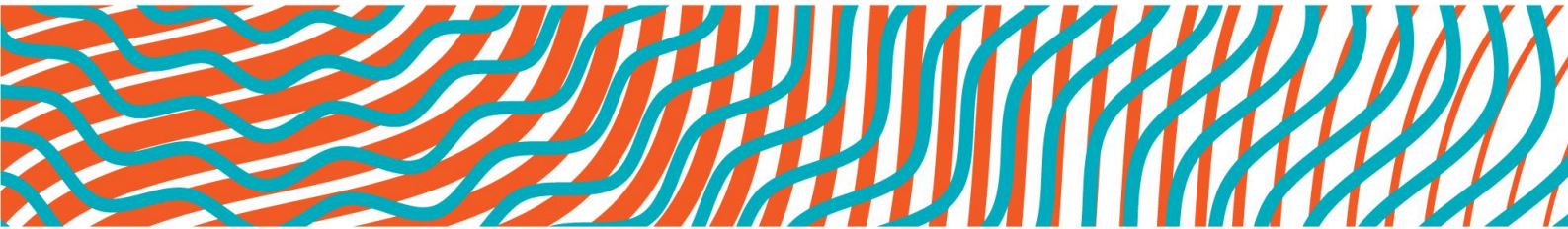


**transformative  
social innovation  
theory**



# **Synthesis Report: meta- analysis of Critical Turning Points in TSI**

## **Deliverable 5.4**

**Theme [ssh.2013.3.2-1][Social Innovation- Empowering People, changing societies]**

**Project Full Title: "Transformative Social Innovation Theory project"**

**Grant Agreement n. 613169**



This project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no 61316

### **Focus of deliverable:**

This deliverable is the synthesis report of work package 5 'Cases and Evidence – Meta analysis'. It presents the results of the meta-analysis of TSI propositions through the Critical Turning Points database. This database contains 65 local manifestations of transnational social innovation networks in 28 different countries, and almost 400 in-depth accounts of Critical Turning Points in the histories of these local manifestations. The synthesis provides empirical testing and substantiation of 12 propositions on TSI, as inputs for the final account of TSI theory.

### **Acknowledgements:**

This meta-analysis and the construction of the Critical Turning Points database would not have been possible without the collaboration of the more than 250 individuals from social innovation initiatives whose in-depth accounts of social innovation processes we have collected.

The meta-analysis team also wish to thank the entire TRANSIT consortium and guest researchers for their substantial work on data gathering and data entry.

Finally, we thank Tom van Gemert for his work on database construction and his assistance in database deployment.

### **Date:**

3 March 2017

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# 1 Introduction

The TRANSIT project aims to develop a theory of Transformative Social Innovation. Approaching this task as the construction of a middle-range theory, TRANSIT has proceeded through continuous iteration between theorization and empirical research. Work package 5 ‘Cases and Evidence – Meta analysis’ has a key task in this iteration, confronting the penultimate stage of theoretical propositions on TSI with the large quantity of data that has been gathered in the Critical Turning Points (CTP) database. The CTP concept, its elaboration into guidelines for empirical research, the construction of the database and its population through guidelines for data entry have been described in the deliverables D5.1, D5.2, D5.3 and the annexes (research guidelines) to those.

This deliverable is the synthesis report of work package 5, presenting the results of the meta-analysis of TSI propositions through the Critical Turning Points database. Pending issues of incompleteness and member check with a small subset of files, the meta-analysis has been conducted on the basis of a consolidated data-set of 65 local manifestations of transnational social innovation networks, spread over 28 different countries of which 10 non-European countries. This data-set comprises almost 400 in-depth accounts of Critical Turning Points in the histories of these local manifestations. The synthesis provides empirical testing and substantiation of the 12 propositions on TSI that have been generated through earlier confrontation between 20 in-depth case studies (D4.4) and subsequent stages of theory development in work package 3.

The meta-analysis provides inputs for the final account of TSI theory that will be presented in deliverable D3.4. These inputs are formulated in the form of five empirical conclusions – as well as suggestions for further theoretical elaboration - on each of the 12 propositions. The meta-analysis results thus identify and substantiate mechanisms of emergence, shaping, influencing, transfer and adaptation of social innovation across different societal domains and different countries, including the complex pattern of development of transnational networks and the transfer of initiatives to other countries. The analyses are structured by the 4 themed clusters of propositions identified earlier (D3.3) as the key topics of TSI theory: Relations within individual SI initiatives (cluster A), relations across/between initiatives (cluster B), relations of SI initiatives to institutional change processes (cluster C), and relations of SI initiatives and networks to the broader social-material context (cluster D).

The meta-analysis results will be presented as follows. First it is briefly recapitulated how the CTP meta-analysis fits within the overall research process of TRANSIT and the typical iteration between theorization and empirical investigation (**Chapter 2**). Next, a methodological chapter specifies the data-set, the data gathering procedures and the methodological procedures for meta-analysis that our empirical results rely on (**Chapter 3**). Having outlined these methodological clarifications as important backgrounds to our results, the larger part of this synthesis report is dedicated to presenting the results of meta-analysis in a comprehensive yet concise and accessible manner. Each developing empirical analyses of three propositions along a common meta-analysis template, we subsequently present the findings on relations within individual SI initiatives (**Chapter 4**), relations across/between initiatives (**Chapter 5**), relations of SI initiatives to institutional change processes (**Chapter 6**), and relations of SI initiatives and networks to the broader social-material context (**Chapter 7**). The last chapter provides concluding reflections on the meta-analysis, looking forward to the subsequent phase of finalizing theorization and evaluation of the insights afforded through the CTP-based meta-analysis (**Chapter 8**).

## 2 CTP meta-analysis and iterative theory development

The meta-analysis results presented here form part of a broader process of iterative theory development. It has been shaped by the earlier choice to develop the CTP database, and by the subsequent choice to focus the meta-analysis on the 12 propositions developed through confrontation between WP4 and WP3 results. After a brief account of past milestones and remaining tasks (**section 2.1**), it is explained in more detail how the meta-analysis has been shaped as part of an iterative theory development process (**section 2.2**).

### 2.1 Critical Turning Points from concept to results

The timeline below highlights the earlier milestones on which this synthesis rests, as well as several tasks that will be informed by the completed synthesis report.

**Table 2.1 WP5 timeline**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>	<b>Researchers involved</b>
<b>May 29<sup>th</sup> 2015</b>	<b>D5.1 published</b>	<b>WP5</b>
<b>June 30<sup>th</sup> 2015</b>	D5.2 published	WP5
<b>September 7<sup>th</sup> 2015</b>	Guidelines CTP data gathering published	WP5
<b>March 31<sup>st</sup> 2016</b>	D4.4 published	WP4 + consortium
<b>June 30<sup>th</sup> 2016</b>	D5.3 published	WP5+consortium
<b>July 31<sup>st</sup> 2016</b>	<b>D3.3 published</b>	<b>WP3</b>
<b>September 22<sup>th</sup> 2016</b>	Guidelines data entry published	WP5
<b>November 1<sup>st</sup> 2016</b>	TRANSIT working paper nr. 5 published	WP3+consortium
	D5.4 submitted	Meta-analysis team + consortium
<b>Mid March 2017</b>	<b>Feedback on D5.4 by TRANSIT researchers</b>	<b>consortium</b>
<b>3-7 April 2017</b>	<b>Theoretical Integration workshop III</b>	<b>Meta-analysis team<sup>1</sup></b>
<b>16-10 May 2017</b>	TRANSIT partner meeting Budapest	consortium
<b>May/June 2017</b>	CTP Database online	ULB; consortium
<b>July 1<sup>st</sup> 2017</b>	<b>D3.4 submitted</b>	<b>WP3 team</b>
<b>Mid September 2017</b>	Database learning lab @TRANSIT Final conference	WP5team
<b>October 1<sup>st</sup> 2017</b>	Task 6.4 (web-based resource hub including business plan) rounded off	IHS + partners
<b>December 1<sup>st</sup> 2017</b>	<b>Paper on CTP method submitted to journal</b>	<b>ULB +co-authors</b>

<sup>1</sup> See appendix for composition and task division of meta-analysis team.



**The following timeline elements are of particular relevance:**

- **D5.1 published.** The CTP concept that underlies the quali-quantitative meta-analysis has been developed to match the relational framework for TSI theory that emerged from the first 1,5 year of TRANSIT research. The concept has been further elaborated, made operative and implemented into a populated database throughout 2015 and 2016.
- **D3.3 published.** This document consolidated the iteration between the D4.4 synthesis of 20 in-depth case studies, and the theoretical work on the relational framework for TSI. It crucially identified four key areas or aspects for TSI theory to cover, and presented 12 propositions as empirically informed but mostly generative statements on these themes. Consolidated further in the working paper nr. 5, the set of propositions and clusters has been taken up as the set of key topics for meta-analysis to focus on. WP3 and WP5 have also chosen for this approach to ensure maximum synergy between D5.4 and the subsequent D3.4: The meta-analysis work has been organized along the division of clusters and propositions work (Cf. Section 3.4), and this organization will be roughly maintained in the subsequent WP3.
- **Feedback on D5.4 by TRANSIT researchers.** The meta-analysis team have conducted 12 parallel database searches, guided by the empirical questions and key words identified to be relevant for specific propositions. In light of the large amount of data contained in the database (Cf. 3.3) and the unavoidable interpretation issues surrounding the analysis of qualitative data, the meta-analysis results are in need of feedback and discussion. A feedback-round will be organized in March 2017, before the third Theoretical Integration Workshop (April 2017) by the meta-analysis team. Further discussion will take place during and after the partner meeting in Budapest (May 2017).
- **Theoretical Integration workshop III.** In the first week of April, the meta-analysis team will gather in Belgium to take stock of and discuss the implications for theory-building of meta-analysis results.
- **CTP Database online.** The database serves not only this meta-analysis, but also the knowledge interests of TRANSIT researchers and various publics. The as yet password-protected database will go online as soon as the user interface has been further developed, and consent-to-publish has been obtained from respondents. The synthesis report will be used to illustrate the key word structure through which searching is supported (Cf. Section 3.3). The web launch of the database is also related to task 6.4.
- **D3.4 submitted.** The meta-analysis has been shaped in anticipation of this completion of TSI theory – consolidating the overall theoretical framing and key distinctions (as laid down in propositions and clusters), substantiating, unpacking and interrogating the tentative empirical statements formulated in earlier phases of research.
- **Paper on CTP method submitted to journal.** The empirical meta-analysis results will flow into various topic-specific publications that will be elaborated in the course of further theorization. Apart from this, TRANSIT researchers are involved in a special issue on ‘methodological challenges in social innovation’ (Cf. Ch.8). WP5 leads will elaborate the methodological considerations on the CTP approach, as developed in preceding deliverables, into a journal article.

