at the TIW#2, we developed a clustering for the propositions as follows.



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a) Relations within individual SI-initiatives. How do SIs come about? How do they emerge and perform? Addresses also what might be loosely termed as internal relations, also: organisational issues, group dynamics, individual motivations and basic needs, etc. We are interested to articulate what we have learnt about how the socio-material context enters into these micro-level interactions and relations, through e.g. prevailing norms and values, and/or through a mismatch with prevailing norms and values. Here we include propositions that address our evidence about how SI initiatives emerge – what features or properties in the socio-material context give rise to the emergence of SI?

b) Relations across/between initiatives. So this covers what we refer to as ‘networks’ but also cross-network relationsⁱ; can be framed as: How do different types and forms of SI activity interact with each other? Do they challenge or conflict with each other and their goals? Should also address the relations within the ‘social innovation field’ of which an individual SI initiative or network is a part of.

c) Relations to institutional change processes. Should also address the ‘politics of SI’ and the relations within the meso-level ‘social innovation field’ that we hypothesise (cf. Fligstein) to be the relevant scale for explaining the specific types of institutional change processes that SI initiatives are engaged with. We should have the ambition to unpack ‘institutions’ here, use more specific terms in articulating the propositions (i.e. whether we actual refer to social norms, rules, conventions, values; formal or informal institutions, or public organisations, etc.), this is a tough challenge, so may have to be done in stages.... How do SI-initiatives and networks engage (individually and collectively) with processes of institutional change? What relations to (which) partners and supporters (or opponents and detractors) are important in achieving institutional change?

d) Relations to the broader socio-material context. In terms of both enabling and constraining relations with (elements of) a transforming socio-material contextⁱⁱ; here we address for example how TSI can be explained in terms of broad historical/longitudinal trends and developmentsⁱⁱⁱ, and also how societal crises and chance events play a role in TSI dynamics. Should include here propositions about how the socio-material context constrains/hinders change.

The consolidated notes from the TIW#2 were used (together with the deliverables reporting on the case studies from WP4) to develop a next iteration of the TSI propositions around these four clusters, and these are presented in the following sections of this report. This work constitutes an exercise in developing proto-elements of a middle-range theory of TSI, and will be consolidated and completed in the final stage of the project, as described in section 5 of this document.

Before proceeding to the propositions, a few remarks about how they were developed are pertinent. We used the image of the ‘TSI journey’ (see section 4 of the TSI framework paper in Annex 1). We used all three methods of reasoning (abduction, induction, and deduction) discussed in the TSI framework paper. The propositions are grounded in the empirical work but also make use of our theoretical and conceptual framing of TSI. We therefore aimed to use the language, concepts and framings from the TSI framework (see Annex 1) in formulating the propositions, paying attention to for example: the relational perspective, describing dynamics in terms of (changing) social relations and making use of the view of coproduction (in terms of coproduced processes of doing, organising, framing, and knowing, hereafter referred to as DOFK); and, the *dialectic of change* of SI with established institutions. However this is an iterative research process and additional theoretical resources are also brought into the propositions. Finally, the purpose to having just twelve propositions is to provide a synthesising device in the face of the huge complexity of ideas and understandings about TSI. Taken together, this set of twelve propositions provide a cohesive statement about what we have learnt so far in TRANSIT about the agency and dynamics of TSI.

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3.1 Cluster A: Relations within individual SI initiatives

3.1.1 Proposition 1. On explaining the emergence of SI initiatives

An important aspect of explaining TSI is to explain the emergence of SI initiatives. *How do innovation journeys start? Why do individuals embark on them and by their perseverance help them to be sustained? And how and why do SI-initiatives form, as collectives of individuals with shared ambitions of social transformation?* TSI theory needs an account of individuals' motivations to embark on TSI journeys in order to serve social and material needs and wishes for emancipation. However, TSI theory should not reduce the matter only to individuals' motivations: this proposition then seeks to explain how SI initiatives emerges from collectives of individuals who share motives, while proposition nine explores how TSI can be understood, at another scale and from another perspective, as emerging out of the longer-term social-material evolution in the background social-material context.

From the perspective of founding members, SI initiatives emerge either out of frustration with existing institutional arrangements (in terms of how they contribute to optimal human development and the creation of communities that are based on values that support their thriving, such as equality, social cohesion, meaningful social relations etc.) or out of the identification of a lack of provision for certain needs, i.e. an absence. The initial set-up of initiatives is thus driven by the desire to replace existing arrangements, create space for alternative ones to exist side by side, or to discover and create new relations, through new DOFK, as a way to serve a need not being met in the present societal context.

Initiative members seem to be driven by an ideal to bring about or make possible a new context which is more in line with their values and beliefs. For example, in the case of Credit Unions, a lot of them start out from the peace movement and the anti-apartheid militancy, from a desire to live with an ethos of responsibility and accountability regarding the use of monetary resources. Specific initiatives appear when people face the impossibility to carry forward projects that have a positive social or environmental impact and find no support in the mainstream banking system. Creating a space where these projects are possible, and moving away from the traditional money channels that go against their values and ethical principles become the main drivers for these initiatives. Alienation with the treatment provided by the traditional system – the logic of profit making embedded in the traditional banking system – motivates mobilization for change.

For the case of Slow Food, the desire for change stems out of both a reaction to the “fast food” system – a fast producing food system that destroys biodiversity, unifies flavours, drives food quality down and relies on exploitative relations – with big agri-business having the advantage and farmers being anonymous, instrumentalized and eventually deprived of their land and means of existence; and from a motivation to preserve community traditions that are passed down from generation to generation and recover the pleasure around the production and consumption of food. Again, members seem to be motivated by a desire to create possibilities for aligning their own values with their practices.

We intend to develop this proposition on the emergence of SI initiatives in line with our overall relational co-productivist perspective on TSI, which conceives of a social-material social order. TRANSIT also has the ambition to integrate specific theoretical perspectives from social psychology into the overall TSI theory, and so in developing this proposition we turned first to Self-Determination Theory (SDT)—as a macro

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theory of human motivation and personality that concerns people's inherent growth tendencies and innate psychological needs (see Haxeltine et al. 2016, reproduced in Annex 1, for positioning in the overall TSI framework). There are theoretical reasons, based on SDT, to suggest that SI initiatives might also provide a social environment for individuals that allows for the better satisfaction of basic psychological needs -- for relatedness, competence and autonomy -- than the existing alternatives. Where: Autonomy refers to the ability to choose one's own acts and to act in line with personal values and identity; relatedness is about feeling part of a social group; and, competence is related to the perception of effectiveness in carrying out actions to achieve one's goals and involves a search for stimulation and optimal challenges (Bidee et al., 2013).

The initial idea, developed in a first version of this proposition (for the TIW#2), was that the emergence of SI initiatives has much to do with the occurrence of social circumstances in which dominant institutions are not successfully satisfying basic psychological needs. However after the TIW#2 and also discussions with Kennon Sheldon (a leading proponent of SDT theory) at the TRANSIT Social Learning workshop, it seems that it is problematic to talk about SI emerging from a desire to satisfy basic psychological needs, mainly because: 1) it is too general to capture the diversity of motivations for founders and very committed members, versus the ones that join but are not necessarily so committed or driven by the same values (e.g. some people join because they want clean and healthy food, not because they believe farmers should not be instrumentalized); and, 2) it leaves out the ideals and values which are a prominent feature of SIs.

However, we do find empirical evidence that SIs emerge out of a desire to create a space where *pursuing certain values/ideals/principles and aligning them to practices/behaviours is possible* (and initiatives differ on how ambitious their goals are at the start and in how their transformative goals change over time). We also find empirical evidence that both highly committed members (and those with roles in the organization of the initiative and recruitment of others) as well as those that have a less active involvement *are then motivated to persist in their involvement when being a member of the initiative provides satisfaction of the basic psychological needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence*. Leaders or those that have organizational roles often understand this and actively engage new members by providing a context in which these needs can be satisfied. The temporary or continuous absence of such satisfaction, which can sometimes be brought about by contextual pressures (e.g. the Spanish Credit Union, Fiare, having to become a bank to be able to continue existing and providing services), can lead to de-motivation, internal conflict over which direction to pursue and/or some members leaving the SI as they perceive that it is changing into a different entity than the one they sought out in the first place.

Both local initiatives and networks understand the importance of preserving the ethos created by the values originally established by the initiatives or movement and actively shape contexts in ways that can allow for the satisfaction of these psychological needs. The Slow Food international association, for example, allows considerable freedom in the forms of association – thus facilitating considerable autonomy for individual members and local initiatives to organize themselves in ways that correspond with their values and ideals; they also understand the importance of belonging and relatedness, and the effects it has on empowerment, through the creation of the sense of identity with a global ethos and movement, and the learning that emerges from the sharing of experiences. The ability to sustain as an initiative with many involved can also be a strategy for increasing the ability of an initiative to influence societal development: a focus on psychological needs may also serve political needs.

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Proposition 1. *The emergence of SI-initiatives and networks can be explained in terms of the agency of actors coming together in attempts to find better ways of pursuing certain values/ideals/principles (of how the context should be transformed) and aligning them to specific (novel) practices/behaviours. Both highly committed members (including those with roles in the organization of the initiative and recruitment of others) and less active members are motivated to persist with their involvement when being a member of the initiative provides for the satisfaction of basic psychological needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence. Viewed from the perspective of local actors, ongoing processes of social change and transformation (in the wider socio-material context) can be understood as entering into such local processes of emergence through established values/ideals/principles, and the ways in which tensions and conflicts around established values/ideals/principles are playing out.*

In conclusion: We aim to further develop this proposition on explaining the emergence of SI initiatives in line with our overall relational co-productivist perspective on TSI, which conceives of a social-material social order. So far the confrontation with the empirics developed here, draws upon specific theoretical perspectives from social psychology, and a next step will be to further integrate this within the TSI framework (see Annex 1). Finally, our work on this aspect of TSI also implies the important research avenue of exploring why individuals do *not* embark on TSI journeys, why they experience difficulties to persevere, and why they disembark. Answers could be developed by greater attention to empirical evidence of other than socially innovative behaviours that emerge simultaneously with the SI initiatives focused upon: one can think of resignation, passivity, retreat into the personal sphere and care ethics-type particularism, cynicism, denial, aggression, etc. This would help to construct a balanced TSI theory, one that avoids being optimistically-biased towards innovation and constructive-collective action.

3.1.2 Proposition 2. On internal tensions and sustaining SI initiatives

This proposition addresses the internal tensions that SI initiatives must deal with if the initiative is to be sustained. While proposition one addresses the emergence of SI initiatives, the proposition developed here addresses the questions of how and why individuals persevere on a journey, stick with the initiative and invest in it, or rather disembark, over time. Importantly, this addresses how initiatives are sustained, and therefore (a first part of) the question of how they can have a sustained impact.

The initial idea, developed in a first version of this proposition (for the TIW#2) can be stated as follows. The satisfaction of members' basic psychological needs can be considered an internally oriented function of SI initiatives. Over time and after their emergence, SI initiatives develop interactions with dominant institutions and other actors in their socio-material context however, for which externally oriented functions need to be fulfilled. One can think of clear and concerted communication, consolidated organisational-legal form, binding statutes and mission statements, and possibly hierarchy to manage a grown organisation. Importantly, the latter organizational implications of striving for impact may detract from the aforementioned 'internal' function of providing a social environment that satisfies basic psychological needs of members. A tension may therefore arise between the internal versus external functions of the initiative, which furthermore may become more acute, the more an initiative feels compelled to manage and control its interactions with its social environment. So as initiatives change through interactions with the wider socio-material context, they will be able to maintain their 'attraction capacity' and continued operation only if they keep delivering on the promise of better needs satisfaction while also engaging in transformative efforts.

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The TIW#2 discussions brought forth the following evidence and insights from the TRANSIT cases:

- **INFORSE.** The initiative supports this proposition, with the caveat that different emphasis and priority is given to the three basic psychological needs (*which is in line with the SDT theory...*). It was mentioned that this applies to other initiatives such as HACKER SPACES, where autonomy is most important – value of being on their own; relatedness comes second; or Repair cafés, where elderly people are happy about making old things work again and like to help others – autonomy and competence come first. Also, they do not care about being part of a transformation, but are happy to be part of an initiative.
- **TRANSITION TOWNS (HUNGARY).** The initiatives actually appeal to the basic psychological needs in attracting people – so we could argue that for both founders and later members the search for autonomy, relatedness and competence, and the search for meaning – is part of both initial motivation of founding members and it also helps explain how initiatives are sustained. Initiatives intuitively appeal to the basic psychological needs to both attract and maintain members – internal freedom and flexibility is thus important in allowing space for the different priorities given to these motivations – for example, they are deliberate about inviting people to the initiative to have a good time together, and engaging them through the promise of good food or playing together – thus engaging people does not start with the ideology, and leaders are careful about focusing discussions away from political positions and clashes and towards common objectives. Leaders naturally understand this and are patient and flexible to also attract more politically conservative Hungarians to join. They are facilitators – consciously creating these spaces for satisfaction of needs.
- **VIA CAMPESINA**– it is harder to see the evidence for this in this case, as the needs that drive the initiative’s efforts are material – fight against global agribusiness. An important point here is that there is some distance between movements such as Via Campesina (maybe better defined as a social movement than a social innovation initiative – if we can establish that difference...), and social innovation initiatives in Europe (cf. the example of one of the initiatives in Argentina, MOCASE, having two members killed due to their claims and activism within the movement – so the rule of law may be considered a precondition).
- **SLOW FOOD.** The most involved activists and leaders of the movement are intuitively aware about the need to promote basic psychological need satisfaction in order for the initiative to thrive. One can also see evidence of this at the level of the network, in their relationship with local initiatives – in spite of the fact that the organization is also quite hierarchical at the international level, they facilitate a lot of space for local forms of organization and they also support initiatives that are in line with the principles of Slow Food without them having to formally become part of the network – there is freedom around this.
- **CREDIT UNIONS.** When they became a real bank, some people wanted their money back, and they did not like the new approach; when degree of formalization is higher, there was a feeling for some that the supportive conditions that attracted them to the initiative were gone.
- **LIVING LABS.** A high degree of formalization in some cases does not allow people to achieve satisfaction of their needs.