## 2.2 Iterating between Empirics and Theorization

As highlighted in the above timeline, the meta-analysis has been shaped by the overall TRANSIT approach of iterating between empirics and theorization. This iteration has informed several key elements of the meta-analysis set-up:

- 1) **From survey to quali-quantitative research.** This choice, documented in D5.1, has been a methodological response to the (meta-) theoretical approach developed in the first 1,5 years of TRANSIT (Cf. D3.2). It has yielded the more fine-grained data reached for beyond survey-data, but also has been time-intensive and vulnerable to harmonization issues.
- 2) **Gathering process data.** The CTP database is built up from timelines and important moments in these timelines. This matches the theorization of TSI in terms of dynamic processes, relational agency, and innovation 'journeys'.
- 3) **Local SI initiatives as focal actors.** These local manifestations have also been the focal actors in the preceding phase of empirical research for WP4, but in CTP research they have been the exclusive focus – dropping the investigation of transnational networks as done in WP4. The focus on local manifestations is arguably in line with the aim to understand and concretely the agency and empowerment dynamics in TSI. On the other hand, later phases in theorization have reasserted the importance of 'macro-aspects' like the broader social-material context (cluster D) and the embeddedness of local initiatives in SI fields and networks (cluster B). This created a degree of mismatch between the chosen focus for data gathering and the development of theorization.
- 4) **Diversity in national contexts.** The CTP data gathering has further increased the diversity in national contexts already achieved in WP4 data gathering. This is in line with the increasing theoretical awareness that national/regional contexts matter greatly to the institutionalization dynamics of SI initiatives. The international coverage did require much of the data gathering to be done by phone – which may have compromised somewhat on the quality of data.
- 5) **Confrontation with new stage of theory.** Once the CTP data gathering had been rounded off, continuous theorization had generated propositions and themes for meta-analysis that were roughly but not entirely covered by the CTP data. There is thus a certain phase difference between theorization and data, stemming from the long time period needed for the empirical research process. The organization of the meta-analysis along the themed proposition clusters did add continuity and coherence between meta-analysis and further theorization.
- 6) **From testing to tailor-made modes of meta-analysis.** The propositions taken up in meta-analysis were empirically formed and testable yet also quite abstract and generative of further empirical statements. This approach to theory-building has been responded to with a meta-analysis approach not exclusively geared towards proposition-testing. As detailed in section 3.4, the empirical evidence has also been used to substantiate, unpack and increase the time-sensitivity of propositions. The meta-analysis approach has been differentiated along the kinds of elaborations deemed promising for specific propositions.
- 7) **From abstract theoretical statements to empirical observations.** TSI theorization has been undertaken with considerable meta-theoretical caution, developing a relational framework to account for the dynamic phenomena of TSI. An important step in the meta-analysis was therefore to elaborate the relatively abstract propositions into empirical research questions, so as to increase empirical concreteness in the inputs for further theorization.

## 3 Methodology

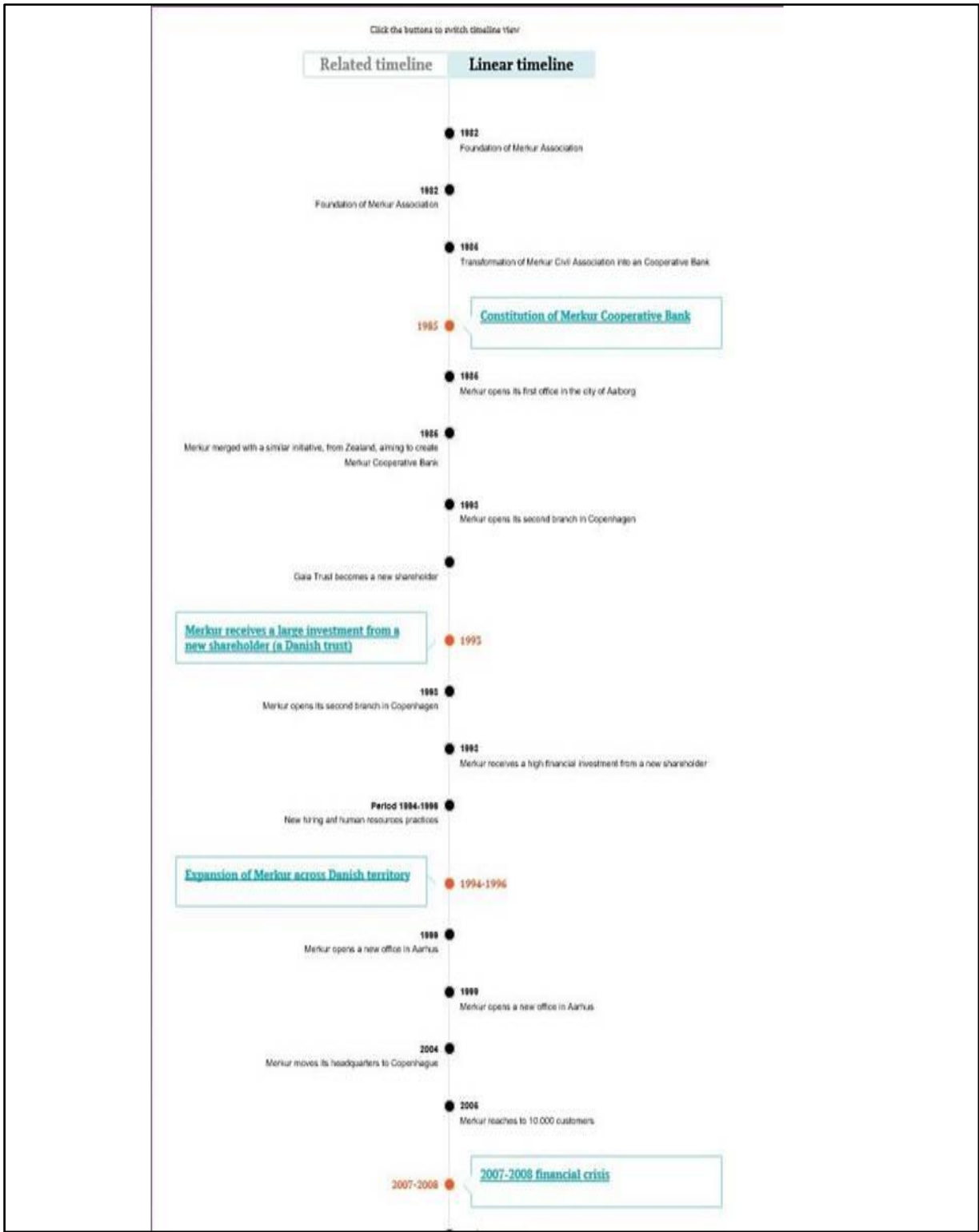
The analysis results presented in the following four chapters have been produced through a complex research process. Importantly, the analysis of large quantities of qualitative data has involved extensive empirical research by 12 research institutes in various countries, and considerable efforts to ensure coherence and pertinence to the emerging TSI theory. The main elements of the quali-quantitative methodology are outlined in the following: After the topics and scope of the Critical Turning points data (**section 3.1**), some aspects of the interpretive approach are discussed (**section 3.2**). Next, it is described what data-set and search functions are afforded by the CTP database (**section 3.3**), and through what methodological approach the meta-analysis of CTP database contents has been conducted (**section 3.4**).

### 3.1 Critical Turning Points data on co-produced TSI processes

The CTP database has been developed to contain data on TSI that matches two important theoretical assumptions about it. Data is gathered that shows TSI 1) in terms of dynamic processes rather than static entities and factors, and 2) as emerging from distributed agency and co-production. The first aspect of gathering *process* data has become the key organizing principle and identity of the CTP database: It contains timelines of local manifestations of social innovation networks, which are built up from 6 Critical Turning Points and several 'related events'. The database screenshot on the next page shows how the separate CTP accounts on local manifestations add up into strings, or sequences of events. The list of topics and questions below indicates the topics covered in each CTP file: each of the six topics has been developed through a combination of researcher's analysis and quotes, in accounts of (on average) about 300-400 words per topic. The six topics and associated questions generate data on dynamics and patterns in TSI processes (topics 1 and 3), co-production and interactions with other actors (topics 2 and 4), experiences and reflections on empowerment and resources in TSI processes (topics 5 and 6), and situated accounts of the politics of TSI (topic 4).

- 1. Contents.** *What did this CTP consist of, and when (at what date or in which specific period) did it happen? In what way did it constitute a CTP?*
- 2. Co-production.** *What particular events/people/developments/circumstances/conditions/spatial environment made the CTP happen?*
- 3. Related events.** *What earlier events (coming from within or from outside) were crucial to the CTP to happen and when (at what date or in which period) did they occur? Which important later events were evoked by the CTP and when (at what date or in which period) did they occur?*
- 4. Contestation.** *To what extent did the CTP involve contestation? What was the contestation about, and who were involved in it? How (if at all) was the contestation overcome?*
- 5. Anticipation.** *Was the CTP, as identified now, also understood as CTP at the time when it occurred? Or is it an understanding that developed later? Had it (and the events/people/etc. that evoked it) been foreseen or anticipated?*
- 6. Learning.** *What are the change ambitions of your initiative, and how did the CTP make a positive or negative contribution towards achieving those? If you were to draw a lesson about this CTP, what would this be? How does the CTP relate to the current challenges of your initiative?*

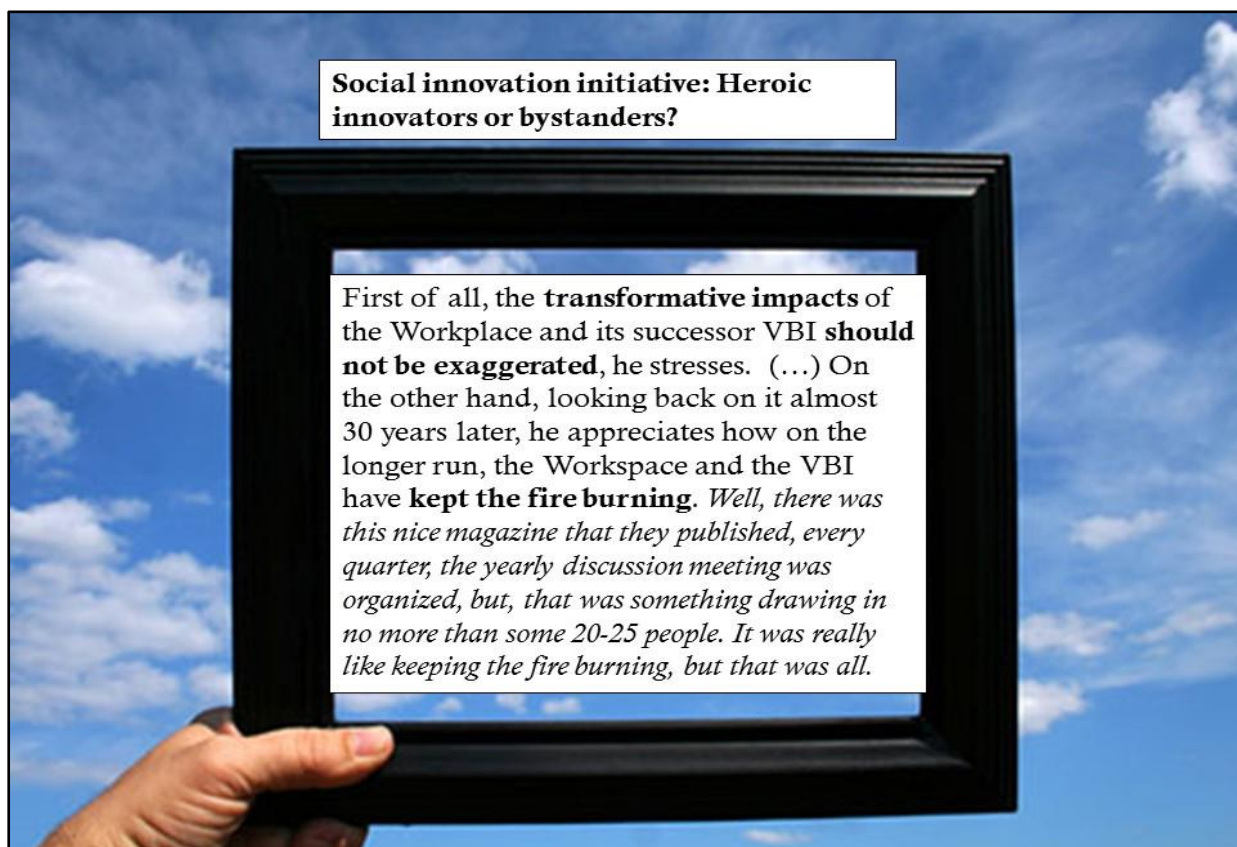
Figure 3.1 Screenshot of timeline (fragment)



## 3.2 Interpretive aspects of CTP data

The CTP files have been constructed through (structured, along the questionnaire in the previous subsection) interviews with members of SI initiatives. The interview data have been processed into accounts of CTPs that consist of researchers' analyses as well as literal quotes from interviews. The picture below, a slide from a presentation on the CTP database (Pel 2016), highlights some important aspects of the interpretive approach.

**Figure 3.2** Interpretive aspects of CTP data



First of all, the slide – inspired by Magritte's artistic reflections on the relation between language and reality - underlines that accounts of CTPs in the database are reality constructions by TRANSIT researchers. The accounts of CTP are framings. They are not the pure experiences of members of SI initiatives as they were recorded in the interviews, but are selections and orderings of these recordings. Quotes of interviewees are distinguishable from researcher interpretations through the use of italics, but still they are selected to illustrate certain points about the six key topics of the CTP questionnaire.

A second point that immediately follows from this is that the accounts of CTPs create particular views on TSI processes. Gathering and constructing on the critical turning points as experienced by members from selected social innovation initiatives, the role of these particular actors is foregrounded – possibly at the expense of the many other actors that tend to be involved in TSI processes. As addressed in the slide displayed, the particular entry point into TSI processes could elevate relative bystanders into heroic innovators. The fragment displays how an interviewee

proved well aware of this interpretive issue, and tried to provide a balanced account of the not insignificant but certainly not pivotal role of the initiative in casu.

A third important interpretive aspect is that the accounts of individuals are necessarily partial and incomplete approximations of the timeline of a social innovation initiative. The six CTPs per initiative have been constructed through on average about 4 different respondents. This has allowed for a degree of data triangulation, i.e. different viewpoints on certain timeline events. More generally, TRANSIT researchers have tried to ensure the quality of CTP accounts by aiming for diversity in interviewees (position in the initiative, acquaintance with particular topics, early and later members). Still, it needs to be taken into account that the development of CTP data has been shaped by various challenges of access to (former) members, limitations in individual as well as institutional memory, and the generally less than clear-cut membership and leadership in SI initiatives. This does not so much undermine the integrity of CTP as qualitative, situated accounts of TSI dynamics – it does underline that the CTP database does not provide any kind of ‘mapping’ of TSI.

Fourth and finally, the interpretive dimension of the CTP data implies that significant efforts have already been done towards clear translation into English, and towards member checking. The latter has thus far been undertaken as a way to increase the accuracy of CTP accounts, but will be taken up systematically as the database is prepared for going online.

### 3.3 The CTP database: dataset and search functions

The CTP database crucially supports the meta-analysis by both the accumulation of a vast data-set as well as the facilitation of systematic data searches. Regarding the first, the data-set has the following characteristics:

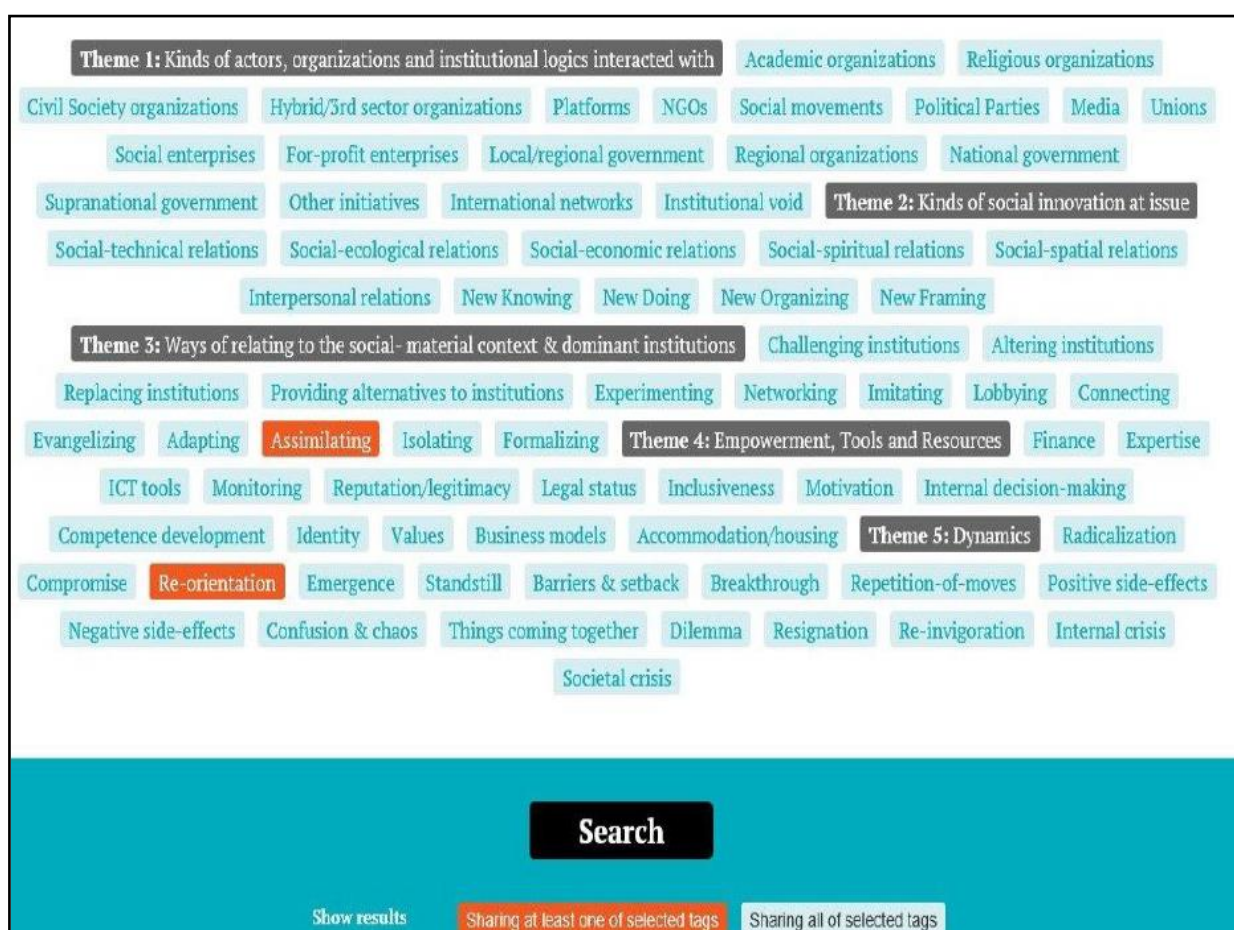
- The targeted set of 480 CTPs (6 CTPs of 4 local manifestations from 20 transnational SI networks) has been consolidated into a data-set of 65 complete timelines of initiatives. This equals 389 CTP files (one initiative insisting that there were only 5 CTPs to record in their history), as well as 65 files with basic descriptions of the initiatives. *An overview of files is included in the appendix.* This consolidation has taken place to avoid compromising the meta-analysis with timelines of initiatives that were incomplete due to various issues (pending member check, difficulties with access to respondents). As the meta-analysis started, the files ‘under construction’ have been marked as ‘invisible’, preventing them from appearing in search results.
- CTP files are on average around 2000 words in length.
- The consolidated data-set comprises completed sets of CTPs for 4 local initiatives of GEN/ECOVILLAGES, Transition Towns, ODP/Participatory Budgeting, Shareable, Living Knowledge, DESIS network, Living Labs, Seed Exchange Network, Impact Hubs, FEBEA, Slow Food, ICA/co-housing, 3 of INFORSE, Fablabs and Hackerspaces, 2 of Via Campesina, BIEN, Timebanks and RIPESS, and 0 of Ashoka.
- The local initiatives have been studied in 28 different countries, of which 10 outside Europe. The database allows for searching by geographical location through a map search function. Countries covered are in alphabetical sequence: Argentina (5), Australia (1), Austria (2), Belgium (3), Brazil (7), Canada (1), Chile (1), Denmark (5), Finland (1), France (2), Germany (5), Greece (1), Hungary (3), Ireland (1), Italy (4), Japan (1), Mexico (1), Netherlands (5), New

Zealand (1), Poland (1), Portugal (1), Romania (1), Spain (4), Switzerland (3), Tunisia (1), UK (14), Uruguay (2), USA (1).

- All CTP files and files on SI initiatives have been provided with between 8 and 10 key words that make them appear in key word searches. This insertion of key words has been done by the empirical researchers in the process of entering their CTP files in the database system, selecting key words from a predefined list of key words.

**Key word searches.** The key word search is the main search function through which the CTP database has supported the meta-analysis. The screenshot (below) of the (as yet password-protected) database webpage displays the 74 key words through which sub-sets of the 389 CTP files and 65 initiative files can be selected for closer analysis. The screenshot shows the possibility to search for single key words or for combinations of key words (in this example ‘assimilating’ and ‘re-orientation’ (in orange)). The clustering of key words serves to guide TRANSIT and future other users towards key words of particular relevance to particular TSI aspects. The key words have been selected to cover the main topics of TSI theory and the set of 12 propositions, as will become apparent through the subsequent chapters on meta-analysis results.

**Figure 3.3 CTP database key word search**





Through the key-word (or 'tag') search function, the CTP database identifies sub-sets of the (currently: 389+65=454) files of CTPs and initiatives that empirical researchers have identified to be informative on specific topics. The screenshot below shows how 'barriers & setback' yields 40 files for which researchers considered this (and 9 others from the 74 listed key words) key word applicable. The visual identities of files through the logos of initiatives facilitates further selection of files on initiatives of particular interest.


**Figure 3.4 CTP database search results.**

advanced search tips [?]

You have searched for tags: *and Barriers & setback* we have found 40 results.

 **Asbest conflict with municipality and closing of the gates**  
 Type: Critical turning point  
 By purchasing the land the ecovillage agreed to abate the asbestos. During inspection by the municipality it seemed that the work done by the contractor was not legal and one co-founder was pressed with criminal charges and entering the land was prohibited to all. [More](#)

 **Extension of AN's office in Brussels**  
 Type: Critical turning point  
 The CTP consist of the opening of the new office in Brussels by AN. The CTP happened in a period when the organisation again reached a point "to reflect on where to go and how much to grow". [More](#)

 **Approval of the new seed legislation in Spain**  
 Type: Critical turning point  
 The CTP consists of the reactions of the RdS to the new seed legislation in Spain in 2006. [More](#)

**Full-text searches.** Next to the key word searching, the database also allows for full-text searches. These searches on any other (non-key word) term or combination of terms can typically be applied to search for very specific topics, or to search for categories that prove relevant in the detailed analysis of separate CTP files. Referring to the example above of 'barriers & setbacks', particular internal or external sources of those can be identified that –through full-text search – appear relevant to several cases.