Most of the initiatives seem to value active participation of members and collective decision-making, and work to establish internal governance structures that allow for this. When differences of visions arise, the SI initiatives attempt to allow space for intensive debate and reach a consensus about the direction to take that satisfies most. If they do not reach workable compromises, a part of the membership might

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become estranged and leave, or become less actively involved. Initiatives actively search for ways in which they can promote an active and growing membership, and adapt to external pressures and circumstances by not pushing members away. Initiatives keep a certain degree of flexibility in their internal organization, to allow for a diversity of values, ideas about strategy, and actual practices to fit. This generates the conditions for the need for autonomy to be satisfied, thus also facilitating collective agency – articulating collective strategies and carrying out actions which most endorse in spite of the individual diversity of goals, motivations, values and ideas about strategy.^{iv}

Another internal tension that is important has to do with the fact that most membership is nominal or only uses the initiative for a particular service but there is a lack of active involvement from most, which leads to burnout for a few active volunteers and to occasional internal tensions. Active members tend to adapt to this and still keep flexible criteria for membership. They sometimes adopt a strategy of first attracting members by being flexible in requests and allowing each person to find their place, and then stimulate more active participation as members feel welcome, experience relatedness and start endorsing the values and the importance of the work (e.g. TT Hungary, or Slow Food Araba).

The idea of a necessary balancing of individual needs with the demands of external contexts is now – based on learning from the cases through the TIW#2 – re-stated as a looser understanding of keeping membership motivated, which has to do not only with endorsing the principles of the initiative, but also with developing a sense of belonging, autonomy, having space for being stimulated and developing competence etc.

Proposition 2. *SI-initiatives can have a sustained operation and impact only if they can handle the tension between keeping their membership motivated (which has to do with their continued willingness to endorse the principles of the initiative, but also with feelings of belonging, autonomy, having space for being stimulated, and developing competence etc.) and externally oriented ambitions towards achieving transformative impact, which tend to require a degree of formalization and conformity that is not always in line with all individuals' ideas about the best ways to achieve such satisfaction. As SI-initiatives grow and develop they encounter different stages which require them to adapt, or develop afresh, new forms of internal organisation and governance in order to survive and prosper.*

In conclusion: This proposition corresponds with empirical data on internal governance, tensions and cleavages within SI initiatives and networks, social learning processes, and more generally with data on the developments of SI initiatives over time. The WP5 data on Critical Turning Points and related timeline events could further help to explore this proposition. It seems a salient topic for future longitudinal research, considering that SI, and SI initiatives, are just quite unstable, transient phenomena compared to the structures they are challenging or seeking to replace (cf. theoretical requirement on 'emergence and fading away' in the TSI framework paper, Annex 1). One further observation that we find important here is that particularly for internal strife and how that gets solved and handled, we do not have much in the (case study) reports, because the questions were not geared to this: the WP5 data will have more on this. Similarly with the issue of identifying generic 'stages' in the TSI process, this is still theoretically and conceptually relevant, but we lack specific data; it will be interesting to see if the eventual WP5 data will have more on this, especially in terms of the specific critical stage of a shift to focusing more on change at the systems-level, which we know that other SI researchers have found to be a particular feature in the empirical SI cases that they have studied (e.g. the work of Frances Westley and colleagues).

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3.1.3 Proposition 3. On the importance of changing social-material relations

This proposition builds on the previous two by addressing how what is constituted *within* the initiative actually plays a vital part in the eventual achievement of transformative impacts. It builds on previous work on the importance of changing social relations at the interpersonal level, but drawing on our discussions at the TIW#2, reframes it to address changing *social-material relations* within the SI initiative. Furthermore the dynamic that we are interested in, is re-stated in terms of a focus on the ways in which experimentation with, or the modelling of, novel or unfamiliar social-material relations within the SI initiative can in itself be a *necessary precursor* to wider institutional change in the social-material context. The proposition is therewith brought more in line with the overall co-productive perspective on TSI, which conceives of a social-material social order.

We can briefly illustrate this framing of social-material relations using an example from the Transition movement case study—one of the many novel practices experimented with has been that of garden sharing. As developed for example in Totnes in Devon, this involves connecting (often younger) people with no gardens with (often older) people who have gardens that they can no longer fully make use of. The younger people can then use the gardens to grow produce. This practice then is clearly about changing social relations at the interpersonal level, but it is also about changing the material use of land and artefacts, and about changing social-ecological relations—it needs to be understood in terms of changing social-material relations. Through its impact of providing an alternative food source (albeit a modest one...) it links to wider webs of social-ecological relations associated with the food sector, locally, nationally and beyond. A focus only on the changing interpersonal social relations in this example would potentially miss important aspects of the causation (proximity of garden providers to garden users, state and fertility of the gardens, climate, etc.) and would miss important the links to ecology and sustainability. If such an experiment is sustained it can lead to wider implications for social-material relations: for example a celebrity TV gardener might popularize the idea, or the authorities might introduce regulations that further support or hinder it. Thus we can clarify that the further uptake of the innovation might be the result of deliberate strategies on the part of member-activists in Totnes, or it may be the result of the initiative being ‘discovered’ or caught up within larger social patterns—a sort of contingent entrainment.

Next we need to clarify how we are using the notion of institutions; especially in terms of institutions versus interpersonal relations. Following the TSI framework paper (Haxeltine et al 2015), institutions are understood here as the norms, rules, conventions and values (Cajaiba-Santana 2014, p46) that structure (both constrain and enable) social relations and interactions (as the established patterns of doing, organising, framing and knowing). We refer to both informal and formal institutions, but note that the distinction may be blurred and fluid in practice (Hodgson 2006). Human interactions are therefore not outside of the realm of institutions, but rather, in many SI initiatives, changing interpersonal relations MEANS already changing institutions. So the former is comprised in the latter, basically, while the latter category is larger. Furthermore it is important to avoid an implicit assumption that institutional relations are static. Instead an adequate conceptual framing for developing explanations of the role of SI in transformative change requires that we capture the change-dynamic between changes in interpersonal relations within the SI initiative and the changing nature of institutional relations—it is precisely in the change-dynamic that we wish to situate this proposition, in a static situation interpersonal relations can be expected mirror established institutional arrangements, but in a transformative change process the modelling of, or experimentation with, new interpersonal relations, might provide a step that exemplifies, supports, and even leads wider institutional change processes.

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The TIW#2 discussions brought forth the following evidence and insights from the TRANSIT cases:

- **TRANSITION TOWNS HUNGARY.** Leaders are aware of the need to not antagonize other actors such as local governments – and they deliberately work to change the culture of collaboration with local governments. For example, they deliberately demonstrate cooperation, transparency and dependability to counteract a culture of suspicion and mistrust on the part of government towards civil society. Also, for this case, changes in interpersonal relations are sought through efforts to break out of the traditional patriarchal model.
- **SLOW FOOD.** The Chef's Alliance within Slow Food was created to promote a change in the relations among staff in restaurants – chefs traditionally endorse a culture of being dominant, and within the movement a move towards a cooperative way to run the kitchen of a restaurant was promoted. Also, a move away from elite chefs towards the so called KMO restaurants (which prioritize local organic farming, employ seasonal foods, avoid the use of GM products, are bastion of Slow Food, etc.) was promoted, and this has been deliberately pursued through educational programs for chefs for example. Slow Food also engaged in educating local governments and pursued a change in institutional relations. Changing interpersonal relations, e.g. between producers/farmers and consumers – already challenges and changes institutions.
- **VIA CAMPESINA.** In their fight against the injustice of agribusiness they also realized they needed to change gender relations within the family – from a relationship of domination to one of cooperation. Thus in some cases engaging in changing institutional relations leads to efforts to change interpersonal relations.
- **CO-HOUSING.** Provides clear support for this proposition: interpersonal relations need to change for living together to be possible; also new institutions are created in neighborhoods as a result, and they engage with the city, who had to change and adapt to accommodate the new reality of co-housing.
- **DESI.** Changing interpersonal relations is about changing institutions as well. **Living Labs:** it is also about connecting with people that are fundamentally different – moving out of the comfort zone – critical point in making the comfort zone bigger. Living Knowledge (science shops) and DESIS Labs is built upon new roles for universities as spaces and places for cooperation between university staff, students and local civil society and local public authorities and institutions. Science shops are developing new relations between universities and civil society.

An important point then is that: changing social relations IS in some cases institutional change – you already change an institution (albeit at the scale of the local initiative); but indeed this is not all e.g. Slow Food, they started to involve public institutions and other actors in the food system as part of their efforts; Co-housing, the city has to change some rules to fit to the national rules of co-housing.

Both interpersonal and organizational relations are thus a *locus of institutional change*, as the way in which they are enacted contributes to either *perpetuating or changing institutions*. Working towards a synthesis then, we can state that, in attempting to achieve their goals, and at different stages in their journey, SI initiatives identify both formal and informal institutions that shape current relations (interpersonal and organizational) and employ different strategies for institutional change:

- Enacting new rules of interactions in their interpersonal interactions both within the SI initiative and with other people in the local communities in which they are active (e.g. Slow Food – with friends, family outside the initiative; Credit Unions – with clients)

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- Enacting new rules of interaction between organisations (e.g. TT Hungary – members actively engage in cooperative and non-defensive behaviour with local government officials to break distrust that dominated relationships between government and civil society);
- Engaging in direct lobbying and political action to change specific formal institutions (regulations, policies, laws, etc);
- Engaging in educational efforts in order to shape “new” thought and behaviour governed by new informal institutions.

SI actors identify (formal and informal) institutions that need to change in order for a new state of affairs to be possible. They often start with an identification of a problem or a dissatisfaction and then develop an analysis that includes defining the institutions that shape current social, political and economic interactions. The practice of new types of interactions includes interpersonal and organizational relations (e.g. between individuals, and between the SI initiative and government bodies for example). Through this practice and confrontation with what works and what doesn't, they learn and refine both their internal rules, as well as their strategies for engagement with relevant actors in the socio-material context.

We have evidence in TRANSIT that SI initiatives attempt to adjust both their practice and theory of change as they confront tensions and difficulties, to better achieve their goals while also maintaining consistency of values over time and maintaining motivation for both insiders and new/potential members. They also maintain high degrees of flexibility in the shaping of the initiatives to allow for psychological need satisfaction of members. By creating spaces where the satisfaction of the needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence is supported, they maintain high levels of autonomous motivation, which leads to persistence. By practicing and modelling new rules for individual and organizational interaction, they at once demonstrate what is possible and enact change.

Proposition 3. *Explaining the contribution of the internal relations and dynamics of a SI initiative to its wider transformative impact requires a focus on the social-material relations of the initiative—a focus solely on changing interpersonal relations potentially misses important aspects of causation and is blind to the links to ecological relations and sustainability. The experimentation with, or ‘modelling’ of, novel or unfamiliar social-material relations within the SI initiative can in itself be a necessary precursor to wider institutional change in the social-material context (as transformative social innovation). In order to have transformative impact however, SI-agents^v need also to find ways to translate relations that have been modelled within the SI initiative into contributions towards changing institutional arrangements in the broader socio-material context, this requires the successful deployment of strategies for achieving a wider uptake, or the contingent entrainment of the innovation within broader developments in the social-material context.*

In conclusion: by practicing and modelling new rules for individual and organizational interaction, and new types and qualities of social relations at the interpersonal human level, SI initiatives are able to both demonstrate what is possible and provide a necessary basis for bringing about change in the wider socio-material context. Still to be developed for this proposition is a more comprehensive theoretical framing and grounding in the empirics of the nature, function and importance of changing social-material relations in the SI initiatives and networks.

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3.2 Cluster B: Relations across/between SI initiatives

3.2.1 Proposition 4. On the transnational connectivity of SI initiatives

A key theoretical challenge for any TSI theory is to account for the dispersed agency that characterizes current social order and TSI phenomena particularly (Cf. Scott-Cato & Hillier 2010 with their compelling metaphor of TSI developing and spreading through ‘rhizomic’ structures). We have therefore adopted a Jasanoffian co-production framework, and more generally we tap from theoretical sources that are sensitive to dispersed agency and the importance of networked and embedded agents. These remind us that TSI journeys are seldom travelled alone, that they tend to be intertwined with many others, and that TSI agency tends to be locally rooted yet also globally connected. An important theoretical issue is then how much TSI agency and TSI achievements can be ascribed to these transnational networks (whether as paper tigers and publicity machines or as powerhouses of resources, our co-production framing acknowledges both as being productive). Apart from the various established social- theoretical insights on dispersed, networked agency, TRANSIT has developed a vast set of data on the ways in which SI initiatives become embedded in broader, often transnational networks. This proposition follows from the interplay between theory and case study data, and the continued iteration between those will allow us to further substantiate and specify it (in the next stage of the research).