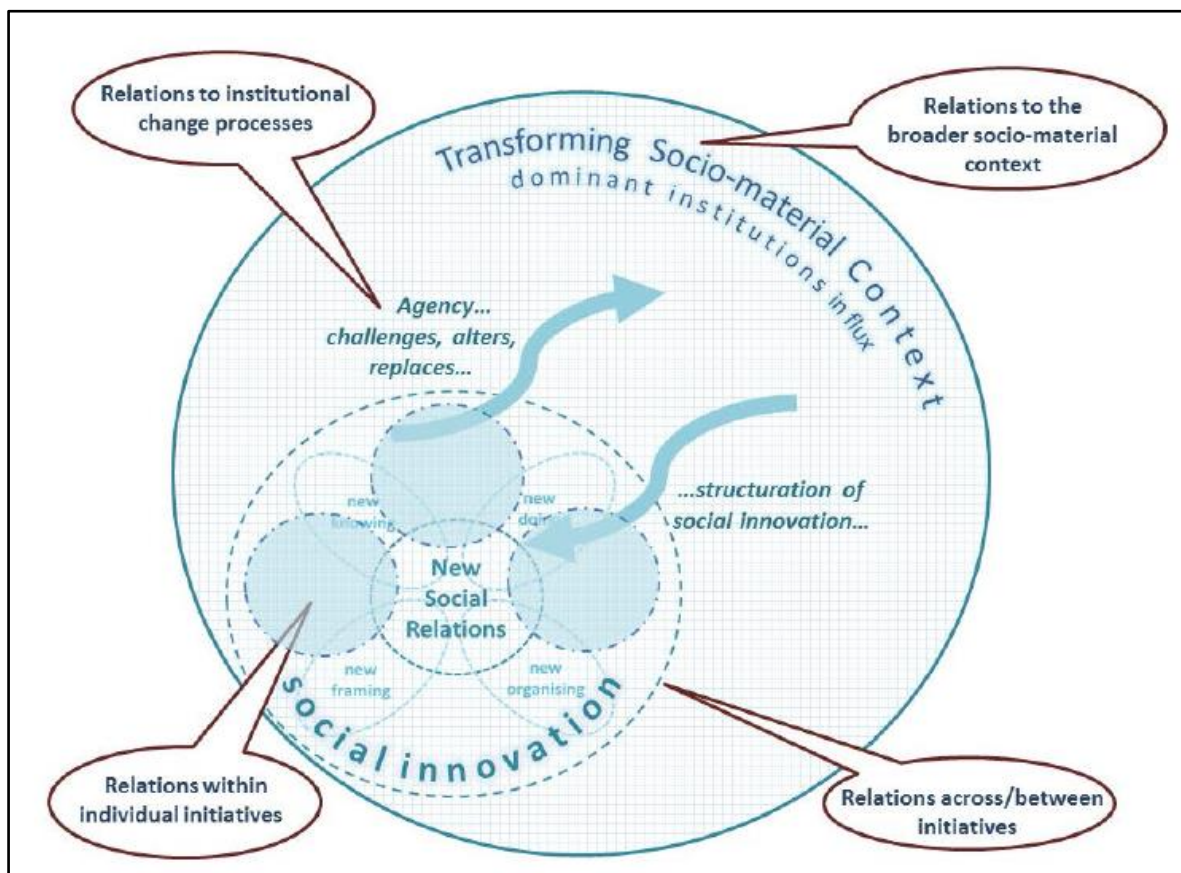
Finally, it needs to be noted that the above search functions help to identify files that somehow contain information on a certain term. The crucial issue of what information they contain precisely and *how* a key word like 'barriers & setbacks' matters (a CTP may be about the avoidance of them, coping with them, encountering them) needs to be addressed through detailed analysis of the file, i.e. by clicking on the unique links to CTP and initiative files. The numbers of hits on search terms are rough indications of relevance.



### 3.4 Meta-analysis method

The meta-analysis approach has been informed both by the considerations on theory-empirics iteration (section 2.2) and by the affordances of the CTP database as outlined above. A further consideration has been of an organizational-pragmatic nature, namely that the confrontation between the large data-set and the broad scope of TSI theory needed to be focused through a well-structured and clear procedure. Other than attempting an exhaustive analysis of CTP database contents, the goal was to arrive at a manageable set of empirical inputs for the elaboration of the identified themes and propositions on TSI theory. The meta-analysis has been guided by an analysis template, ensuring coherence between the analyses of four proposition clusters.

**Figure 3.5 Themes/proposition clusters in TSI theory (Haxeltine et al. 2016)**



The meta-analysis has been divided over four groups of the meta-analysis team (Cf. Appendix):

**Cluster A:** Relations within individual SI initiatives, propositions 1-3. **(Chapter 4)**

**Cluster B:** Relations across/between initiatives, propositions 4-6. **(Chapter 5)**

**Cluster C:** Relations of SI initiatives to institutional change processes, propositions 7-9. **(Chap. 6)**

**Cluster D:** Relations of SI initiatives to the broader context, propositions 10-12. **(Chapter 7)**

These groups of 3-4 researchers have all conducted their analyses along the following procedure:

- 1) **Division of labour, distributing propositions over researchers.** This has served to ensure consistency and clarity in the analysis and interpretation of files, avoiding superfluous work being done by parallel database searching.
- 2) **Choice of analytical strategy.** The key consideration has been that the propositions as formulated were generally not amenable to proposition-testing in the positivist sense. Different kinds of analytical strategies have been identified to inform tailor-made approaches to the investigation of particular propositions. For each proposition it has been considered how it required one or several of the following analytical strategies for elaboration: Solidifying, Making time-sensitive, Substantiating, Unpacking, Confirming, Falsifying (*Cf. appendix for explanation of these analytical strategies*).
- 3) **Formulation of empirical questions.** The propositions as formulated differed in level of empirical concreteness. Developed as generative statements and empirical-theoretical syntheses they were generally not constructed to allow for direct empirical confirmation or falsification. A crucial step in the meta-analyses has been to specify the empirical phenomena that the theoretical statements refer to, and to formulate empirical questions that single out the particular empirical evidence needed for more solid and precise statements. The formulation of empirical questions has been informed by the choice of analytical strategy – suggesting certain forms of questions.
- 4) **Identification of relevant database searches.** In interplay with the formulation of empirical questions this has ensured that the database searching has been focused and narrowed down. This step has served to identify to what extent questions are answerable through CTP data, and more generally, it has forced critical reflection on the match between data available and TSI aspects covered in theorization.
- 5) **Presentation of evidence.** The database searching yields vast amounts of qualitative evidence, one CTP file amounting generally to some 2000 words. A concise and insightful presentation was aimed for of about 15 pages, so as to ensure manageable inputs to subsequent theorization. The empirical questions have provided a structure for the presentation of evidence. Individual researchers have used Excel-spreadsheets to track their coverage of initiatives and their CTP files.
- 6) **Empirical observations and theoretical reflections.** The database searches typically yield a multitude of both empirical as well as theoretical insights. The template has ensured that a limited number of empirically concrete conclusions were formulated, corresponding with the specific empirical questions raised on propositions. The approach has been to drive towards empirical inputs to reformulation of propositions, rather than reformulations themselves – which will be done in the subsequent phase of theorization (*Cf. Chapter 2*).
- 7) **Synthesis per cluster.** The results on separate propositions within clusters tend to display overlaps and identification of conceptual challenges applying to the broader cluster (e.g. cluster C on institutionalization dynamics involves the conceptual ambiguities surrounding ‘institution’). The syntheses per cluster are first steps towards the reconsideration of the overall set of propositions: Even if empirically investigated one by one separately, there may be theoretical reasons to merge, split, discard or construct new propositions.

## 4 Cluster A: Relations within individual SI initiatives

### 4.1 Introduction

#### 4.1.1 Description of proposition cluster

Cluster A contains three propositions which refer to relations within individual initiatives, and deals with what motivates members to initially come together and start a social innovation initiative (SIs), what types of new interpersonal relations they establish and how they enact them through new practices and organizational structures, and what contributes to maintaining motivation over time and across tensions arising at different stages in their development.

Propositions in this cluster attempt to capture how SIs come about and what relations they envision, support and develop, as well as what they learn about interpersonal relational challenges at different stages of development. The issues addressed include: organisational issues, group dynamics, individual motivations and basic needs, as well as how the social-material context 'enters into' micro-level relations, through e.g. prevailing norms, values and habitual/automatic practices.

- Proposition 1: *On how and why SI initiatives emerge*
- Proposition 2: *On internal tensions and how SI initiatives are sustained*
- Proposition 3: *On the importance of changing social relations within the initiative*

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? How is social innovation manifested in interpersonal relations?* 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. Proposition 1 seeks to explain how initiatives emerge from collectives of individuals who share common goals, and to explore how SI is manifested in interpersonal relationships within initiatives, as enacting new interpersonal relationships is part of the socially innovative character of SI initiatives.

Proposition 2 addresses the internal tensions that SI initiatives must deal with if they are to be sustained. It addresses the questions of how and why individuals persevere on a journey, stick with an initiative and invest in it over time, or rather disembark from it; it addresses how initiatives are sustained and maintain their appeal across different stages of development and the creative organizations structures and rules of interaction they develop in order to address dwindling motivation and tensions stemming from particular stages of development.

Proposition 3 builds on the previous two, and addresses 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 broadens it to address changing *social-material relations* within the SI initiative. Both interpersonal and organizational relations are viewed as a *locus of institutional change*, as the way in which they are enacted contributes to either *perpetuating or changing institutions*.

### 4.1.2 Preview to chapter

Overall, propositions in this cluster have been substantiated through the analysis of data on critical turning points. Claims in proposition 1 and 2 of the cluster are generally supported by the evidence, and would only need relatively small reformulations. However, the data also reveals aspects and dynamics that are not currently captured by these propositions but that are relevant for the issue of motivations and interpersonal relations within TSI initiatives (e.g. leadership, interactions between motivations and organizational structures etc).

Proposition 3 has been reformulated before proceeding with the meta-analysis to re-capture aspects that were felt to have been missed in the current formulation, regarding the role of experimentation with interpersonal relations in building the transformative potential of social innovation, and the tensions between the shaping of new interpersonal relations and the reproduction of internalized relational institutions.

A series of empirical research questions were developed for each proposition, in order to explore the available data. Keyword and free text searches of the database were then performed, in order to identify critical turning points and initiatives that could provide answers to the questions. Analyses focused on substantiating the claims of each proposition, identifying confirming and contradictory evidence, and also identifying issues that are relevant for the cluster but are not yet included in the propositions. Also, proposals for reformulations or restructuring of the propositions were made, as well as suggestions for further theoretical resources to draw on in subsequent theory development stages. Each claim in the propositions was explored in-depth, and the focus was placed on capturing the full subtlety and range of dynamics described.

Theoretical development in TRANSIT so far has been reflected in the formulation of a series of propositions which aim to capture the dynamics of transformative social innovation. Working paper 7 (Haxeltine et al., 2016) had established a series of challenges for further research and these have been partly addressed by the analysis presented here. For proposition 1, further evidence from additional TSI cases has been explored regarding motivations, persistence and tensions at different stages of initiative development. For proposition 2, we addressed the challenge of identifying sources and stages of internal strife, ways of handling them and the consequences they have on members' motivation and development of the collective project of the initiative; and the challenge regarding typical stages in the TSI process, with a focus on tensions that are typical for each stage. For proposition 3, we further highlighted the evidence regarding the nature, function, and importance of changing socio-material relations in the SI initiatives.

The analysis in this chapter is structured around each of the three propositions. For each of them, a short overview of the claims it makes, the empirical research questions informing the database searches and the search methodology are presented. The number of results per keyword search are also synthesized. Evidence is then presented and analysed per each research question, and conclusions for each proposition then highlight the main points for further theoretical development.

## 4.2 Proposition 1: On explaining the emergence of SI initiatives

### 4.2.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**Proposition 1.** *SI initiatives and networks emerge as actors that come together in attempts to find better ways of pursuing certain values/ideals/principles (of how relationships and communities 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 they experience support for autonomy, relatedness and competence as members of the initiative. Establishing new relationships between actors and modes of community are an essential part of the socially innovative character of SI initiatives, and relational transformation processes also entail resolving tensions around diverging sets of motivations.*

#### **Analytical approach**

The core of this proposition is about the motivations that attract members to social innovation initiatives, the factors that contribute to motivational persistence over time and the interaction between different tensions that are a result of diverging sets of motivations across different stages and how the solutions found for those tensions further influence motivations.

First, we can specify the ways and extent to which initiatives seek to challenge, alter, replace or provide alternatives (CARP) to existing social relations, and what new ways of knowing, framing, organizing or doing become attractive for members. By specifying these, we can substantiate the first claim in the proposition that actors come together in attempts to find better ways of pursuing certain values/ideals/principles of how relationships and communities should be transformed, and finding a space in which these can be aligned to specific novel practices/behaviour.