In developing this proposition we observe that international networking among SI initiatives develops at different stages and for different reasons in the different TRANSIT cases. The nature and function of international networking efforts among social innovation initiatives have changed noticeably over the last decades. In some cases an international network is created very soon after and springing from the emergence of local initiatives, like with the formation of the international FabLab network (MIT) and the Transition Towns Network (Totnes). In other cases an international network is created when the participants in an existing informal international networking arrangement find it necessary to create a formal network, as was the case with INFORSE in relation to the Rio-summit in 1992 (in order to make renewable energy more visible at the summit), and the Living Knowledge network of science shops when connections to the EU Commission (and related funding and lobbying opportunities) made it advantageous to create a formal international network. The recent formation of the network of Living Labs had the same type of background as Living Knowledge.

The SI networks studied can be distinguished (in part) based on the (initial) primary focus of the network (which might be on new practices, new narratives of change and framings, new ways of organising, or new (forms of) knowledge or ways of learning -- or any combination of these):

- Ashoka, GEN, DESIS, Timebanks, INFORSE and quite some others seem to do exchange of tools, methods, software – actively engaging in learning processes.
- RIPESS is exemplary for the discursive/framing dimension: this network has constructed an ‘ideological banner’ and employed it in re-framing and making (more) visible various social/solidarity-based economic practices. It works at developing identity, stabilizing narratives of change, and creating exposure for activities that are often rather inconspicuous/not recognized

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as innovative, alternative, or challenging dominant institutions (partly as they have been out there for quite some time already and as such are not evidently recognised as new/innovative).

- Similarly, Slow Food created a banner, a narrative, for initiatives and involved individuals that empowered some of them in the sense that they became activist and developed transformative ambitions. GEN and RIPESS also undertake mapping – to make the field visible to itself and to others. Shareable and their ‘mapjam’ events also do exactly this.
- Basic Income/BIEN is exemplary for the knowing/framing dimension: Stabilizing the meaning of the basic income concept, and developing a repertoire of academic arguments and evidence base. INFORSE is another good example of this type of network.

The international networks can play roles at both the international level as lobbying actor (like the role of international seed movement network, Via Campesina (agro-ecological family farming), Living Knowledge (science shops) and ENOLL (Living Labs) and at the national and/or local level by providing access to different types of resources (tools, guidelines, access to local experienced actors etc.) and symbolic resources (credibility, legitimacy, reputation – for example starting up a new initiative). This does not imply that such resources from an international network play an important role in the development of all local initiatives. The degree to which local initiatives are members of an international network seems also to differ. In some cases it is only a limited part of the initiatives, for example eco-villages, that are members of the international network.

Several international networks support the development of new local initiatives. There are different levels of guidance in this development. Some networks expect certain activities of local initiatives (like within the network of FabLabs, the Ashoka network and the network of Impact Hubs) which could be called “guided expansion” of the network, while others apply training and mentoring from more experienced local initiatives to new initiatives adapted to the local conditions without specific demands, like the support for development of new science shop initiatives within Living Knowledge.

Our case studies have also brought forward substantial amounts of relevant empirics on the function of the international networks in facilitating the coproduction and dissemination of new narratives of change. Globally articulated narratives of change (e.g. Slow Food, social solidarity economy, sustainable energy) act as empowering forces for SI members in different socio-material contexts and can have a transformative impact when they start to be picked up by other institutional actors as legitimate alternatives to the current arrangements in terms of satisfaction of basic psychological or material needs.

The resources in an international network can be highly distributed and mainly be embedded with the network members (as is the case for the Living Knowledge network or the INFORSE network) or they can be centralized with significant resources embedded in an international secretariat of some sort (for example as is the case with GEN – the international eco-village network or the international ASHOKA network). Based on the cases we can articulate the material dimension/s of network formation – with ICT providing a very obvious and crucial set of material agents/mediators, but also methodologies, mappings, tools etc.

Differing degrees of formalisation can also be observed in the international networks. Some of the networks are registered as an NGO, while others manifest as a quite informal networking activity among local initiatives. The networks have widely differing levels of resources in terms of: staff, offices, funding

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(separately from the local initiatives), or whether they carry out distinct activities on their own, etc. Take Living Knowledge, all the activities are carried out by the local initiatives, it is not a legal entity, it has no resources. Hackerspaces have even less. Shareable does exist as a formal legal entity, but all the activities are carried out by the members. The “network” is essentially 5 people sitting in an office in San Francisco. Co-housing on the other hand have offices, staff, financial resources etc. and carry out their own activities. Time Banks also have a company at the core who develops the software that enables the network.

The empowering function of transnational networks is easily assumed, yet it is not entirely evident for typically locally rooted TSI action. Becoming part of transnational SI networks *can* be empowering for local SI initiatives. The emergence of a common identity transforms the meaning of ideas and actions of local SI actors which leads to empowerment (in the sense of e.g. an increased confidence) for transformative action. Belonging to a global community generates empowering outcomes, such as validation of local strategies for transformation, a higher sense of self-efficacy/competence, support and resilience in overcoming obstacles which leads to persistence in efforts towards transformation (learning from actors and initiatives in other contexts plays a big part in this process; the awareness of ideas and action appearing in many different parts of the world provides resilience as a consequence of feeling part of a significant majority). These processes include application of different types of resources developed in one context in other contexts through processes of dis-embedding and re-embedding of concepts, strategies etc. Importantly however, our cases also indicate that being part of a transnational SI network is not always experienced to be as empowering as portrayed in the above account. In the TTs case, for example, we found (nearly all of) the empowerment and success of local initiatives to be a product of the local context. In this case there is a ‘sense of being part of a bigger thing’ that is derived from being part of the wider network, but that sense does not actually seem to be that important when it comes to making a tangible difference on the ground. The legitimizing, identity-enhancing, sense-making functions of shared narratives of changes might be important – but other contextual factors can be more relevant. Moreover, there is evidence of disempowering networking. Some grassroots initiatives may even perceive formalization through networks as disempowering, with Hackerspaces being an example here.

Proposition 4. *The work that a transnational SI network does covers: i) Facilitating the diffusion and/or innovation of new practices, new ideas, framings and narratives, and new knowledge and learning across the network. ii) Empowering the constituent local SI initiatives to more effectively engage in processes of institutional change in their respective contexts. iii) Exercising power and influence at the level of the transnational network—by directly lobbying (trans-)national governments to change rules and regulations, by building alliances with other societal actors, and/or by securing (or creating) new resources for the network and its members. Being part of a transnational network (that is globally connected but locally rooted) empowers local SI-initiatives to better engage with institutional change in their respective socio-material contexts (thereby increasing the transformative impact of SI-initiatives).*

In conclusion: Articulating the work that the transnational SI networks do in TSI journeys is clearly as difficult as it is important. Further challenges for TRANSIT research are to fine-tune the tentative typology (formulated in the proposition above), and to further explain the different ways in which (the different functions of) the network gives rise to local and trans-local forms of agency that are intertwined and mutually (dis)empowering.

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3.2.2 Proposition 5. On the interactions *across* SI networks

An important part of TSI agency can be attributed to the relations developing between local initiatives with others through transnational networking. Apart from the various ways in which actors empower each other *within* SI networks, it is also relevant to consider how interaction patterns develop between or *across* such SI networks. The interactions and (partial) convergences between SI networks give rise to emergent '*ecologies of SI*', as Nicholls and Murdock (2012) described the phenomenon. We can roughly distinguish interactions that are mutually empowering and mutually disempowering, i.e. synergistic or interferential interactions (Cf. Pel 2014 on intersecting innovations). Acknowledging the diversity of the networks and their transformative ambitions (cf. Stirling 2011), the useful idea of a SI ecology should NOT be taken to imply that these are coherent. Ecologies do emerge, but full convergence into some singular transformative ambition would be an exceptional course of evolution.

The interactions across SI networks are theoretically important for the development of TSI understanding—but the coherence and mutual empowerment involved are empirical questions. The proposition reflects our empirical observations of diverse SI networks that arrive at quite complementary strategies and actions, despite having quite different transformative ambitions and narratives of change. Diverse transformative ambitions may align around similar or synergistic actions. Vice versa, aligned transformative ambitions may still (under the influence of differing contextual factors) give rise to quite different/distinct actions and strategies. Nevertheless we propose that finding commonality of framing visions and narratives across SI networks is an important stage in how groups of TSI initiatives might achieve widespread transformative impacts. Pertinent empirical evidence are the attempts to create critical mass and unified ideological programs (RIPESS, notably) and the struggles with fragmentation and evaporation of the new DOFK brought forward (Timebanks, Credit Unions, Slow Food display controversies over different translations and versions).

This proposition reflects strategic considerations on the level of the set of 20 networks studied: does this set of diverse transformation initiatives display smoothly organized mutual learning and the formation of a converging and bundling societal force or “third movement” (Kemp et al. in progress), or does it display a fragmented “re-invention of the wheel” type process, and a multitude of movements that only intermittently and coincidentally reinforce each other?

Another important theoretical consideration is that the convergences between networks may be planned, but can easily happen ‘behind their backs’ as well. *What strategies do SI networks uphold that drives them to engage in cross-network interactions? Or do these interactions ‘just happen’ to them?* These are typical questions generated through our framing of TSI-agency as relational and distributed.

Within our multiple-case set of 20 networks, the following evidence is particularly pertinent to the proposition. First of all there is the example of RIPESS, which has been deliberately constituted to become a network-of-networks. As its acronym states quite explicitly, RIPESS seeks to unite the various initiatives and networks existing that promote the social economy and solidarity economy. The latter is generally understood as a radicalization of the former, which is seen to have lost much of its transformative potential. The unification addresses how RIPESS seeks to resolve tensions between networks, articulate their convergences and common grounds, and avoid fragmentation within the field of these alternative economies (cf. Avelino et al. 2015 on ‘new economies’). RIPESS thus unites or creates alignments

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between initiatives including Credit Unions, Food Sovereignty/Seed movement, Transition Towns, Via Campesina. It aligns with certain social entrepreneurship networks as well, but members are generally a bit suspicious about Ashoka's individualizing, 'neoliberal' way of promoting alternative economies. This latter example then indicates the 'fine line' between synergistic and interferential interactions.

A second pertinent example shows an emergent pair of quite diverse yet converging SI networks. The Basic Income (BIEN) and Time Banks (TB) interaction indicates how networks can have very different activities and narratives of change whilst converging in some quite particular elements of their transformative ambitions and impacts. BIEN advocates a universal Basic Income that as such requires governmental rolling-out/implementation. By contrast, TB starts locally, through communities that develop their parallel social security practices. But as TB institutionalizes, they are realizing new DOFK that are quite in line with those pursued by BIEN. These two networks converge on the transformative ambitions towards a social security that's uncoupled from wage – even if in they are quite different in their concrete actions, and are acting in parallel rather than through joint strategies.

Third, there is important empirical evidence of networks that are not so much clustering into networks-of-networks or co-evolving, but rather display porous boundaries and intertwinements with other networks. Transition Towns can be seen from one viewpoint as bundles of (pre-existing) new DOFK – some of which can also be found in other networks. (Seed movement, again RPESS, INFORSE). So one particular network can play a recombinant role among many networks (and can be so with or without their support). Another example is FabLabs, Living Labs, and Hackerspaces: some local initiatives are members of all or several of these networks, some at the same time, and others at different times. This tells us that SI networks are not entirely separate entities – the notion of distinct networks is just a (sensible) methodological demarcation deployed to make our case studies manageable and comparable.

Fourth, there is empirical evidence that helps to substantiate the different resources and networking practices through which the cross-network interaction occurs. These 'modes of conveyance' include:

- international meetings and fora (cf. Slow Food),
- generation and dissemination of educational materials (also Slow Food),
- use of internet and ICT (crucial for some, like science shops, for others just a tool among many, like the seed network, Brighton; links to interesting question about how are the cross--network interactions socio-materially shaped?)
- implicit or deliberate processes of coming to common problem framings / narratives of change,
- creating joint or linked experiments, pilot projects or demonstrations,
- Creating common platforms for lobbying governments/other institutional actors.

This relates to particularly useful empirics, deserving further processing (into a post-D3.3/final version of this proposition) that is more specific, and which further specifies our ideas about (dis)empowering interactions, resources, etc.

Proposition 5. *Interactions across transnational SI networks are an important feature of TSI processes: they lead to a coevolutionary dynamic between networks, and facilitate the diffusion and/or innovation of (new) practices, (new) ideas, framings and narratives of change, and (new) knowledge and learning. As well as interaction/co-evolution between networks, we also observe intertwinement and overlap between them. SI networks can empower each other, but they can also disempower—a distinction can be*

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made between synergistic versus interferential interactions. Different SI networks may arrive at synergistic strategies and actions, despite having quite different narratives of change—so synergistic actions may be linked not only to a coherence in narratives of change but sometimes rather to their (implicit and possibly contingent) complementarity. We propose that the potential of TSI to contribute to transformative change is highly dependent on the extent to which individual SI networks are able to achieve a complementarity or synergy with (diverse) other SI networks, especially in terms of the new (systems of) practices and new/alterd institutions being proposed (their transformative ambitions), and ultimately including the introduction and consolidation of new values, norms, and cultural forms.

In conclusion: there are clearly several ways in which the proposition on the interactions across SI networks can be elaborated and specified further. Even if empirical material is available, a significant part of the empirical analysis is yet to be done. The connections and intersections between cases will be studied as a meta-analysis exercise on the set of 20 case studies (planned Pel et al. paper for 2017 on the intersections in transformative social innovation; tracing convergence among 20 TSI networks). The topic can also be developed further by tapping into the literature on social movements and global activism. In any case, cross-network interactions are of clear theoretical relevance, following the TSI theory development that has led to the four clusters of propositions. The interactions across transnational SI networks are an important feature of TSI for their potential coevolutionary dynamics. They help to explain how a Social Innovation spreads and gains influence in the socio-material context, and how specific SI networks (like our cases) are able to increase their transformative potential and impacts.

3.2.3 Proposition 6. On the importance of relations within the SI field

This proposition adds to the previous two that TSI impacts, and co-produced agency, need to be attributed to networked, intertwined, highly dispersed, ‘rhizomic’ agency. The partial convergences between networks leads to what we can refer to as ‘ecologies of SI’ (Nicholls & Murdock 2012), which are then in turn embedded in a SI field (in the sense of a Strategic Action Field; SAF), and that may be linked to one or more social movements. Acknowledging the need to be parsimonious in developing a middle-range theory of TSI, we nevertheless note the need for three distinct concepts here, necessary as a basis for explaining how the relations among SI initiatives and networks are structured (within the socio-material context). We also propose that making a clear distinction between TSI networks and social movements is an important task for TRANSIT, and important to explaining TSI agency.

‘Ecology of SI’ (Nicholls & Murdock 2012) refers mostly to the activities and DOFK that (to some extent) converge across networks of SI. An ecology of SI can still be quite heterogeneous.

‘SI field’ provides “a concept of the arena of social action” (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, p20), individual and collective action inside fields is necessary to provide a way to: “...understand if a meso-level social structure is emerging, stable, or in the process of transformation. In developing this proposition we use the Strategic Action Field notion of Fligstein & McAdam (as outlined in the TSI Framework paper, see annex 1 of this deliverable).

‘Social Movement’ refers to quite strong and principled agreement on transformative ambitions, and to deliberate attempts to unify ideologically (into one movement rather than several); can be conceptualized as collectivities working with some degree of organization and continuity to

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promote or resist change through a mixture of extra-institutional and institutional means (McAdam & Snow 2010). The focus is usually on achieving social change through political change rather than (transformative) social innovation per se.^{vi}

Similarly to proposition 5, this proposition follows mainly from the TSI theory development in which TSI is understood to be co-produced and carried by dispersed, networked agency. Also in this case, the empirical work to refine the proposition has to a significant extent yet to be done – through meta-analysis exercises on the level of the overall set of 20 case studies. Still, the proposition is informed by the evidence on ‘field formation’ that has been analysed briefly in the WP4 synthesis document (Jørgensen et al. 2016). Obvious examples include the social solidarity economy political movement, food sovereignty movement, maker movement and the social entrepreneurship type initiatives (such as the Impact Hub and Ashoka) and sustainable energy (INFORSE, but also Transition Towns). The important aspect of these ‘movements’ is that they contain, carry and are fed by various SI initiatives – but also contain other actors: activists, protesters, NGOs, governmental organisations, think tanks, businesses, universities etc. Some of our SI initiatives are strongly connected with the surrounding fields/movements, and are the innovative parts of them. Others not so. And in some fields/movements there is not so much SI going on, even if they’re aiming for transformative change as well – transformative action occurs through direct action (such as Occupy), protest, political lobbying, for example.

What relations between SI networks and social movements do we observe in the TRANSIT cases? Some of the studied social innovations in TRANSIT are not based in social movements, like science shops and DESIS Labs, although it is not necessarily easy to assess whether a social movement exists in relation to a certain social innovation. For a social innovation like FabLabs, some researchers would probably refer to the maker movement as a social movement which FabLabs are part of.

RIPES is a useful illustrative example, as it considers itself as a network-of-networks that unites a political movement of alternative economies. This self-identification as political movement takes precedence over the identity as a SI initiative/network: ‘social innovation’ is mistrusted for the neoliberal connotations attached to it by BEPA, Young Foundation etc. The solidarity economy movement is seen to have evolved out of a longer tradition of alternative economies, led by ideas of Marx, Proudhon, and Polanyi. RIPPES is active in mapping exercises, charting, articulating, demarcating the various social/solidarity initiatives as they exist in various contexts and across the global North and South. As political movement, RIPPES typically aligns with political movements and Left political parties, such as the Brazilian workers’ party, Spanish Podemos, or the Greek Syriza.

Also the TRANSIT cases about sustainable energy and eco-villages could be recognised as examples of social movements. So in further developing a TSI theory, we propose that it will be important to make clear analytical distinctions between SIs and SMs, and to develop further middle-range insights into how TSI/SI dynamics intersect with those of (which) contemporary SMs.

Finally, we turn to the interplay of transformation versus capture in TSI dynamics. Pel & Bauler (2015) argue that the (process of the) institutionalisation of social innovation finds itself “in between transformation and capture”: the moment where social innovations are confronted with dominant institutions, this is where it gets really exciting, on the one hand it is the moment where real transformative change can happen, on the other hand it is the moment where SIs can get captured. We propose that not only individual SI initiatives and networks but also entire SI ecologies and SI fields can

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be involved in a dynamic of capture (rather than transformation) and that it's possible to empirically distinguish both such capture dynamics in the SI field and direct reactions against it. We propose that such a dynamic can enter into any dimension of the diffusion and/or innovation of new DOFK; it is perhaps easiest to observe however in the empirical cases in (processes of) the framing and formation of new narratives of change.

Transformative ambitions can generally be slightly adapted into less-transformation-oriented narratives of 'meeting grand societal challenges', for example. As it has been analysed in transitions studies, 'regime actors' work hard to (re)frame narratives of change around global challenges such as energy and climate change in terms that support (sustain) the continuance of dominant institutions. Thus Loorbach (2014) characterises sustainable development as a response to the problems of late modernity that "itself has become part of the problem" (p32), as environmental policies and sustainable development discourse have "become part of these established regimes and have primarily served to make them a bit less unsustainable". The Transition movement for example was formulated with a deliberate framing in terms of building 'local resilience' rather than sustainable development, on the basis that sustainable development had been 'sold out' (as set out in Rob Hopkins original handbook). Several of the cases studied have responded directly to the aftermath of the great financial crisis of 2008 (Loorbach et al. 2016 GCs paper) and here we observe attempts at increasing the coherence of the narratives of change among civil society actors, and also countering responses from regime players.

Proposition 6. *The interactions and (partial) convergences between SI networks (as addressed in proposition 5) give rise to emergent and potentially synergistic 'ecologies of SI' (Nicholls and Murdock 2012). These ecologies of SI furthermore exist within a SI field where the changing relations between the SI networks and other social entities (including social movements) can greatly enhance (or interfere with) the potential for engaging with specific agendas of transformative change. We propose that the potential of TSI to contribute to transformative change (in the coming years) is highly dependent on the extent to which a complementarity and synergy in action emerges within distinct SI fields (cf. shadow systems) that coalesce around (broadly-framed) global-local challenges. Furthermore we propose that the dynamic of capture versus transformation (in the institutionalisation of SI) can also play out at the level of the SI field—the 'capture' process can involve any dimension of (new forms of) DOFK.*

In conclusion: there are good theoretical reasons to further elaborate and substantiate this proposition on the formation and co-productive significance of SI fields. This unit of analysis is pertinent to the overall understanding of co-produced TSI, we have learnt theoretically. Moreover, several of our empirical studies into SI local manifestations, transnational networks and their interactions with dominant institutions have brought forward pertinent empirical data that can be revisited with a particular focus on the 'field'. Finally, it is important to realize that this proposition 6 has strong overlaps with the propositions in cluster C.

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3.3 Cluster C: Relations to institutional change processes

3.3.1 Proposition 7. On the interplay of TSI with established institutions

Institutions are understood as the norms, rules, conventions and values (Cajaiba-Santana 2014, p46) that structure (both constrain and enable) social relations and interactions. Unfolding TSI processes are not fully harmonious and cooperatively shaped journeys, but are pervaded by contestation and struggle. The latter characteristics are inherent to them as they are not SI journeys but TSI journeys. TSI – as defined – involves attempts to challenge, alter, supplement, or replace dominant institutions. TSI journeys are generally not frontal oppositions or zero-sum battles against dominant institutions however, nor are they taking their course in complete isolation from dominant institutions. Other than militant social movements, activists undertaking ‘direct action’, or guerrillas, socially innovative agency tends to seek or acquiesce into co-productive relations with the dominant institutions that they challenge, and tends to be more intertwined with them. As their ambitions towards challenging, altering and replacing involve a degree of reproducing dominant institutions (e.g. maintaining some dominant norms, institutional logics and performance criteria like efficiency, accountability, property rights, etc.) they have an ongoing two-way relationship – negating some, confirming other elements of dominant institutions.

Moreover this dynamic interplay with established institutions is an inherently political process. Fligstein and McAdam (2011) describe this two-way relationship in terms of co-shaping processes, involving challengers and incumbents vying for position and influence: both are constantly engaged in moves that they hope will preserve or improve their position in the existing (and evolving) field of social relations. They suggest that: *“These constant adjustments can be thought of as a form of ‘organisational learning’ ...”* (p15) and imply a set of tactics that actors will employ. Incumbents will adjust to the tactics of others, both challengers in the form of SI-actors, and other incumbents. Tactics for challengers include building niches and taking advantage of the crises of other challengers and playing into ‘crises’ and ‘game changers’ (in various guises...). Tactics for incumbents include imitation, co-optation, or merger.

Similar accounts of dialectic relationships in the context of transformative innovation journeys have been formulated (amongst others) by TRANSIT researchers Smith (2007) and Pel (2015). Both theorized these dialectics through an actor-network theory perspective, as ongoing processes of translation. As TSI journeys evolve dialectically through the constant interplay of slight translations and adaptations of SIs, out of SI initiatives’ transformative ambitions and out of the institutional logics of dominant institutions, a certain SI concept changes shape over time – consider the vast TRANSIT empirics on more and less radical forms of Credit Unions and Timebanks, on social enterprises becoming like regular enterprises over time or vice versa, or the broad variety of Ecovillages, Transition Towns or Slow Food initiatives.

Because of these ongoing dialectics in co-productive relationships, SI initiatives cannot afford to simply stick to their guns (and principles). This proposition then underlines the notion that they, *“must find a way to translate existing rules and resources into the production of local orders by convincing their supporters to cooperate and finding means of accommodation with other groups”* (Fligstein and McAdam 2011: p11). In the face of the ongoing dialectical confrontation between competing and mutually challenging translations of SI concepts and practices, SI initiatives need a ‘portfolio’ or repertoire of strategies to guide their interactions with dominant institutions.

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If transformative change is conceptualised as change that involves the challenging, altering, and replacing of established institutions (and possibly also augmenting/supplementing) then in developing a theory of TSI, we are interested in the actual strategies by which SI actors are able to achieve institutional change. Sewell (2005) addresses the question of how structural change is possible, asking: *If actors make use of existing resources and existing institutions in order to perform existing practices, then, why should anything ever change?* Starting from Sewell's analysis (see table 1 in the TSI framework paper in annex 1) we characterise four distinct strategies by which actors might engage with institutional change; these are illustrated below for the case of the Transition movement (TTs):

1) Enact an (existing) institution in a different way:

- question conventions around lifestyle and energy use, then promote alternative practices;
- subvert norms around use of public spaces (e.g. plant nut trees in city);
- take TTs into local schools.

2) Make (novel) choices about which (intersecting) institutions to enact:

- Emphasize/enact traditional practices around making stuff, food growing, sharing, etc.;
- Choose to buy a veg-box from CAP scheme rather than supermarket;
- Make low impact lifestyles a desirable norm (e.g. air travel becomes taboo within a group).

3) Use resources differently, use different resources, or create a new resource:

- Enhance local social networks; turn domestic gardens into a shared food growing space;
- Secure government funding for a community-owned energy project;
- Create a local currency.

4) Take advantage of contingency and context dependence (in resource accumulation):

- Financial crisis makes it possible to grow membership (/the number of local manifestations);
- Take advantage of high oil prices to present TTs as a response to a Peak Oil narrative;
- Respond to lower oil prices by re-focusing on the need for local job creation.