The second claim in the proposition is about how motivational persistence depends on the satisfaction of basic psychological needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness. We would look for evidence to confirm and substantiate this claim, in terms of the elements, structures and characteristics of interpersonal and group interactions that lead to need satisfaction, and also map evidence about other dimensions/factors and processes that might account for motivational persistence.

The third part of the proposition states the relational nature of social innovation, which is a core ontological assumption for the theory, and also refers to tensions that arise and are related to diverging motivations. Successful initiatives find ways to deal with these tensions and the resulting compromises, in turn, have effects on members' motivations. The proposition, as it is currently formulated, suggests that these tensions are resolved successfully in order for initiatives to be transformative, but we might find that this is not always the case or that the assessment of whether a tension was resolved successfully or not depends on the evaluation criterion we use. Identifying the tensions that arise and how they impact members' motivations is where Proposition 1 stops, and Proposition 2 then addresses the issue of how these tensions are dealt with.

Embedded in this proposition is a temporal dimension, the idea that different dimensions and processes influence motivation at different stages. We can thus look for how motivations change over time and what is relevant at different stages in the maintaining of members' motivations.

The proposition can be unpacked through empirical distinctions between types of motivations for joining, both in terms of the values/ideals pursued as well as allowing space for motivations that

fall outside of the category of alignment between values/ideals and behaviours; between types of motivational support for persistence; and between different tensions and their impact on motivations at different stages.

### **Empirical questions for proposition 1:**

*How and to what extent do SI initiatives seek to change, alter, replace or produce alternatives to existing social relations and which new ways of knowing, doing, organizing, framing do they demonstrate? To what kind of new social relations are people being attracted to? What are the values, ideals and principles in the SI initiatives relating to a change in social relations? (here also keep an eye out for individual principles and values and whether there is evidence that individuals endorse strong principles that align to the changes in relations in a particular social innovation) What other things motivate people to join?*

*How and to what extent is the motivational persistence affected by the satisfaction of psychological needs? How does this change over time and as a result of different challenges and tensions?*

*What tensions around diverging motivations can be identified at different moments in the development of initiatives and how do they impact motivations of members?*

### **Keywords:**

For transformations for relations and communities:

- Some within Theme 4 “Empowerment, tools and resources” seem relevant: Motivation; competence development; identity; values;
- And within theme 2 “Kinds of social innovation at issue” - a search for each one might be worthwhile: social-technical-; social-ecological; social-economical-; social-spiritual-; social spatial-; and interpersonal relations; new doing, new organizing, new framing, new knowing.

For the implementation of novel practices:

- Theme 2: new doing, organizing, framing and knowing;
- Theme 5 “Dynamics”: emergence; breakthrough; things coming together;

For motivational persistence:

- Theme 4: motivation; internal decision-making; values; identity; inclusiveness; reputation/legitimacy; dilemma; resignation; re-invigoration;

For tensions and solutions to them:

- Theme 4: Motivation.
- Theme 5: radicalization; compromise, re-orientation; emergence; standstill; barriers and setbacks; breakthrough; positive side-effects; negative side-effects; confusion and chaos; dilemma; resignation, re-invigoration; internal crisis; societal crisis.

Explorations of the database regarding the empirical questions formulated for proposition 1 revealed that it was more adequate to search combinations of keywords as a way of identifying the most useful ones. The following table presents the search combinations performed and the resulting number of CTPs. The majority of searches included combinations of pre-established labels, and the ones that entailed a free text search are marked in between parentheses.

Searching tags	Number of results
Motivation + Values	25 results
Motivation + joining (free text search)	25 results
Motivation + breakthrough	17 results
Motivation + identity	20 results
Interpersonal relations + motivation	24 results
Motivation + Internal decision-making	10 results
Motivation + competence development	8 results
Motivation and radicalization	3 results
Motivation + Compromise	2 results
Motivation + Re-orientation	12 results
Motivation + Emergence	20 results
Motivation + Barriers and setbacks	8 results
Motivation + positive side-effects	8 results
Motivation + Confusion and chaos	3 results
Motivation + Things coming together	11 results
Motivation + dilemma	1 result
Motivation + resignation	4 results
Motivation + Re-invigoration	7 results
Motivation + Internal crisis	6 results
Motivation + support (free text)	129 results
Motivation + belonging (free text)	24 results
Motivation + autonomy	27 results
Motivation + meaning	27 results

## 4.2.2 Presenting the evidence

### 4.2.2.1 Question 1: New relations and values, and their relationship to motivation

*How and to what extent do SI initiatives seek to change, alter, replace or produce alternatives to existing social relations and which new ways of knowing, doing, organizing, framing do they demonstrate? To what kind of new social relations are people being attracted to? What are the values, ideals and principles in the SI initiatives relating to a change in social relations? (keep an eye out for individual principles and values and whether there is evidence that individuals endorse strong principles that align to the changes in relations in a particular social innovation) What other things motivate people to join?*

The relational changes that initiatives pursue sometimes come into conflict with the diversity of motivations members bring. Not all of those motivations are aligned with, or support, the initiative's goals. The interplay between individual motivations, and practical forms of organization within the initiative, can lead to outcomes that either support the development of the initiative or hinder it. Motivations influence and are also influenced by the organizational forms that the initiative promotes, and this relationship also changes at different stages of their development. Leaders and founders are sometimes aware of this interplay and use different strategies to shape spaces and rules of decision-making and participation in ways that support the types of motivation fitting the organizations purpose and values. In other cases, they become aware of the importance of shaping adequate contexts to both support motivations and achieve a good level of organizational functioning of the initiative as an organized entity by learning from experience and mistakes and re-shaping the direction of the organization. When the latter is the case, the way this process is handled seems to be the differentiating factor in the initiative moving forward successfully or not.

Being on an equal playing field, promoting respect for different actors in the system and being inclusive are very important relational changes that attract members to the different initiatives. Slow Food Mexico is a good example of this, by being a plural space in which different aspirations and demands can find a place: *"What captivated me about the work, the network itself, is that at the same table we were development promoters sitting, together with food producers, researchers, chefs and people who simply like to eat. Slow Food is especially clear in that we had to sit at the same table and talk, from a egalitarian position, about food. It was a very close meeting, where I was able to know about the talents of chefs, the concerns producer have, the interests for researchers"* (IN65, CTP 19). The search for spaces of equality, inclusion, and respect motivate members to join, and contribute to long-term commitment. Founders understand the key role of such supporting contexts, **where the previously disempowered become empowered**, for attracting and maintaining membership: *"I was fascinated by this way of working, because for many years I had tried to find a place where this was possible: respecting, valuing people in the countryside, whether indigenous or not, and a place in which people from the city could contribute to; making a healthy, transparent link. This is how I understand the network and that's how we handle it. And until they do not kick me out, I am going to be here"*(IN65, CTP 19).

However, this process is not necessarily smooth or linear. Members **sometimes need to overcome deeply seated beliefs and ways of relating**, and this is not always met without resistance from some of the members. Again, founders and/or leaders of initiatives are aware of the importance of initiation/induction processes in generating dynamics that support members to enact different ways of relating. Fablabs are an interesting case of how this is carefully shaped by leaders, in order for people having technical expertise to be able **to share a community with those less capable**. The core messages of *"Don't be an arsehole, and do as you would be done by – treat people respectfully"* are meant to support relational change: *"[We say] there'll be people who have made things their entire life, and people who have never held a hammer. Don't go around saying 'Oh my God, I can't believe you can't do that'. [Being a member] is about meeting a broad spectrum of people in here, and that's its richness. We don't mind if you do multi-million dollar work or a research project or your own hobby or just make a mess"* (IN 74, CTP 243).

Sharing a community with those that are different is meant to lead to overcoming deep seated prejudice and the challenging of established relations of power. Slow Food Mexico has played a key role in challenging *"pigmentocracy"*: *"In Mexico there is a deeply rooted racism in our idiosyncrasy. It is very complex. Obviously, whether we do not take a critical look, we may think that's the way things are, but there is racism. There is a professor at the University of Mexico who says that in Mexico exists 'pigmentocracy', according to which those who hold power are those who have clearer skin. The more conservative the city, the more racist it is"* (IN 65, CTP 19). Participatory budgeting in Fortaleza supported and trained government employees to learn to **work with historically excluded**



**minorities:** *"At first there was some resistance to work with the segments; groups that had been historically excluded, gender, race, ethnicity, disability, LGBTT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Transgender). Imagine making a personal selection aligned with these segments. It was a process of formation. We hired a hundred people at once, 20 trainees at once; it was a lot of work."* (IN 45, CTP 68). The Transition Town initiative Omstilling Ry promotes a **different kind of collective activism**, in which inclusiveness and freedom to act on own interests and projects, but acting in concert towards a global good is seen as highly attractive by members, especially when compared with traditional and highly formalized NGO work such as that of Greenpeace: *"The combination of doing something, as a person - doing something in your community and thinking about, working actually for the global good, was really new to people, that we can do something together"* (IN 85, CTP 96). It is **the experiencing of a space for autonomy** while **working in tandem** that becomes motivating. Experiencing change in relationships towards more equalitarian ones is highly motivating, as one founder of the Fablab at University College London mentions: *"A [student] came up to me and said 'I spoke to my lecturer in here for the first time in a year, and he was asking me how to do something, even though he was my lecturer'. It turns the tables, it's very leveling."* (IN 74, CTP 243).

In some cases, the turn towards autonomy and inclusiveness is done after things go wrong in the initial shaping of organizational dynamics, and practices start to pervert the goals and values pursued. This was the case with Slow Food Mexico, which started out as an elitist movement oriented to high classes who could afford enjoying food in good restaurants. New leaders started a process by which they extended the organization towards rural areas, and groups previously not represented and disenfranchised, which created friction from those worried about losing privileges. Careful steering by the new leader was a key factor in ensuring a new direction and maintaining motivation from old and new members: *"At that time, there was a particular group of people who belonged to the old guard of the movement, trying not to lose their privileges and the exclusivity they had so far, being the only ones who were part of that movement. To date there is still resistance, but less every time, as **we are not trying to impose a single vision**, I must recognize that some decisions and major changes have been made unilaterally, but always with a good intention and the authorization of the coordinators in Italy"* (IN 65, CTP 15).

Leaders and international networks create flexibility in organizational forms as a way to promote inclusivity, and use strategies for equality as a way to ensure that **crises do not lead to a loss in membership or that motivation does not dwindle**. Slow Food coined the term "austere anarchy" to refer to the freedom of different grassroots groups to organize as they saw fit while upholding the principles Slow Food endorsed: *"They organized an assembly of all the people involved in the network at the time they launched the campaign "Slow Food 2.0", with a slogan of "austere anarchy" which meant a "free interpretation of the movement" as long as we were engaged in doing something. We were allowed to run the youth network with autonomy, taking care of our resources and maintain a united attitude to the work we are doing. It is a turning point, because it is an intended call to put aside selfishness and fulfil the purpose of the movement."* (IN 65, CTP 15). The co-founders of the Fablab at UCL were given the freedom to organize the space as he saw fit for the goals of the initiative, while ensuring that it respected the values of the movement: *"I oversaw the whole thing, designed the space we're in - it was like 'What would I want my dream garden shed to be?' And I didn't need to ask permission for any of it - I had the freedom to do what I wanted, but also the responsibility for the day-to-day running, creating a space where people could get up to things and be inspired"* (IN 74, CTP 243).

Crises include moments of organizational change, which are challenging in terms of managing different expectations and motivations. When a hack-space initiative became a business, they had to find a way to make the requirements of running a business compatible with the non-hierarchical and self-organizing ethos of the wider hackspace community, and thus co-founders decided to maintain the "do-ocracy principles": *"When we got here we said look, it's a do-ocracy. What that*

means is that if you find a room that looks about the size of a darkroom and you want to make a darkroom, then make a darkroom!". Becoming a business, while maintaining the principles of a do-ocracy created a situation where lack of structure was corrected, while still supporting the building of a community, which was in line with the principles of hackspaces: "People are very good at looking after each other here. It's good community, now, not just people turning up each week" (Hackspace North of England, IN 77, CTP 276).