The TIW#2 discussions brought forth the following evidence and insights from the TRANSIT cases:

- [DESI](#) has a complicated relationship with universities, both disempowered and empowered, but they clearly need universities as institution. They have a symbiotic relation with universities. For [participatory budgeting](#), for some cases one could argue that they have such a symbiotic relation with municipalities.
- [Living lab Eindhoven](#) has an "organic relationship with the dominant structures and institutions as it is quite strongly embedded in it". There are not really conflicts/confrontations, it is more a matter of negotiations, organic change and strategic positioning. So this case confirms part of the proposition, but would describe it more in terms of harmonious relations and organic development.
- [Slow Food](#) initiatives refer to much older patterns and human needs: local groups focus on cooking together. Also [Ecovillages](#) are not necessarily a 'response' to modern issues: community is as old as humanity.
- [Slow Food](#) organise large events and fairs. They use existing institutions and, within their remit, create their own space with own rules. Is this dialectic or synthetic?
- In [Shareable](#), there is no confrontation with the system, they gather under the umbrella of [Shareable Melbourne](#) to build up the movement. The person who is the main leader, talks to

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policy makers and provides a vision for the city to become a sharing city: provide as an alternative instead of challenging. Municipality was main 'institution'. [Shareable Nijmegen](#) does challenge the economic system, but also works with the local municipality. Sharing would lead to a different kind of economy. The municipality has asked the initiative to help with specific challenges.

- There are a few examples of cases ([participatory budgeting](#), [Shareable](#), others?) in which public institutions (mainly municipalities) ask/invite SI-initiative to come with an alternative. So we can add to the framing, this possibility... What happens when there is such 'overt' invitation from public institutions? Does it decrease or increase the transformative potential, or both, and under which conditions?

Different types of relations to established institutions can be distinguished:

- The default relation (that seemed to be implied by the original version of this proposition) is that of an initiative directly aiming to challenge or replace specific institutions, is articulated through the TIW#2 as one possibility, that some but not all of the case fit to.
- Some initiatives however understand their role as being to manifest or model new arrangements that better suit their needs, but without necessarily being concerned about wider systems change (e.g. Hackerspaces, FabLabs, some but not all Ecovillages). And this relationship can change over time, so that, for example, the GEN has at certain points become more interested in the role that it can play in wider systems change (by e.g. lobbying at the EU-level or securing funding for projects).
- Some initiatives also create alternatives and supplement institutions, e.g. informal sharing ownership systems and gift economy. The proposition is very much about institutions, but initiatives are more about "basic human values and needs", "they start with basic human needs", and aim to "fulfil these themselves, not expecting the institutions to do that". So there is maybe a pointer in the TIW#2 discussions to the possibility of initiatives aiming over time to reduce the need for/ dependence on (established/existing) institutions, possibly aiming to make them obsolete?. Or, as in the case of the Transitions Towns, framing the initiative in terms of a claim/observation that currently dominant institutions are in retreat.
- Some initiatives have – outwardly at least – benign relations with established institutions (e.g. TimeBanks and Shareable as cited above). Such accommodative examples then raise questions about whether the initiative is SI versus TSI, and the extent to which a dynamic of 'capture' may lie behind apparently synergistic relations.
- The possibility of subversive relationships to established institutions was also raised in the TIW#2 discussions, relating to initiatives that directly subvert established institutions whether through altruistic motivations or out of self-interest.

An insight arising from the TIW#2 discussions was the need to specify more clearly that often, challenging one thing also means reproducing another. So the proposition is not saying that a SI-initiative can either challenge or reproduce an institution – i.e. that anything can happen – the dialectic argument is that it is impossible to challenge an institution without meanwhile also reproducing other elements of existing/established institutional arrangements. And that this leads to a central challenge for TSI, namely how to model/create/demonstrate change without simultaneously getting caught or captured by current arrangements. This leads to diverse dilemmas and choices for the SI initiatives at all scales of operation.

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Proposition 7. *SI initiatives and networks (and the socially innovative ideas, objects and actions that they promote) have an on-going, two-way relationship with established institutional arrangements: they both challenge them and reproduce them. Through on-going processes of structuration they reproduce established institutions (across all coproducing dimensions of DOFK), even as they attempt to change them (by challenging, altering, supplementing, or replacing specific institutions, in specific dimensions of DOFK): put differently, SI is active along all, yet innovative only along some of these coproducing dimensions. Actions on the part of SI-initiatives lead (most often) to responses from established institutions (that exhibit tendencies towards system preservation and stabilisation, and typically wield more power and influence). The institutionalisation of SI is therefore inherently political and by default is a process in which SI is ‘captured’ with ‘transformation’ being the exception (to be explained in terms of contingency/opportunity arising in the context and/or extra-ordinary properties of the SI and/or SI-initiative itself). TSI-agency is possible as existing institutions and resources are used by SI-actors to perform practices in novel ways - resulting in a dialectic of change that leads (eventually) to transformations in institutional arrangements. Strategies employed by SI-initiatives and networks: 1) Enact an (existing) institution in a different way; 2) Make (novel) choices about which (intersecting) institutions to enact; 3) Use resources differently, use different resources, or create a new resource; 4) Take advantage of contingency and context dependence (in resource accumulation). In order to have transformative impact, SI-initiatives need: (A) different (sometimes paradoxical) strategies towards institutions (complying, irritating, avoiding, resisting, compromising, hijacking, exploiting institutional pressures etc.), and (B) to continuously update and adapt their portfolio of strategies to changing circumstances, while holding on to original core intentions (integrity, autonomy, motivation, transformative ambition).*

In conclusion: This proposition opens the way to a more sophisticated analysis of the strategies employed by TSI initiatives, one that both addresses the ‘how’ of achieving institutional change but also the ‘how’ of how to simultaneously avoid institutional capture.

3.3.2 Proposition 8. On finding/creating an ‘institutional home’

The notion of a TSI ‘journey’ expresses a searching movement. It expresses how SI-initiatives seek to challenge, alter or replace dominant institutions and seek ways to anchor their socially innovative ideas and practices – starting from a situation in which no such anchorage has taken place. The ‘image’ of the ‘lack of an institutional home’ expresses how they seek to achieve something that they don’t have and what the challenged dominant institutions by definition do have, namely permanence, support, secured resource flow, legitimacy and independence from the efforts of individuals. It also expresses the idea that at the start of the journey there is a lack of fit between the needs, motivations and values of participants and the dominant institutional arrangements of the context in which they find themselves.

This proposition addresses an important aspect of the TSI journey, namely that SI initiatives may typically emerge in reaction to the shortcomings of dominant institutions, grow from the grassroots and develop informally in relative independence from prevailing institutional logics, but over time this vulnerable existence is difficult to sustain. Institutional theory, social movement theory, governance theory, organisational theory and social psychology all bring forward their own accounts of the various pressures

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towards formalization and institutional anchorage that SI initiatives are bound to encounter as they strive for the TSI journey to go on.

In TIW#2 discussions, some researchers seemed to recognise this proposition easily, and find it clear, specific and self-explanatory. There were however also those who expressed concerns over the metaphor of ‘institutional home’: A ‘home’ is part of people’s identity. If people have different values, it is unlikely that they can be part of the same institutional home.

- [Ashoka](#) is trying to create an institutional home for entrepreneurs. When social entrepreneurs go to the [Impact Hub](#), they feel ‘at home’.
- In the case of [Living Labs](#), we see that an experimental zone is appreciated. A deliberately lacking institutional home can also be beneficial for experimenting.
- For the [DESIS](#) network it is argued that, both at network and local level, they look for stability, formality, not to fall apart – *this is what we mean with institutional home*.

The metaphor of finding an ‘institutional home’ then relates to the individuals involved in an initiative and their sense of belonging, and (institutional) identity within the socio-material context in which they exist. It also relates to the systemic embedding of the DOFK of the initiative within the context, and to whether the context responds with accommodative/supportive or repressive/capture reactions (or both), this aspect then relates to ‘institutional home’ as access to resources, values, political and social legitimacy, and laws and regulations.

One suggestion was to turn the proposition around into the perspective from institutions. Institutional assumptions and closures. How do institutions see diverse patterns of TSI/SI? Actors representing established institutions see many SI initiatives that are emerging or fading away – how are institutions then responsive to diversity. From the perspective of actors in established institutions:

- They may be engaged in processes of “institutional redesign”, on the part of both public institutions as well as SI-initiatives (e.g. community energy schemes). So the established institution is interested in how SI can support such redesign processes.
- They will observe a bunch of cases that are emerging and fading away – how are institutions responsive to such diversity? And with what implications?
- Importance of “institutional listening” – to what extent are established institutions able to be aware of and then listen to SI initiatives? And with what implications?
- Related to the above is the concept of “institutional void”, where dominant institutions are absent, as new ‘spaces’ and new resources are opened through evolutionary developments in the socio-material context, or as the state or other dominant institutions recede or fade away.
- There is a need to create different institutional homes for different socio-economic groups and to “create a home for everyone”.
- Should there be a generic home, a particular new home for TSI-initiatives as a group? See for instance discussion on fourth sector/hybrid sector, this is an important discussion for this proposition.
- How can you build an institutional home if you want to change what is considered normal?

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TRANSIT has developed a substantial set of empirical data on the kinds of institutional homes that SI initiatives create, or find available to occupy, over the course of their innovation journey. Ongoing analysis (in WP5) seems to confirm how many of the ‘critical turning points’ in their innovation journeys pertain to the quest for a fitting and empowering institutional home. Analysis thus far brings out at least a basic typology of ‘states’ that SI-initiatives can reach on their quest, and of the ways in which these states are empowering the initiatives:

- 1) **Finding the appropriate hybrid arrangement.** Social enterprises are a key example of the hybrid institutional forms that afford permanence whilst increasing transformative impacts.
- 2) **Falling into Institutional Isomorphism.** Some initiatives fall prey to ‘institutional isomorphism’ (which can be normative, coercive or mimetic) finding no way to create an institutional home that is adapted to their particular transformative ambitions and the psychological needs and values of their members.
- 3) **Homelessness.** Initiatives in this state generally experience lack of resources and vulnerability, but some manage to thrive in deliberately chosen isolation.

Considering that the second state tends to be the end of TSI journeys, the first one sometimes as well and the third seems to be the desired ‘middle ground’ states, further empirical analysis could help to specify particularly suitable institutional homes. Apart from this normative approach, empirical analysis could help to grasp SI-initiatives’ shifts between states over time, and their reasons for ‘relocating’ between institutional homes.

Proposition 8. *SI-initiatives with transformative ambitions/potentials lack an ‘institutional home’, and a significant part of the TSI journey is about finding or creating it. The lack of an institutional home is both empowering and disempowering towards transformative impact. It is empowering as long as it allows SI-initiatives to negotiate/create new hybrid institutions that support their particular institution-challenging goals. In order to do so, initiatives need explicit political tactics and strategies to deal with the two-way challenge of institutionalizing SI for sustainability, balancing between capture and transformation. It is disempowering when it leaves SI-initiatives without continuity in activities or drives them towards wholesale conforming to existing institutions (when the search for a home ends up as a ‘trap’). A number of possible states of accommodation-tension with established institutions are possible. 1) Finding the appropriate hybrid arrangement. 2) Falling into Institutional Isomorphism (which can be normative, coercive, or mimetic). 3) Homelessness.*

3.3.3 Proposition 9. On the opportunity context for institutional change

This proposition builds on proposition 7, addressing the two-way relations of SI with established institutional arrangements, and focuses specifically on the ‘opportunity context’ for institutional changes, in the socio-material context. This proposition builds on the one developed in the previous (pre-TIW#2) iteration entitled “Re-making institutional logics”, based on the insights from TIW#2, which in turn have prompted the recognition of the need to bring in further theoretical and conceptual resources from institutional theory (especially the concept of opportunity context, see below). The key idea that we are developing here is that institutional change will be much easier to achieve (and may only be achievable) if the conditions (and the timing) is right in the broader socio-material context, and that furthermore we

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aim to develop a dynamic perspective that is open to the ways in which the SI initiative (or SI network or SI ecology or SI field, see proposition 6) may also have a role to play in directly shaping the opportunity context (for institutional change).

In developing this proposition then we make use of the concept of ‘opportunity context’ as developed in Dorado’s model of opportunity context in the literature on institutional entrepreneurship (Dorado 2005). And as used by Westley et al (2013) in a paper that develops a theory of ‘transformative agency’. As Westley et al (2013) point out, Dorado has developed the notion of opportunity context starting from the social movements literature: *“Within the social movement literature, it has been argued that the emergence of new social movements depends on taking advantage of openings in political systems that arise from changes in formal or informal political institutions...Dorado has adopted this notion of political opportunity to look at social innovation.”* (Westley et al 2013, p27). She defines opportunity as *“the likelihood that an organizational field will permit actors to identify and introduce novel institutional combinations and facilitate the mobilization of resources required to make it enduring”* (Dorado 2005: p113), and she suggests that *“it can be opaque, transparent, or hazy”* (Westley et al 2013, p27). Furthermore: *“Dorado joins other scholars of institutional entrepreneurship ...in identifying two primary drivers of opportunity context; the diversity and multiplicity of organizational forms, and the degree of institutionalization”* (ibid, p27).

The original formulation of this proposition followed from our definition of transformative change as challenging, altering or replacing dominant institutions. The notion of institutional logics (see annex 1 and the TSI framework paper) refers to clusters of dominant institutions (i.e. dominant DOFK) in the socio-material context (e.g. state-, market-, community-, non-profit- or science-logic). We contend that SI-initiatives can emerge in the context of any institutional logic. We also contend that when SI-initiatives emerge, they often operate in a context where there is a particular institutional logic/s that dominates (which institutional logic dominates in a particular context is an empirical question). The list of state-, market, community-, non-profit- and science-logic are just examples that are often observed in empirical contexts, but there may be other institutional logics and/or particular combinations or conflicts between institutional logics in the contexts we study. A SI can develop without necessarily transcending the dominant institutional logical in the context of which it originated. For instance, a market-led SI-initiative can develop new relations, involving new ways of DOFK, which are entirely focused on market solutions. In order to have transformative impact, however, the SI needs to transcend the institutional logic(s) that dominated the context in which it originated. This means that the SI needs to question the dominant institutional logic, contrast it with other institutional logics, and – above all – critically reconsider how this institutional logic is conditioning/limiting the transformative potential of the SI. We contend that the merging and (re)negotiation of different (new) institutional logics is an inherent part of challenging, altering and/or replacing dominant institutions.

The TIW#2 discussions brought forth the following evidence and insights from the TRANSIT cases:

- **Transition Towns** have emerged from a community logic. Main logic is informality and community. It could be argued that, in order to be transformative, TTs needs to question its own community logic. But maybe it is more about them taking their community logic into other contexts.
- **Credit Unions** show that one can act within a dominant logic (e.g. dominant market logic), but question it at the same time—and show an alternative.

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- [Ashoka](#) is an example of “how they strategically and intentionally put themselves in the market”. There is quite some critique of this idea of social entrepreneurship, as if issues can be solved ‘within’ the existing market logic. (See also [RIPES](#) discussion on solidarity economy vs. social entrepreneurship). [Credit Unions](#) (Spain?) are also quite critical of Ashoka for that reason. They argue that Ashoka is ‘American’ while Credit Unions are European. So “dominant institutional logics” is not just about e.g. state, market, etc... but also about the dominant institutional logics that may be particular to geographic context (“American” v.s. “European”). In the discussion, a European mentality was characterised (by break-out group 1a) as “change the context to change”, and the American mentality as “change yourself to change the context”.
- In [Living Labs](#), remaking institutional logics is part of their struggle; to go beyond own institutional logics and connect outside. Necessary to make real changes to make new institutional relationships. Dominant actor in [Living Lab Eindhoven](#) is the public sector. They try to create relations with market and community. They seem critical on themselves in this part, and it is considered important to do it more.
- In [DESIS](#) network there has been a discussion about whether they should ask for a fee to get engaged in the network. International coordination is expensive. This became a big thing. Being a SI and asking for money, creating a new business model, is considered controversial.

The TIW#2 discussions suggest, not surprisingly then, that a lot depends on how analytically one defines the concept of institutional logics. A robust conclusion is perhaps that some of the networks studied, like credit Unions or Ashoka are working more obviously within a currently dominant institutional logic, but with an agenda of transformative change, trying to show alternative ways of DOFK, while other cases such as Living Labs are explicitly trying to make connections between different institutional logics. What is still not entirely clear from the (notes of the) discussions at the TIW#2 is which are the good examples of cases that are actually re-making institutional logics.

Proposition 9. *Institutional change will be much easier to achieve (and may only be achievable) if the opportunity context is conducive to the types of institutional change desired. In practice the opportunity context encountered by a SI initiative is a function of the degree of institutionalisation and the diversity and multiplicity of organisational forms in the context (Dorado 2005), but also of the ability of the SI initiative (acting collectively or alone) to influence and shape the opportunity context, whether through political means (possibly in collaboration with social movements) or other strategic actions. One important mechanism is that SI-initiatives can originate in the context of any institutional logic (e.g. state-, market-, community-, non-profit- or science-logic), but are only able to start challenging, altering and replacing dominant institutions when they are able to first merge different institutional logics and (re-)negotiate new/adapted institutional logics. [Challenging, altering, or replacing dominant institutions cannot occur within the boundaries of existing institutional logics].*

In conclusion: A next step in specifying this proposition then is to further integrated the notion of opportunity context into the TSI framework, and explore by comparison to the empirics whether the typology of opaque, transparent, and hazy works well for the TRANSIT cases and TSI phenomena, and if not to adapt it accordingly. And to then further identify and exemplify the diversity of ways in which SI initiatives and networks are both enabled and constrained by the opportunity context and make attempts to influence the opportunity context (for institutional change).

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3.4 Cluster D: Relations to a broader social-material context

3.4.1 Proposition 10. On the *social-material* evolution out of which TSI emerges

This proposition 10 reflects the lesson learnt from the 2nd Theoretical Integration Workshop that our propositions on the historical backgrounds of TSI should be accounting better for the social-material developments in society. Next to the social-economic development waves articulated in the earlier proposition on the ‘re-embedding of the economy’ (and in the 3 movements-paper by Kemp et al.), TSI should also be understood in the historical context of broader social-material developments. These are related to, but cannot be subsumed under, the two movements of marketization and bureaucratization. The proposition on the ‘re-embedding of the economy’ is maintained for the important point that TSI journeys emerge and develop in a wider historical context. Those embarking on them may (see the discussion of Garud & Gehman’s ‘durational perspective’ in the TSI framework paper in Annex 1) be immersed in the action of today, but this does not contradict that the seeds for their initiative have often been planted decades ago, and that the institutional contexts in which they operate are typically historically achieved structures. The ‘re-embedding of the economy’ proposition has also been adapted, though, in order to accommodate empirical evidence and insights from critical theory and Science and Technology Studies that challenge the Marxist focus on marketization and bureaucratization. The proposition is therewith brought more in line with the overall co-productive perspective on TSI, which conceives of a social-material social order.

Proposition 10. *The rise of SI initiatives and discourses and the particular transformative ambitions conveyed by them are strongly shaped by the historical paths that their social-material contexts have taken. Even if SI agency tends to be focused on social relations and motivated by basic human needs for self-determination, the historical shaping of TSI is a social-material process. It involves social-economic development waves like the marketization and bureaucratization movements described by Polanyi, but also social-material long-term developments like shifting governmentalities, the rise of the high-technological society, globalization, and the changing social-ecological relations of the ‘anthropocene’ as well as long-term trends in cultures, values and worldviews. The social-material historical shaping of SI initiatives and discourses can take negating forms of resistance (towards ways of doing, organizing, framing and knowing that have become dominant in particular social-material contexts) but can also take the affirmative forms of transformative social innovation that is in tune with the Zeitgeist, strongly embedded in cultures and regions, or following the affordances and scripts introduced by new technologies. As SI initiatives and discourses with transformative ambitions involve mixtures of negation and affirmation, their social-material shaping is an ongoing dialectical process.*

This proposition has developed through a considerable amount of theoretical reasoning that was meant to transcend the contingencies and limitations of case evidence – yet there have been crucial empirical inputs from the case studies that have subsequently warranted reconsideration of the theoretical scheme used to understand the historical shaping of SI. The proposition has been constructed in three iterations:

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A first important theoretical move has been the reflection that the data from the case studies bears a degree of agentic bias and particularism. Focusing on SI transnational networks, local manifestations and the members of those, broader societal developments are relatively under-exposed. Similarly, the focus on contemporary initiatives tends to underplay the historical context. The proposition thus started from theoretical reasoning aimed to grasp the broader historical trends underlying the otherwise so diverse SI initiatives. In line with SI scholars like Moulaert, Defourny and Laville, and more generally in accordance with critical theorists like Marx, Polanyi and Habermas, the scheme of marketization-bureaucratization and 're-embedding of the economy' asserted itself as a critical and pertinent reading of contemporary history. This scheme articulates a great deal of the historical roots of current TSI phenomena. TRANSIT empirics do exhibit strong examples of SI initiatives that reach for practices and social relations that are better serving desires for self-determination, relatedness and competency than is possible in bureaucratized and marketized society. This is confirmed by the following evidence:

- Credit Unions, Time Banks, Via Campesina, Ashoka, Impact Hubs, RIPESS, Basic Income are forms of 'new economies' explicitly addressing various needs for 're-embedding of the economy' in their narratives of change.
- Co-housing, Shareable and Ecovillages do seem to aim for mutualist ways of living that are better serving basic needs than modes of coordination brought forward through bureaucratization and marketization
- Loss of trust and belief in the existing formal institutions seems to pervade many SI initiatives – notably even the Basic Income, with its traditional bet on state-implemented TSI.
- The various struggles of 'finding an institutional home', of searching for new balances of efficiency, inclusion, accountability, trust, of developing 'new organisational forms' are indications of moves away from bureaucratization and marketization.

A second step has been to take to heart the assessments of many empirical researchers that the marketization and bureaucratization, and the 're-embedding of the economy', are not fully capturing the historical shaping of the initiatives studied. The following points are particularly relevant:

- The initiatives are not so much 'responding to' or 'fighting against' the two movements, nor are they, in some cases, motivated that much by institutional failures.
- The scheme is insufficiently sensitive to the different European and Latin American SI contexts – especially as far as it suggests a sequence of movements.
- There are other and more specific historical shifts than the two movements that are of equal or even greater relevance to the emergence of certain initiatives: Living Knowledge has been shaped by the role of science that became problematic, Ecovillages has been shaped by quests for spirituality, DESIS and the maker movement have been shaped by concerns over commoditization, Living Labs has been shaped by the rise of internet society, INFORSE and Transition Towns have been shaped by the problems of an Anthropocene world order, Slow Food and Seed movement have been shaped by a quest for food sovereignty, and Credit Unions and Slow Food have been shaped by regionalism. The described historical trends are related to marketization and bureaucratization, but cannot be reduced to these two.

After this addition of empirical nuance, a third step in the development of this proposition has been of a theoretical nature. It builds on the above-stated consideration that the 're-embedding of the economy'

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reading of the historical shaping of SI goes for various ‘new economies’, but cannot capture the broader diversity of SI initiatives studied. As argued by Jasanoff, Latour and Foucault amongst others, the (neo-) Marxist view of the two movements is attributing too much power to market and state institutions. They bring forward accounts (of co-production, and of governmentalities) that situate power and dominance in current societies in social-material webs of procedures, technologies, monitoring tools, accounting systems, infrastructures, communication channels, spatial structures, etc. This networked, ‘capillary’ and social-material view on the historical shaping of SI raises attention to some crucial social-material developments for the SI initiatives studied – also highlighting how the social-material context is constraining and productive. Some examples:

- The ICT revolution as a key factor in the formation of transnational TSI networks. In the analysis timelines in D4.4, the development of these networks did seem to accelerate around the millennium turn, along with the rise of the internet. There are several initiatives for which the availability of software/ICT seems an essential backbone for their way of doing and organizing: Timebanks, Shareable, Credit Unions, Living Labs
- DESIS and the maker movement seem to aim for changed social relations through new ways of dealing with, appropriating and generating benefits through materials and technologies.
- The Basic Income case is argued through the future highly robotized society in which paid labour will be scarce.
- Seed Movement, Transition Towns, Slow Food, Ecovillages problematize the human/societal relations to nature.

In conclusion: this proposition reflects the lesson learnt from the 2nd Theoretical Integration Workshop that our propositions on the historical backgrounds of TSI should be accounting better for the social-material developments in society. It brings the account of the historical shaping of SI initiatives and discourse more in line with the empirical evidence from the TRANSIT cases and the overall relational view on TSI processes adopted in the TSI framework. Further elaboration of the stated *social-material* historical shaping can be done by closer analysis of the various ‘broader societal developments’ that have been recorded in the case reports and in WP5 research, and by further theoretical reflection on the (neo-)Marxist and social-material accounts of contemporary historical trends and developments.

3.4.2 Proposition 11. On the ebb and flow of socially innovative practices

This proposition takes to heart the empirical evidence that contradicted the understanding of TSI as a *response* to problematic historical trends, failing institutions and dominating ideologies – as articulated in the earlier proposition on the ‘re-embedding of the economy’. More generally, the idea of SI initiatives *responding* to institutional failures or institutional voids seems to have been assumed too easily – which simplifies the relations between SI initiatives and the broader social-material context and seems to misrepresent the historical development of SI initiatives and discourses.

The proposition is a first attempt to make a synthesizing statement on the empirical evidence of SI activities that are not so much responses to historical trends deemed problematic – such as the social pathologies associated with bureaucratization and marketization, or the environmental challenges of ‘unsustainable development’ – but rather are historically quite continuous activities. The paradigmatic

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example of this continuous existence are the Ecovillages. These forms of conviviality, the values that they are based on and the spirituality that characterizes them date back much longer than many of the historical developments to which they appear to respond. They have not emerged as TSI-oriented activities, i.e. as attempts to challenge, alter, replace dominant institutions, but rather out of a set of values and preferences quite independent from institutional constellations and transformative ambitions. They rather have *become* pertinent cases of TSI, as these continuous activities have been perceived, presented, mobilized, asserted as bundles of doing, organizing, framing and knowing that are socially innovative, and that are potentially transformative with regard to current dominant institutions and the social-material context. Their existence as *TSI activity* becomes more obvious for example against the background of the growing concerns over sustainable development (especially strong from the 1970s onwards), or against the background of individualization and ‘colonization of the lifeworld by instrumental rationality’ as similarly contemporary developments. It is against the background of such contemporary developments in the social-material context that both insiders and outsiders start to seek to assess, communicate and develop the socially innovative and transformative potentials of this continuous activity.