Organizational change for the credit union FIARE took the form of a merger with the Italian Banca Etica and acquiring the legal status of a bank. This stage created problems in terms of the expectations and motivations of both volunteers and incoming clients, who had to be educated about the difference between a traditional bank and a credit cooperative operating legally as a bank. The change generated a reflection on the **tensions between an ethos of inclusiveness and the requirements of certain stages**, related to becoming a bigger and more recognized financial and political actor: "Being a member of the Board of Directors involves the responsibility of reading, every month, thousands of pages of banking technical documentation and those members are not paid, they are volunteers, but such commitment requires a certain educational level. Requires learning a technical banking language, requires travelling, understanding what the Basel 3 reform involves... But, at the same level, we must communicate the political burden of the project. When Yanis Varoufakis invited us to talk about alternative financial policies for Europe, we had to prepare our discourse very well!"(FEBEA/Fiare, IN 58, CTP 37). This is de-motivating to some of the volunteers, and the initiative is aware of the importance of making sure volunteers are treated as absolutely necessary to what the credit union wants to achieve: "Financial activity should be always very close to the ground. Our local groups, volunteers and organizations should be our voice in the local context. We neither want nor can leave all this responsibility to the banking structure".

Slow Food USA went through an important crisis when a new leader attempted to steer the organization into becoming more political and maintained a tense relationship with the Ark of Taste Committee, overseeing one of the traditional and foundational activities of Slow Food. The decision of the new leader to cancel biodiversity projects led to a loss of motivation of some of the founding members of Slow Food USA and created a crisis in the organization. The crisis led to the decision to hire a new executive director who had the responsibility to re-unite the organization, and who re-engaged de-motivated members through opening debate around how to restructure the organization and **making sure everyone was heard and included**: "In my Ark Group there were a lot of emails about the loss of the Ark of Taste, and how to rebuild the project. I had a lot of emails. Discussion about how to re-establish the ark of taste and about how should be structure. It was a group of people who have been involved all of these years, farmers, leaders of groups, and Richard McCarthy and Megan Larmer" (Slow Food USA, IN 67, CTP 348).

Experimenting with setting up an initiative leads to **learning about how to accommodate multiple and diverse motivations and finding the best organizational structures to do so**, while still being able to organize effectively in order to pursue their goals. Leaders and founders cultivate **tolerance and openness to diverse motivations**, and understand the **importance of de-centralized structures**, while also acknowledging the practical difficulties of such forms of organization: "I always say that I am a biologist, I should be an agronomist but it would be better if I were a psychologist. My job is to get people motivated to keep the animals. Of course I do a herd book, I do selection, I do measures but without the farmer in the background, who likes that breed and PSR, it is nearly nothing... So we get to know why these people get animals, why they breed them. We should understand the drive, the motivation of the farmers" (Pro-Specie Rara, IN 18, CTP 197). Renewal of the Slow Food project in Mexico revealed generational differences in what keeps people motivated: "It's a new way of working that I think faced some resistance among those who were before. But that is also part of the work, designing strategies, projects, taking into account both lines, both generations, and young people, who have many concerns and ideas. A young person wants

*this topic of eating healthy, responsibly, to be fun, not a sort of ritual, something without too much protocol, more creative.” (Slow Food Mexico, IN 65, CTP 19).*

Assuming the same motivations for all members leads to organizational choices that sometimes deter from the real purpose of the initiative. The ‘free taster’ membership offered to new members in a Fablab in the North-east of England, assumed that newcomers would be interested in participating in the community in the long term rather than making use of the resources for a single day: *“People turn up who are interested, who have an idea; they don’t always get to implement it and sometimes just turn up expecting someone else to do most of the work. But there were people who just came with cake and we never see them again; because it’s cheaper that way, to get in a full day at the workshop for a cake rather than however much you’d have to pay somewhere else.” (FL3, North-East of England, IN 75, CTP 255).* The same initiative had to go through a process in which **differing motivations were made explicit** as they started to face the practicalities of financial survival and how to create space and an identity that reflected the diversity of motivations: *“I’m on a lifelong mission to see how you can grow communities. I work with open source software, I run hackdays; I’m fascinated by what happens when you get users and developers in the same room and show that you can cut out the middleman. I like starting communities and staying with them until they get on their feet, and I like working on the same principles as open source – be nice, be friendly, try to get people involved, don’t be an arsehole”,* while another of the co-founders says: *“I was more interested in the maker side – I was blatant about what I wanted, something like 3rd Ward [a now-defunct artist collective and workshop] in New York. I had a big vision, this was going to be all things to all people. I still want that, a big makerspace, arts space, party space, all in one place, but even bigger than that”.*

Beyond the necessity to accommodate a diversity of motivations, co-founders learn that **motivation for higher degrees of freedom and self-direction does not necessarily lead to a smooth implementation into practice**, but requires creating environments where members can overcome internalized ways of doing, and also allow for different manifested preferences for self-direction. The freedom of self-governance and of taking the lead is recognized as positive and in line with their transformational aims of “encouraging education and self-actualization through making” but require getting used to: *“I think people do take some time to get used to this hacker trust, this do-ocracy. They’ve never had that type of freedom before. They maybe work in a job with low levels of trust and high levels of micromanagement. They think if they would like to do something differently, they’ve almost got used to the idea of abandoning that improvement – it’s too hard to ask their manager to do something. ‘That’s just how we do things around here’. But then you come here and you want to do something and – if it sounds like a good idea, and it probably is a good idea, and there are no objections, then it’s perfectly sensible to get on and do it. But it’s perfectly sensible for people to be nervous about that because they’re scared of making a mistake, that they’ll screw up in the face of their line manager. And these are all reflections of their working lives that they’ve picked up and have to get over when they come to a hackerspace. Just say yes” (Hackspace 1, North of England, IN 77, CTP 276).*

#### 4.2.2.2 Question 2 - Motivational persistence

*How and to what extent is the motivational persistence affected by the satisfaction of psychological needs? How does this change over time and as a result of different challenges and tensions?*

Social innovation initiatives start out often with a handful of highly motivated and enthusiastic individuals that have a history of activism in other types of grassroots organizations and causes. For example, the Magház – Seed House initiative (IN17, CTP 230) was founded by people that had previously been involved in the field of agro-bio-diversity in different countries and decided to start something similar in Hungary. The credit union initiative FIARE was started in Spain by a

group of highly enthusiastic individuals with histories of activism in different community organizations who became concerned with how savings are being used and also recognize the need to create a financial structure that can support community projects with positive impact but are considered un-bankable by the traditional banking system. The idea for the ecovillage Sieben Linden stemmed out of previous movements and people with similar ideas who had come together in those movements: *"The first impulses for a self-empowered village has emerged in the 'Free Republic of Wendland'"* (IN 25; CTP 298).

The initiative Red de Semillas started from a working group operating inside a rural development platform that decided to become formalized and set up their own association, in order to *have the freedom to make their own decisions and align their practices with their visions* (IN 9, CTP 77). As one interviewee puts it: *"We were just a working group inside a big association, so we could not make our own decisions"*. As the platform needed to accommodate many different organizations (*"inside the platform there were unions, organizations related to Christian, left rural movements, environmental movements and NGOs which worked for food sovereignty"*), the level of discomfort with being part of a structure that did not represent their interests and vision became greater: *"we did not feel comfortable that we had to focus on those topics which were not interesting to us or not too useful for us or we just did not agree with the decisions"*; however, the decision is made when a sufficient number of people that have a common interest in establishing such an initiative is reached, showing a certain level of pragmatism: *"It was a natural process that we worked inside a big association as a working group because in the beginning, there were not enough people who were interested in these issues."* The initiative is borne out of a desire to have more autonomy and freedom in aligning values/ideals and practice: *"when you work at an association, you are in a group and you are not talking about harsh issues... You always try to reach consensus. But we felt that we needed to secede... In the end, even those people who said that we should have stayed, they agreed with us."* This search for autonomy is perceived as a natural process: *"It was a natural process like when children grow up and live with their parents, then they would like to move to their own house, and start their own family."*

Discontent with the treatment and recognition of certain issues received in organizations and platforms in which they are originally involved in has also been the driving factor for the start of ANAMURI, a Chilean initiative which is part of Via Campesina (IN31, CTP 424). Women from rural areas felt that their needs and interests were not attended by already existing organizations:

*"The work in the fields, is part of life say from day to day, getting up at six in the morning, the first thing to do is feed the animals, because that is the early rise. To go feed the animals, then feed the men if there are men in the house so the men can go to work eh, is followed with a whole day of chores in the orchard, in this and that...all the time, always. Women are the last ones lying down because they have to leave everything closed, and often also women are sexually occupied by their husbands, in many cases raped by their husbands eh and this eh, we are doing a whole theme of peasant and popular feminism, where what appears most is the issue of violence against them and this issue of sexual abuse of women is an unacknowledged issue, often unrecognized."*

After a group of enthusiastic founders get together, their activities spark a second wave of interest, through shared events, the use of different communication and diffusion strategies which include making opportunities to get involved known, and political events, which raise public awareness about the initiative and, at different stages, also help build a reputation.

This dynamic is clearly present at the start of Omstilling Ry, which is part of the Transition Towns movement, which started out of the efforts of a few enthusiasts, who then organized a series of meetings and started popularizing the ideas:

*"There was a woman [Jenna] in the next village how had read an article about the Transition Towns movement and she invited some people she knew, like the leader of the school and I was at that time the teacher of her son and some other people that she knew and I invited Tine, which is my neighbor"*

*and so we got together a little group and she told about this idea of Transition Towns and the three of us got stuck on the idea and started working on it, so that was an important event, that she took this initiative"; "The three organizers met for several months and read articles and then started making little flyers and introduce people to the ideas." (IN 85, CTP 96).*

The work of founders and/or formally elected leaders in community organizing and making opportunities known made Slow Food popular in Mexico and attracted whole new groups such as youth and farmers to the movement that had initially started out as more of an elite, middle class organization where chefs were the most important actors. This also mirrored the initial ethos of enjoying food which was a central aspect of Slow Food in Italy and Spain at its beginnings, and illustrates how it gets translated to a different context, and embedded into a different configuration of class and power relations. (IN65, CTP 15). The initiative Pro-Specie Rara started a political campaign which aimed to achieve a change in regulations identified as barriers to their goals. The political campaign had the effect of raising public awareness on the initiative and its work and thus also attracted more membership (IN 18, CTP 194).

Additional evidence is reviewed here regarding how motivational persistence is influenced by how the satisfaction of the needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence are supported. For question 1, evidence was also reviewed on how different crises and stages of development generate tensions between the motivations of members and requirements of professionalization, growing and increasing effectiveness.

**Maintaining the autonomy of different groups** is recognized as important in order to maintain motivation and align practices with the ethos of the movement, as a leader of Slow Food Mexico signals: *"Groups are really autonomous. We are a grassroots-based network, grounded on community work. Each group is free to decide its structure, their legal status, as well as their activities. Considering the spatial context of this country, it would have been impossible to reach to more people. Expanding the network is something that we have in mind, but it only could be possible if we maintain the autonomy of each group"*. The experience of autonomy and having an impact are recognized as very important in maintaining motivation: *"I think we have learnt to create our spaces, with our own resources, in coordination between several young people interested and proactive, and thus to transform our reality"* (IN 65, CTP 15).

**When leadership does not support autonomy, conflicts arise**, as the case of Peter Caddy of Ecovillage Findhorn demonstrates. Decisions to promote self-direction and autonomy are experienced as empowering and motivating: *"When Eileen stopped giving guidance the power was given to each one. It was about empowering people to their own leading, also in contrast to other community leaders"* (Ecovillage Findhorn, IN 28, CTP 305), and can contribute to making the initiative attractive to new members. However, as already explained for question 1, **promoting self-direction needs steering and getting used to** in cases where traditional institutions promoted more controlled forms of action, and can also be understood as the absence of responsibility, leading to practical/financial problems for the initiative, as in the case of Hackspace 1 (North of England, IN 77, CTP 276).