The implications of this example seem to be that certain bundles of doing, organizing, framing and knowing only become (transformatively) socially innovative in certain historical contexts, that they may therefore also cease to have an existence as such, and that they may *re-emerge* again as such. A further implication is that various bundles of doing, organizing, framing and knowing currently not recognized as socially innovative may have existed as SI, and may become SI.

Proposition 11. *Bundles of DOFK (doings, organisings, framings and knowings) as practised by collectives of people are not intrinsically socially innovative or transformative. They can become SI initiatives with certain transformative potentials once it gets articulated how they might challenge, alter and possibly replace dominant institutions in a particular historical context. Accordingly, their existence as SI can recede again as the difference from and friction with dominant institutions recedes, and they can re-emerge again as SI – with different socially innovative and transformative potentials, depending on the elements of the new historical context they are impinging on.*

Theoretically, this proposition is in accordance with several innovation-theoretical accounts. Authors like Defourny, Moulaert and Laville have outlined earlier how also the Social Economy has had such continuous existence, and especially displayed re-emergences in various historical contexts in different shapes. More generally, there is the received innovation-theoretical wisdom that much apparent innovation is on a closer look rather a case of re-invention. This re-inventing and re-emerging might be stronger for the social innovations than for the population of (socio-technical) innovations as a whole. Furthermore, our overall relational outlook highlights how entities and qualities are always in a state of becoming – and how entities like SI concepts, discourses, initiatives, networks have intermittent existences even if we study them as discrete units of analysis.

As indicated however, this historicizing proposition is (at this point) based heavily on the paradigmatic example of the Ecovillages. Systematic empirical elaboration has yet to be done. Still there are several pertinent examples within the TRANSIT set of case studies:

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- RIPESS is an example of several re-emergences, of which the solidarity economy is a radicalized re-emergence responding to the watered down Social Economy initiatives that to a certain extent lost their TSI potentials over time.
- The maker movement, Slow Food, Seed movement, Transition Towns seem upon closer examination to be contemporary re-emergences of quite historically continuous activities. The emergence of Transition Towns in Totnes for example is demonstrably linked to a long history of 'alternatives' to have come out that one small market town.
- Co-housing, Shareable, Via Campesina, Time Banks, Credit Unions seem to re-invent schemes of mutuality in the current historical context.
- By contrast, there are also initiatives that display less or no historical continuity, no re-emergences, and have existed as transformation-oriented SI initiatives from their very inception. Ashoka, DESIS, Participatory budgeting, Living Labs, Living Knowledge, Hackerspaces, INFORSE seem to be counter-examples to the continuity and re-emergence of the Ecovillage case.

In conclusion: this tentative historicizing proposition articulates how TSI processes rest on and are co-produced by SI initiatives and discourses that often have a historically continuous existence. As socially innovative and potentially transformative bundles of doing, organizing, framing and knowing they have an intermittent existence of emergence, recession, and re-emergence: resulting in an ebb and flow in their relations to the wider context. One important implication of this proposition is that TSI is not carried necessarily by collectives currently identified and existing as SI initiatives. This proposition emphasises the importance of avoiding falling into a substantivist (Emirbayer, 2007) notion of the SI initiative when developing accounts and explanations of the historical development of relations with the social-material context: the 'shapes' of the collectives studied change over time and this has very practical implications for e.g. how other societal actors might best support TSI processes. As a tentative proposition it still needs to be theorized further what the implications are of the described 'lesson from Ecovillages'. In any case, further analysis of the listed empirics will need to clarify to what extent the continuity and re-emergence holds across the broader set of cases.

3.4.3 Proposition 12. On the construction of crises and problematic trends

This proposition addresses the importance of crises in the social-material context for TSI processes. It attempts to refine the earlier proposition on crises (on 'Responding to external crisis'), building on empirical feedback and on theoretical reflection on the somewhat vague 'crisis' term. The general relevance of crises is that SI initiatives and SI discourses need to seize certain 'windows of opportunity' as conditions for having a transformative impact. Without seizing those, they tend to stay as marginal as when they first emerged. TSI journeys need certain favourable background conditions, the 'stars need to be in position', to accelerate, or make breakthroughs in particular ambitions of challenging, altering and replacing of dominant institutions.

From the practical viewpoint of empowerment, SI initiatives need the capacities of appropriate timing and a good sense of where the 'system' or 'Strategic Action Field' in which they operate is heading towards (Moore et al. 2012). The general significance of crises seems to be the temporary scope they

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offer for discursive destabilization and challenging of dominant institutions, as preconditions for altering and replacing. Crises can open up the discursive space for alternatives, even if they also tend to invite control-responses and crisis *management* that favour system stabilization rather than transformation.

The adapted proposition reflects various empirical researchers' doubts about whether SI initiatives and discourses are actually trying to 'respond to' crises, construct them, or play into them as the theorized 'windows of opportunity' towards increasing transformative impact. Questions were raised about the relevance of crisis as sudden, highly temporary events versus the relevance of more enduring developments and problematic trends in the social-material context (like bureaucratization and marketization, see proposition 10).

Particularly important empirical evidence in this regard was the example of the Spanish Credit Unions. The initiative has not so much seized or played into the 2008 economic crisis, as accounts of 'responding to crisis' would expect. They did play into the crisis as a sudden event that confirmed their critical analysis and narrative, and that legitimized their alternative practice of Credit Unions. Still, the Credit Unions underlined how they have been criticizing the flaws of the banking system for a long time, and how they are challenging a broader, more enduring development that cannot be sustained. The initiative is even reluctant to go along with the framing of the banking problems as a crisis, as this framing has become instrumental to system-confirming austerity measures, rather than in favour of transformative alternatives presenting themselves. As the framing of a Spanish banking 'crisis' invited a control-response that distracted from the problematic trends in the social-material context, it exemplifies how the discursive construction of the latter may be more important to SI initiatives than the former. In any case, the lesson seems to be that it is important to analytically distinguish between the sudden and temporary crisis on the one hand, and the problematic trends on the other hand. This leads to the following proposition:

Proposition 12. *TSI initiatives need to play into sudden and temporary crisis events as moments at which institutional flaws and problematic trends in the social-material context become more clearly visible to the public. The sudden and temporary crisis events can be framed such that the desirability and viability of socially innovative DOFK (doing, organizing, framing and knowing) can be brought out with greater persuasiveness and visibility. The occurrence of crisis alone is an insufficient condition however, and may even backfire as far as the prevailing framing of these sudden events distracts from the more enduring problematic trends in the social-material context that SI initiatives and discourses articulate. Crises are easily seized by dominant institutions and actors to argue for greater control of the dominant institutional constellation to ensure sustained operation of key societal functions. Through such typically short-term responses, emergent SI initiatives and discourses are vulnerable to becoming marginalized as 'risky bets'. Sudden, temporary crises events need therefore to be discursively constructed as events through which broader problematic trends in the social-material context manifest.*

The proposition with its temporal distinction between sudden crises and ongoing trends has the Spanish Credit Unions as paradigmatic example, yet there are also several other empirical examples that roughly support it:

- Basic Income repeatedly appears on the political agenda in times of high structural employment, yet this political support tends to fade away again once the unemployment – and the urgency of

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reforms – diminishes. BI advocates seek to break through the cycle of hype and disillusion by emphasizing the problematic trends and structural problems over the temporary windows of political opportunity.

- INFORSE has a narrative of change in which the September 1973 energy crisis plays a key part – yet they mainly try to bring forward that problematic trends need to be countered.
- Timebanks have proven to be very flexible and polyvalent in addressing very different kinds of locally occurring social-economic crises. They have proven effective in seizing crisis situations, and currently they do seem to be gaining ground as the broader trend of towards a problematic social security is becoming part of the prevalent framings on the economic crisis. [Others networks studied however are not very polyvalent or politically opportunistic – as if they are immunizing, retreating from the changing social-material context. Maybe this is a theme to develop more: some are just not interested in windows of opportunity, just as they're somewhat disengaging from politics.]
- Transition Towns and Slow Food are very actively intervening in prevailing framings of crises – they seem to articulate problematic trends more than temporary crises. Transition Towns notably discarded the crisis-oriented narrative on Peak Oil.
- The Ecovillages are not at all engaged in the construction of 'crises'. They are quite detached from such political challenging, focusing instead on their own practices and what they bring for those involved.

TSI initiatives may be affected by social constructions of crisis by incumbents. In particular, the narrative of the non-sustainability of the welfare system by government may affect TSI journeys. Basic income may be accepted as part of a strategy to reduce the costs of welfare system and to reduce government's involvement in the economy. TSI initiatives are already instrumentalised by local governments in requesting social welfare claimants to do volunteering work in SI projects. The articulations of system failure by TSI initiatives will come into play with system-changing agendas of incumbents.

In conclusion: it seems that the example of the Credit Unions is not at all an outlier case. Very few SI initiatives are actively constructing crisis events as windows of opportunity, and quite some of them seem more focused on bringing forward their accounts of problematic trends in the social-material context. This temporal differentiation in the proposition seems to be a valuable refinement. Still, further refinement is desirable to articulate more sharply how SI initiatives and discourses are (dis)empowered by changes in their social-material context. *Which kinds of changes in the social-material context – whether sudden and temporary crises or rather enduring trends – matter? Which are the kinds of windows of opportunity towards greater transformative impact that these changes open? And considering that we have a symmetrical interest in both empowerment and disempowerment – which changes in the social-material context have been closing windows of opportunity and undermining SI activities?*

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4 Further contributions to a prototype TSI theory

The TSI framework and development of a set of TSI propositions have been the central thrust in our development of a prototype TSI theory so far. As mentioned already then, annex 1 to this deliverable consists of a draft working paper that sets out the theoretical and conceptual framing developed in the project, while the current iteration of the propositions was presented in the previous section. However, linked to, and in parallel with, this work we have also been engaged in a highly productive research effort aimed at further developing different aspects of the prototype theory, and this work is presented here in the annexes in the form of: reports, draft working papers, or extended abstracts of proposed papers. As discussed further in section 5, this work will now be further integrated into the crafting of the TSI theory, while at the same time the contributions will be developed further into full papers, to be reported on and included in the final WP3 deliverable D3.4 (for July 2017).

Further contributions to the prototype TSI theory included in this deliverable.		
	Title	Status and Authorship
1	Framing Transformative Social Innovation: a theoretical and conceptual framework	Draft working paper. Alex Haxeltine, Flor Avelino, Bonno Pel, René Kemp, Adina Dumitru, Noel Longhurst, Jason Chilvers and Julia Wittmayer
2	Mapping the Social Innovation discourse in Europe	Draft working paper. Noel Longhurst
3	The humanization of the economy through social innovation	Draft working paper. René Kemp, Tim Strasser et al.
4	Co-creating agency-enabling contexts in social innovation initiatives: the role of psychological needs and motivations	Extended abstract. Adina Dumitru, Isabel Lema-Blanco, Alex Haxeltine and others
5	A Multi-actor Perspective on Transformative Social Innovation	Extended abstract. Flor Avelino and Julia Wittmayer
6	Theories of Power and Social Change. Power Contestations and their Implications for Social Change Research	Extended abstract. Flor Avelino
7	Grassroots Innovations Literature Review	Report on a literature review. Gill Seyfang
8	How to unlock the potential of social innovation to contribute to sustainability transformations?	Draft working paper. Alex Haxeltine, Flor Avelino, Julia Wittmayer, Iris Kunze, Noel Longhurst, Adina Dumitru, and Tim O’Riordan
9	Just do it! Shifting dimensions of social innovation in Basic Income experiments	Draft working paper. Bonno Pel and Julia Backhaus
10	Consolidated notes from the second TRANSIT Theoretical Integration Workshop	Consolidated notes from the TIW#2. Based on inputs from all participants at TIW#2 (compiled by Noel Longhurst)

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5 Next steps in the TSI theory development in TRANSIT

For the next year of the TRANSIT research, we identify four research tasks to be led by WP3.

- 1) Completing the further specification of the TSI propositions.
- 2) Incorporating insights from the WP5 CTP database into the prototype TSI theory.
- 3) Further developing and consolidating the theoretical and conceptual framework for TSI.
- 4) Developing a set of publications to present the TSI theory in the final WP3 deliverable D3.4.

Each of these four upcoming TRANSIT WP3 research tasks is now addressed in turn.

1. Completing the further specification of the TSI propositions.

During the next 12 months, we will complete the TSI propositions, through the following steps:

- Allow for a period of commenting from all case study researchers, up to end October 2016; develop a spreadsheet that matches each of the cases against each of the 12 propositions, so as to systemically identify how the evidence from the cases intersects with the twelve propositions.
- With WP2 team, we will develop a TRANSIT Brief on the TSI theory during the fall of 2016 – with publication scheduled for the end of November. A process for developing this brief is already in place: the main point to mention here is that we intend to use the experience of developing the TRANSIT brief and the feedback gained, to inform development of a final version of the propositions into 2017 (and the final WP3 deliverable).
- Use the spreadsheet and comments from case researchers together with the lessons gained in writing the TRANSIT brief, to develop a consolidated version of the propositions; make use of (part of) the TIW#3 prep-meeting (set for 3-7 April 2017, see below) to discuss a next iteration and how to proceed with developing a final version of the propositions for inclusion in the deliverable D3.4.
- The inputs to this final iteration of the propositions will include: i) feedback and lessons learnt from TRANSIT Brief on TSI theory; ii) incorporating the data and findings from the WP5 meta-analysis; and, iii) incorporating the further development of the TSI framework.
- At this point in the research process we will also seek to identify what further outputs might be generated as ‘spin-offs’ from the TSI propositions: maybe a typology of the stages of TSI; heuristics aimed at informing the development of strategies on TSI; or an analysis of the framework conditions favourable to TSI, as a basis for a discussion of implications for TSI policies.
- Develop a consolidated and final version of the propositions for the D3.4 deliverable: July 2017.

2. Incorporating insights from the WP5 CTP database into the prototype TSI theory.

A TIW#3 preparatory workshop has been scheduled for the week of 3-7 April 2017. One purpose of this TIW#3 will be to incorporate insights from the WP5 CTP database into the prototype TSI theory. The WP5 deliverable on the meta-analysis will be ready at the end of March 2017, and the workshop will include all of the key researchers involved in the WP5 task and/or in the TSI theory development. The workshop will therefore be the start of a research process, with a follow up period of research envisaged up to July 2017. The eventual outputs are still to be determined but will in any case include a report to be included in the WP3 final deliverable D3.4. Action: WP3 and WP5 leaders to develop a plan for how to bring the meta-analysis work into the TSI theory development, as an input to the TIW#3 preparatory workshop.

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3. Further developing the theoretical and conceptual framework for TSI.

A number of elements in the theoretical and conceptual framework for TSI (as presented in Annex 1) are still to be further elaborated: in most cases this will be based on theoretical reviews and standalone theoretical contributions already developed in the first part of the project. At the start of the TSI framework paper (presented in Annex 1) are listed a set of theoretical challenges to be addressed in developing a theory of TSI. To the extent that these represent a realistic set of priorities, the task of consolidating the TSI framework involves addressing any remaining gaps in the capability of the framework to address these challenges. WP3 will use this as a method to conduct a review, during September and October 2016, of priorities to be addressed. At this moment key tasks apparent include:

- further integrating the individual-level conceptualisations of motivations and needs into the TSI framework (building directly upon material presented here and in previous WP3 deliverables);
- better addressing politics and power in the TSI framework (building upon work presented here);
- more fully developing the ‘mesolevel’ theoretical framing of TSI theory and exploring its role and function in the dynamics of TSI through the empirics; especially in terms of developing the concepts of SI field, SI ecologies, how social movements interact with TSI processes, and the interactions between these elements (see proposition 6 in section 3 of this document).

The TIW#3 prep-meeting scheduled for 3-7 April 2017, will also be used as an opportunity to initiate a final consolidation of the various theoretical contributions that have been developed as part of the project. At the TIW#3 we will address the questions: what theoretical contributions do we want to build into a final version of the TSI framework? What integration/compatibility issues does this present us with, and how will we address these? And what eventual form/s will we present the TSI framework in?

4. Developing a set of publications to present the TSI theory in the final WP3 deliverable D3.4

An important task at this point in the research process will be to develop a set of publications on the proto-elements of the TSI theory. The WP3 team will develop a final publication strategy by the end of November 2016, taking stock of this deliverable and with the goal of an integrated set of papers for the WP3 final deliverable in sight. This will be coordinated with the publication strategies of other WPs and TRANSIT publications overall. A series of WP3 Skype calls will be held during September and October to shape a final set of publications, starting from the set of TSI propositions presented here. First, will be the finalization and submission to journals of the papers presented as ‘works-in-progress’ in this deliverable (see the table below). In particular this will include developing several journal articles based on the TSI propositions and TSI framework. Second will be the development a new set of publications which present elements of the eventual middle-range TSI theory. This approach is deemed preferable to developing a single monolithic report, but will require the development of a integrated set of publications: as an organising device we will produce a table and a version of the diagram presented in section 3 of this deliverable that shows how each paper included in deliverable D3.4 links to one or more of the TSI propositions. We will also develop a table that sets the eight theoretical challenge identified in the TSI framework paper (see Annex 1) against the twelve propositions, identifying which theoretical challenges and which propositions each paper addresses. Whereas in this deliverable the approach has still been one of explorative prototyping (as envisaged in the DoW), for the final deliverable we will include only material that contributes demonstrably to the eventual middle-range theory of TSI. With these caveats in mind then, the table below indicates publications already tentatively envisaged for D3.4.

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Publications already envisaged as part of the next phase of the TRANSIT WP3 research on TSI theory development (in the period up to end July 2017). The list is tentative and will be revised as a final publication strategy for WP3 is developed during September and October 2016.			
No	Topic/Working Title	Lead author/s	Status
1	<i>A paper that present elements of a proto-theory of TSI in the form of a set of twelve propositions on TSI agency and dynamics</i>	Alex Haxeltine and WP3 colleagues (and TIW#2 participants)	Working paper for D3.4
2	<i>Critical turning Points (CTPs) in TSI processes</i>	Bonno Pel plus WP5-team, and Alex plus WP3-team	WP3-WP5 interface paper with theory rather than empirical angle; as a draft working paper for D3.4
3	<i>Interactions and synergies between SI initiatives</i>	Tbc: WP5/WP3; (proposed by Bonno Pel)	Paper based on a meta-analysis of our 20 cases; with a theory/methods angle.
4	<i>Strategies for achieving institutional change (on the part of TSI actors and initiatives)</i>	Alex Haxeltine and WP3 colleagues	Working paper for D3.4
5	<i>Paper on the transformation of culture and worldviews in transformative social innovation</i>	Alex Haxeltine	Explore what Lee-Moore calls “Deep scaling” – do we observe it in our TSI cases? Working paper for D3.4
6	<i>Conceptualizing empowerment in transformative social innovation</i>	Adina Dumitru and Flor Avelino	Paper in prep. For European J. of Social Theory; version for D3.4
7	<i>Searching for new social relations: identity and meaning in social innovation</i>	Adina Dumitru and Flor Avelino	Working paper for D3.4
8	<i>A framing of TSI in terms of “what needs to be transformed” (in societal systems)</i>	Paul Weaver	Working paper for D3.4
9	<i>Paper on the valuation of social innovation outcomes and processes</i>	Paul Weaver and René Kemp	Working paper for D3.4
10	<i>Patterns in co-produced transformation processes: the shifting modes of being of ‘social niches’</i>	Bonno Pel and Alex Haxeltine	Working paper for D3.4
Draft papers and extended abstracts in this deliverable (D3.3) that are to be further developed.			
1	<i>Framing Transformative Social Innovation: a conceptual framework</i>	Alex Haxeltine and WP3 colleagues	paper for D3.4

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2	<i>A paper that presents the theoretical framework for transformative social innovation developed in the project</i>	Alex Haxeltine and WP3 colleagues	paper for D3.4
3	<i>Mapping the Social Innovation discourse in Europe</i>	Noel Longhurst	paper for D3.4
4	<i>The humanization of the economy through social innovation</i>	René Kemp, Tim Strasser et al.	paper for D3.4
5	<i>Co-creating agency-enabling contexts in social innovation initiatives: the role of psychological needs and motivations</i>	Adina Dumitru, Isabel Lema-Blanco, Alex Haxeltine and others	paper for D3.4
6	<i>A Multi-actor Perspective on Transformative Social Innovation</i>	Flor Avelino and Julia Wittmayer	paper for D3.4
7	<i>Theories of Power and Social Change. Power Contestations and their Implications for Social Change Research</i>	Flor Avelino	paper for D3.4
8	<i>How to unlock the potential of social innovation to contribute to sustainability transformations?</i>	Alex Haxeltine, Flor Avelino, Julia Wittmayer, Iris Kunze, et al.	paper for D3.4
9	<i>Just do it! Shifting dimensions of social innovation in Basic Income experiments</i>	Bonno Pel and Julia Backhaus	paper for D3.4

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Annexes to deliverable D3.3

A folder on the TRANSIT Box account containing each of the annexes, can be accessed here:

<https://app.box.com/s/hlbwf0c9hb8tax95747syobcveea5kz7>

Annex 1: A framework for Transformative Social Innovation

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/jy8cshsaewbr3c6fuuvp6j8nu6a8vpc6>

Annex 2: Mapping the Social Innovation discourse in Europe

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/x769kry613reepr2rwmnsndoazvb4t1g>

Annex 3: The humanization of the economy through social innovation

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/vpzh8njezi8y43pf0iyfkvfdgmswwpp>

Annex 4: Co-creating agency-enabling contexts in SI initiatives

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/3wh35vyyhsheswe6y8kaeljqomc926y4>

Annex 5: A Multi-actor Perspective on Transformative Social Innovation

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/iaqaauizgp4jfi9x4yh71xtmfxcg0mzu>

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Annex 6: Theories of Power and Social Change

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/yrcd3rfinxnf82qa0yvgt5jqp13bjb0>

Annex 7: Grassroots Innovations Literature Review

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/a5k2be1pz7rv7f9s5xsgpwr8vo4ysr2>

Annex 8: Social innovation in sustainability transformations

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/2wrnj06q8p1wevdgqetpg17t22agnemx>

Annex 9: Just do it! Shifting dimensions of SI in Basic Income

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/0ead1afiy1cgek8eopuqeenszcaahn>

Annex 10: Notes from the second Theoretical Integration Workshop

This annex is included as a separate PDF file and is also available here:

<https://app.box.com/s/rv0t1dq0pxenasgicwypsmio6j45ie24>

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ⁱ Yes, if we include the formation of trans-national networks it makes sense – there’s really interesting empirical observations on that in both D4.2 and D4.4. The relations between networks have not been studied consistently, but Bonno, Paul, Jens have an interest in doing that. (Rene too, with particular interest in convergence into an alternative Economy as I understood it)

ⁱⁱ Regarding the material aspect: Researchers can come up with relevant case data, I believe, but case guidelines did not ask (prominently). The social-material intertwinements and related Jasanoff/Latour insights are inserted into TSI theory through the DOFK – but I feel that this DOFK is generally deployed by TRANSIT researchers in very social, rather than socio-material, way. Concrete proposal: Maybe formulate a proposition dedicated to expressing the crucial role of the material in TSI? The ‘missing masses’ of TSI, to use Latour’s expression? This could also bring the spatial back in, and empirical elaboration could be done AFTER the theory-driven formulation of proposition.

ⁱⁱⁱ Yes, I think we agree that this a very important element/dimension of TSI to articulate – the broader picture that may have been slightly under-researched in initiative-focused case studies but seems to be essential theoretically. Rene et al.’s 3M paper is most valuable in opening up this dimension of TSI. To what extent the current account of the 3 movements is sufficiently rich and empirically adequate with our cases is another question – see researchers’ comments on proposition 12.

^{iv} The case of Slow Food provides a useful illustrative example here. Slow Food, both at the initiative and at the international network level maintains flexible criteria for being considered a part of the Slow Food movement, in order to keep members interested and motivated: they do not make paying membership mandatory, they endorse initiatives that correspond to the spirit of Slow Food but not necessarily apply all the criteria they established for Slow Food restaurants for example, and members have experiences of actively influencing the criteria, in specific cases. The latter is related to experiencing autonomy and ownership of the initiative – being a valued member and feeling identified with the movement. Loosing relatedness as a consequence of growing is a particular concern of most it seems. Slow Food for example keeps a highly de-centralized structure on the ground, and initiatives in different places are actively striving to maintain personal contact. Fiare is concerned about members loosing motivation as their specialized skills are being sought and used within the initiative or as they increase their level of task specialization – which does not contribute to the satisfaction of the members’ needs for stimulation and novelty, which leads to developing new skills.

^v As defined in the CF paper: SI-agents = any entity with agency to contribute to (T)SI. We focus especially on individuals, SI-initiative, SI-networks and SI-fields.

^{vi} As understood by Social Movements (SM) scholars, SM’s emerge when state authorities are newly vulnerable or receptive to the claims of movement groups; they develop over time in response to changes in “political opportunity structures” (McAdam & Snow 2010). SMs vary in their mobilizing structures, the number and strength of their actors and the extent to which they are coordinated (Smith et al, 1997). Some movements are represented by strong, national or transnational umbrella organizations that help to coordinate action and provide a unified image of the movement. In some movements the actors are organised in such a way that they unite less under a common organizational banner. Such movements remain more diffuse or reticulate in structure than do movements with strong centralizing organizations (Smith et al, 1997). Social movement, countermovement and state are directly and indirectly interacting in a complex set of relationships reflecting the often contradictory sets of interests that each brings to the conflict. The way these relationships evolve over the life of the conflict is seen as one of the most important factors shaping the on-going development of a movement (McAdam & Snow, 2010). Smith (2010) describes the increasing formalization of transnational economic and political relations through the expansion of global treaties and international organizations. As governments have developed new ways to coordinate their policies and address transnational problems, private sector and civil society groups have evolved in similar ways to maximize their goals and to respond to their changing social environments. Smith (2010) describes how the “*logic that drives interstate politics requires that activists develop organizations that can facilitate broad, cross-cultural communication while managing diversity and coordinating joint action around a shared agenda.*” Smith (2010) sees these demands as different from those required of most national-level movement organizations, arguing that “*a growing number of case studies point to the presence of transnational organized groups or at least transnational coalitions of associations in major global change campaigns.*”