**Leaders and co-founders understand the importance of having in-depth knowledge of the motivations of their members**, creating space for diversity through flexible structures and decentralization. Pro-Specie Rara illustrates the interest of co-founders in getting to know their members motivations and needs: *"We asked the breeders how we could help them, what would be useful for them. With this survey we get to know why these people get animals, why they breed them. We should understand the drive, the motivation of the farmers. We are curious about their opinion. Is this still the way you want to work with us? Do you want to make projects with us? [...]"* So we received feedbacks from the associations and we can build a better partnership with them." , as well as creating a space where they are supported: *"If we did not work in the same direction with them, and they did not agree with our decisions, the distance between us would become bigger [...] the whole*

system would not work. For us it is important to operate as a real network. [...] Decentralization is helping us also not to do things which are not useful. We cannot do always what we want, we always have to consider about what is useful for them." (IN 18, CTP 197).

Supporting the **right kind of motivation** is acknowledged as important by co-founders of Fablab 2 (Southern England) and the hiring and training their own staff allows them to create “*extra touches that make you feel hosted and welcome and delighted, it should be a treat*”, thus making members feel welcome in order to motivate them to join and stay involved. They also make sure they support a sense of freedom and possibility in their presentation of the workshop to new members: “Not ‘*you must do this, you can’t wear that*’ – instead, using humour and communicating clearly” (IN 74, CTP 243).

Motivation is also supported by **meeting others in contexts where members feel engaged and involved**: “*Attending the Salone del Gusto was a highly motivating experience, participants feel very engaged, involved and empowered. The participatory mechanism to involve the candidates was very challenging, but the reward was very exciting to them. It took about a year of hard work and persuasion, but the youth who attended Salone del Gusto came back highly motivated and some continue to participate within the youth network and spread the Slow Food message across the territory*” (IN 65, CTP 15).

Co-founders and leaders of initiatives also understand the importance of **providing practical support to members**, which in turn can help develop competences and thus stimulate and maintain motivation. The importance of practical support is highlighted by the initiative Magház-Seed House, when discussing the publishing of the report on “*Practicality of Seed Saving*”: “*It promotes agricultural diversity around the globe and explains the history of the Hungarian seed maintaining efforts. It also encourages novice gardeners to try themselves as breeders*” (IN 17, CTP 232).

**Being effective and being successful, thus demonstrating collective capability is an important part of keeping members motivated.** The organization of a food fair following the principles of Slow Food in Araba, Vitoria, which gathered together many more participants than anyone expected and challenged the expectations of local government actors, who called them “*crackpots*”, increased motivation among members: “*It is clear that as things have gone so well, as we have been that successful in organizing it... Success is important to strengthen the group, the bond, to make us feel eager to continue making more, to extend our work as far as we can... Many producers have sold out their products sometimes even in the morning. That’s good*”. (Slow Food Araba-Vitoria, IN 66, CTP 28).

The experience of collective effectiveness in achieving their goals is also signalled as motivating by a member of the Participatory Budgeting initiative in Porto Alegre: “*I do not think that there was a specific moment of change, they began to notice the need to stick together in order to talk to the government and also to get things done in their communities... This is important to motivate people into participating in the assemblies and in the whole PB process. If people do not see things getting done around them, they get unmotivated and the community loses representativeness in PB. So it is important for the representatives to get together with others representative and align votes to get more things done in their communities*”. In the case of PB however, this is not free of contradictions, as sticking together makes less powerful members align with those that have more power to achieve results, which contrasts with the spirit of inclusion and equal participation that the initiative promotes (Participatory Budgeting Porto Alegre, IN 47, CTP 190).

There is a certain misfit between this research question, which refers to how intrinsic and long-lasting motivation can be supported the satisfaction of psychological needs, and the available data which focuses on the critical turning points in the development of an initiative, as perceived by individual members and as collectively constructed. The research question also refers to the relationship between individual needs and organizational support for them. Due to this misfit, data

only provides hints instead of clear answers. Also, to properly inquire into the satisfaction of psychological needs the focus would need to be on the individual, and not the initiative, as a unit of analysis. There is a clear recognition of the importance of autonomy in being motivated to join and stay involved in an initiative. This is recognized as important for both individual members, and for collective 'units' - such as local initiatives in their relationship with global networks. The importance of positive emotional experiences, meeting like-minded others and thus encountering support and validation for one's values and ideals, the experience of belonging to a movement and a global community, and the benefits of new forms of relating for meaning and wellbeing appear as important for motivations; these are all experiences that contribute to the satisfaction of needs for relatedness. Finally, skill development and the experience of competences for bringing about change are hinted at as important.

#### 4.2.2.3 Question 3: Tensions around diverging motivations

*What tensions around diverging motivations can be identified at different moments in the development of initiatives and how do they impact motivations of members?*

Different stages in the development of the initiatives are accompanied by different types of tensions, which in turn affect motivations of members. In the initial stage in which the initiative is set-up, members come motivated by a series of values and principles, a vision of a new way of relating and doing things that is similar enough to make a project possible. However, this does not mean members' motivations are the same, and when differences are explicitly articulated, ways of doing and organizing can be negotiated that accommodate diversity.

When motivations are assumed to be the same, and are maintained implicit, different understandings can be enacted in ways of doing, relating and organizing, which in turn can lead to chaos and difficulties in maintaining the practical aspects of the initiative (e.g. such as finances) afloat. This has been the case of a Fablab initiative in the North-East of England, and it led to a process of making motivations explicit, and revealing differences between founders who were interested in the community-building aspect of the initiative, and those that were more interested in the maker-side: *"I'm on a lifelong mission to see how you can grow communities. I work with open source software, I run hackdays; I'm fascinated by what happens when you get users and developers in the same room and show that you can cut out the middleman. I like starting communities and staying with them until they get on their feet, and I like working on the same principles as open source - be nice, be friendly, try to get people involved, don't be an arsehole. So part of the reason that [the organisation] is there is not just as a makerspace but to improve the tech community generally in [the city], we're very city focused. Getting people in to hot-desk is great, you get to meet loads of cool people working on interesting stuff. But that's not the primary focus"; "I was more interested in the maker side - I was blatant about what I wanted, something like 3rd Ward [a now-defunct artist collective and workshop] in New York. I had a big vision, this was going to be all things to all people. I still want that, a big makerspace, arts space, party space, all in one place, but even bigger than that" (IN 75, CTP 255).*

Even when members are motivated by the same pursuit - e.g. the freedom to pursue their own projects in ways they see fit, there can be differences in the vision of how to enact such freedom. The example of an Impact Hub initiative shows how some members considered freedom to mean showing up when they felt like it and doing what they wanted, with no regard for the wellbeing of the initiative as a collective. This led to financial problems and the need to establish a sense of responsibility to accompany the vision of freedom members had, a task undertaken by a new hired manager. The situation she encountered: *"There were people who were coming in for work at any time they wanted. Often people would not show up at all. They mixed up a relaxed atmosphere with not being professional"*, led her to implement a change strategy that included convincing members

of the need to do things differently and assuage their resistance: *“To be able to accomplish our mission, we need to free our mind of small things. I had a community manager who was doing the hosting and was chasing members who were not paying. That doesn’t make sense. I need a community manager free to do her job”; “Look, I need you to focus at this point at least 90% of your time on your job so the community manager is being free to do her job properly”.* (Impact Hub London King’s Cross, IN 22, CTP 49).

The Participatory Budgeting initiative of Porto Alegre also illustrates how similar understandings of how to bring about different forms of relating can be challenging in practice: *“It will always be challenging to deal with different people. Although everybody knows that it is important to listen, nobody practices it, so it is a constant exercise, especially if you consider that each year we have different people as councillors and representatives”* (IN 47, CTP 190).

Also, the practices an initiative finds to be in line with its values and principles, might fit some members’ inclinations but not others. Members differ in their preferences for self-direction, or in the activities in which they want to exercise self-determination. For example, they might be interested in pursuing their own projects but not so much in participating in the shaping of the initiative’s rules and practices. The latter is an important aspect of the ethos of building a community in the case of hackerspaces, for example: *“By and large, everyone’s been in agreement. We have a monthly meeting – as I do the vast majority of the admin stuff, the monthly meetings are often just me updating everyone: ‘This is what’s been happening, this is our cash flow situation, and so on’. I do try and make it a conversation, like ‘This is an opportunity for you to tell me what to do!’ But everyone always seems happy with me steering. I do always preface things with ‘This is a suggestion, not a decision that I’m making so please let me know any thoughts you have’, and everyone’s like ‘No, we’re quite happy with that. Carry on’”.* (Hackspace 1, North of England, IN77, CTP 276).

Also, they might need time and practice to get used to a new way of working and to develop the necessary trust to experiment with self-directed projects: *“I think people do take some time to get used to this hacker trust, this do-ocracy. They’ve never had that type of freedom before. They maybe work in a job with low levels of trust and high levels of micromanagement. They think if they would like to do something differently, they’ve almost got used to the idea of abandoning that improvement – it’s too hard to ask their manager to do something”* (Hackspace 1, North of England, IN77, CTP 276).

Moments of change in leadership can create tensions around diverging understandings of the future of the initiatives and views about its future development. New leaders sometimes bring a different logic to the initiative that clashes with understandings of core values that have been solidified in practices over time and have established an organizational culture. The perception that core values are perverted contributes to dissatisfaction and loss of morale, and when this happens among founders and recognized members, it can have a disintegrating effect on the organization. After a period of contestation, one solution is to re-engage disaffected members and re-start a discussion on the direct to take, which generates renewed enthusiasm, as was the case with Slow Food USA (IN 67, CTP 348).

Effective leaders appear to have the capacity to communicate and bring everyone on board, be inclusive and facilitate a process in which everyone feels heard and in which different motivations are accounted for, and achieve credibility by showing results while keeping members motivated. For example, a new manager brought in to manage an Impact Hub in London, following a financial crisis, reflects upon slowing down change in order not to lose membership: *“Looking back I would have speeded some of the changes a bit up. I slowed them down to not have a clash (with members of staff). This would have been good for the development of the Hub”.* (Impact Hub London King’s Cross, IN 22, CTP 49).

A member of a hackspace initiative also talks about the tensions between needing to grow in order to be financially sustainable and making sure the community grows in ways that allow for both



new and old members to maintain their motivation: *It's true – we'd like more members. That would ease the financial worries in terms of running the space. But, at the same I'm happy for the community to grow steadily and organically because it gives time for each of the new members to get assimilated into the team. If I had 30 new members join tomorrow, that would change the feel, It might make new members feel pushed out, and it might mean new members would take a little time to understand how we do things, the ethos*" (IN 77, CTP 276).

**Stages of growing, expanding or becoming institutionalized bring a series of tensions with them.** Changing the focus and type of membership can generate resistance from the older members, as Slow Food Mexico (IN 65, CTP 19), or Fiare demonstrate (IN 58, CTP 37). Changing its organizational form to becoming a credit-lending bank and also merging with an Italian entity, led to tensions in FIARE in two ways: first, it started to require professionalization of certain organizational roles, which in turn threatened the motivation of volunteers; and secondly, it started attracting members that expected the same services as from a regular bank, and they became quickly demotivated by what was perceived as inefficiency in service delivery. FIARE realized that a different communication strategy was needed, both with their own volunteers as well as with new 'client' members, in order to create expectations that were in line with what the initiative could deliver and to foster motivations that were in line with what made it different from regular banks – such as being an equal participating member in the building of a new financial system for a new community.

Motivations can only be maintained if the initiative delivers on its promises and is able to demonstrate new ways of relating and doing in practice. High expectations and motivations can lead to rapid disenchantment when not matched by reality. This has been the case of Participatory Budgeting in Fortaleza, and the distance between expectations and delivery led to a confirmation of beliefs about leftist initiatives: *"This has created a huge expectation (...). If the city does all this it is the beginning of a revolution! This is historic in the traditional leftist governments, they always generate a huge expectation, they (the population) do not have the notion that the budget is limited and they think they can ask for everything"* (IN 45, CTP 68).

### 4.2.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

The main observations to inform adaptation of the proposition in the trajectory towards D3.4.

**Observation 1.** The first part of the proposition is confirmed. Evidence supports the claim that members come together in an attempt to find better ways of pursuing certain values/ideals/principles, and align them to specific (novel) practices and behaviours. Members are attracted to the freedom to pursue certain ideals, to new forms of relatedness based on equality, inclusiveness and fairness (to name just a few examples), and search for ways to align them to new practices and behaviours. However, there are also differences between members 'motivations, as well as understandings about which particular ways of doing and organizing would be most appropriate for achieving goals, and these are not always made explicit from the outset. When they are made explicit, they can be openly negotiated and workable compromises can be found. When they are not made explicit, it can lead to chaos, lack of effectiveness in organizing and pursuing collective goals, as well as disenchantment and loss of membership.

**Observation 2.** Different stages in the development of an initiative come with different tensions around motivations. For the first stage of setting up an initiative, challenges revolve around bringing different motivations into workable compromises and divergence around different understandings of how goals are best pursued, which in turn has consequences on motivations. Experimenting with setting up an initiative leads to **learning about how to accommodate multiple and diverse motivations and finding the best organizational structures to do so,**

while still being able to organize effectively in order to pursue their goals. Leaders and founders cultivate **tolerance and openness to diverse motivations**, and understand the **importance of de-centralized structures**. The second stage revolves around setting up an organizational structure that reflects the initial values and objectives while being effective in dealing with practical and organizational challenges- members differ, for example, in their understandings of how freedom should look like in practice, have different preferences for self-direction when it comes to shaping the initiative's rules or in their perspectives on the pace and style of growth. At this stage, initiatives sometimes learn that motivations need to be made explicit, or that communication and other organizational strategies need to target *the right kind of motivation in members*. The right kind of motivation refers to clearly understanding what the initiative is about, what members can expect, and what is expected from them when they join. Thus members' motivations sometimes need to be brought more in line with the initiative's objectives. Leaders and international networks create flexibility in organizational forms as a way to promote inclusivity, and use strategies for equality as a way to ensure that **crises do not lead to a loss in membership or that motivation does not dwindle**. The interplay between motivations and organizational forms is not necessarily captured by the proposition as it currently stands.

**Observation 3.** Evidence provides some support for the fact that motivations are supported over time by the satisfaction of the psychological needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence. However, the research design pursued the identification of critical turning points in the development of social innovation initiatives, and interviewees, normally key members and/or founders of the initiatives, were asked to reflect on those. References to motivations and challenges regarding maintaining it are occasionally made but, as this was among the objectives of the interviews, evidence is not abundant. The evidence that is available suggests that satisfaction of the need for autonomy plays an important role in maintaining intrinsic motivation, and in dealing with tensions at different stages. Support for new forms of relating and finding a sense of belonging and meaning in new relations appears to support the satisfaction of the need for relatedness. Receiving support to develop new competences and skills also seems to contribute to maintaining motivation for involvement. Different initiatives place different emphasis on the needs: support for developing competences is more important in the Fablabs and Credit Unions than in Slow Food for example.

**Observation 4.** Evidence supports the claim that establishing new relations and new modes of community is important in SIs. However, not all members are equally motivated to be actively involved in shaping how the initiative is organized. This can be an obstacle to the initiative's objectives regarding new relations and require strategies to help members overcome internalized ways of doing (e.g. expecting to be directed by others/managers, instead of taking the initiative), and to manage expectations regarding benefits and responsibilities of being a member, in order to attract members whose motivations are in line with the initiative's objectives.

**Observation 5.** A lot of the CTP evidence refers to the role of leadership in successful transition through different stages and dealing with tensions and crises. References are made to the type of leadership strategies that are successful in bringing everyone on board at different stages, in managing the interests of different categories of members, in navigating organizational change and in facilitating reaching agreements in crises. Changes in leadership are key moments in the development of an initiative, which can lead to either significant disengagement or renewed enthusiasm and commitment. Adopting a leadership style that gives importance to knowing members' motivations well, on facilitating agreements and making sure everyone is given space to voice concerns and ideas, and being mindful about the rhythm of change and growth to make sure both motivation/enthusiasm and practical effectiveness are achieved, is emphasized as a contributor to initiatives thriving. As it is obvious this is an important aspect of the initiatives' development, leadership might deserve a proposition of its own.

The analyses for proposition 1 draw more heavily on the following initiatives: Magház Seed House, Red de Semillas, Fiare, Ecovillage Sieben Linden, Ecovillage Findhorn, Anamuri (Via Campesina), Transition Town Ry, several Slow Food initiatives (Mexico, USA, Araba-Vitoria), Pro-specie Rara, Fablabs (North-East England), Volunteer Labour Bank (a time bank initiative in Japan), BIEN-Suisse, Participatory Budgeting in Fortaleza and Porto Alegre, Impact Hub London, and Hackspace 1 (North of England). These contained the most relevant evidence for the content of this proposition. This does not mean that others do not include relevant evidence, but rather that given the keyword labels assigned to the CTPs by researchers and the characteristics of the search process of the database have provided these results.

Additional theoretical resources that could usefully be brought in to further develop propositions in Cluster A (and potentially other clusters as well), include literature from *organizational psychology* on leadership styles and their role in the shaping of organizational culture and practices (organizational psychology); on motivations and their interplay with different organizational forms and rigidity/fluidity of structure; and from *social psychology* on stages of group development and their relationship to conflict resolution and collective performance/functioning.

## 4.3 Proposition 2: On internal tensions and sustaining SI initiatives

### 4.3.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**Proposition 2.** *SI initiatives can have a sustained operation and impact only if they can handle the tension between keeping their members motivated (which has to do with their continued willingness to endorse the principles of the initiative, but also with experiencing connection and belongingness, autonomy and 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' needs or motivations. 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.*

#### **Analytical approach:**

While proposition one addresses the emergence of SI initiatives, this proposition addresses the questions of how initiatives are sustained including the internal tensions they must deal with. The core of this proposition is on the maintenance and sustainability of initiatives. Starting with transformative ambitions, initiatives seek to change societal structures with various approaches. Therefore, it should be looked first on the approaches and what is being established and solidified and how far is tension involved in this process. In this respect, the questions arise, if and how far members are aware of tensions and how openly it is discussed in the initiative. Is it seen as problem, or as challenge? Who is expected to be responsible to work on the tensions and solve them?

Second, we claim that there are tensions around internal dynamics, needs, structures and group processes on the one hand and external ambitions of societal and transformative impact on the other hand. The initiatives have to deal with these tensions to be able to sustain themselves and to establish and continue their ambitions for challenging, altering, replacing or providing alternatives (CARP) to existing social relations on a regular base. We assume that finding stability around governance, leadership, and management structures are of special relevance for dealing with these tensions and will therefore have a special search for issues around leadership. After the foundation

of an initiative establishing of structures is a delicate phase of consolidation to grow into a sustainable initiative.

Third, we want to clarify stages of developments of the initiatives. We claim that the initiatives had to develop social innovative structures and practices to handle the tensions while being able to sustain their initiatives. These developed strategies are of high value concerning transformative social innovation.

**These considerations have led to the following three main research questions for investigating the database.**

- 1. *How and to what extent is there a tension between internal dynamics/ motivations and external ambitions for transformative impact in the different initiatives?***
- 2. *What are the tensions and how are they dealt with? (the identification of tensions overlaps partly with Proposition 1 and we will streamline analysis at the end). In particular: Are solutions continuist/incremental or entailing radical change within the initiative? (we discussed two angles here: whether they are different compared to what they established as internal culture or comfort zone, and also as compared to the existing institutionalized relations – do they become more conformist and actually renounce their initial ideals in order to adapt or do they achieve “transformative compromises?”)***
- 3. *How do tensions develop across different stages of the initiative? (Can we discover any patterns and a variety in stages and development? What is in common? (e.g. some initiatives might move from an outward focus to an inward focus (a focus on nurturing the group), other might move from an inward to an outward focus; we are looking for whether there are patterns and commonalities in these trends, and evidence about different forms of balance, which is what the proposition is about).***

Taking these claims and aspects into account the database has been searched by (compare bold, italic with the search words listed below):

a) **key words**; combination of key words <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii-tag-search>

b) full-text <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii-search>

The following list of search words indicates the number of results (CTP and initiatives), which had been analysed. Relevant information/ text parts were copied in a search protocol. Using these keywords showed increasingly same results emerging, which was taken as a hint to finally have captured the relevant data.

- **For proposition 2 in general and question 1:** tensions 4; internal + tension 53; "internal tension" 0; intention + problem; **Internal crisis** 47; *internal crises and internal decision making* 20; *identity and internal crises* 9; *Identity and Repetition-of-moves* 3; **Confusion & chaos** 15; *Identity and Confusion & chaos* 3; *Internal decision-making and Confusion & chaos* 3;
- **Additional for question 2: re-invigoration** 75; *identity and re-invigoration* 19; *Re-invigoration and Values* 10; leadership 25; governance 26
- **For question 3:** development +internal 49; **monitoring** 18; phase 28

Other key words and combinations had been tried (e.g. formalizing, interpersonal relations) and did not lead to new relevant results. The texts have been read entirely to capture the linkages and relevant relations and for extracting concise information. It was tried to use as much direct quotes as possible.

The **database analysis** showed a rich variety of information on proposition two. There is a decent number of minimum 47 CTP which involve internal conflicts for instance around leadership, power, finances, aims or values. The interviewees explain surprisingly open about internal

conflicts and its problematic consequences. Often interviewees enthusiastically explain their strategies to turn the tables and find solutions for the dilemmas and conflicts.

Nevertheless, it needs to be mentioned that internal conflicts and tensions often have personal, private and intimate sensitivities, for which it turned out as difficult to get solid data on, especially just through interviews without participant observation. Despite having information available, it is sometimes difficult to conclude solid data, because the interviewees are firstly, careful to communicate details especially if it is about personalities and names, secondly, as members of the initiative, the interviewees are somehow involved themselves in the conflict and therefore express a subjective perspective. Very useful information could be revealed when the initiative had reflective conversations and the conflict could be solved, and/or the interviewee could develop a differentiated perspective on the situation.

Concerning question three, it was difficult to find information in the data on development of different stages because there was mostly no continuous information on the history of the initiatives in a data base focussing on critical turning points. The description of the initiatives is often rather focusing on aims, societal impacts and some basic data, while explanations on internal developments and social relations amongst members are rather rare or between the lines found in the coproduction or learning section of the CTP.

## 4.3.2 Presenting the evidence

### 4.3.2.1 Tension between Internal Dynamics and External Ambitions in Sustaining Initiatives

Most of the initiatives experience tensions between internal dynamics and external ambitions in their history. Nevertheless, it turned out that the different initiatives under study follow different ambitions on a 'scale' between internal dynamics and external ambitions for transformative social innovation. They can therefore roughly be divided in two groups although all initiatives have to deal with both aspects:

- (1) Rather **outward oriented** initiatives are primarily oriented to work towards external impact, which is done through education, promotion, providing services or through collaboration between institutions, organisations and civil society (Ashoka, BasicIncome, Credit Unions, TimeBanks, Participatory Budgeting, RIPESS, DESIS, Science Shops, LivingLabs, FabLabs, Hackerspaces, INFORSE, and the SeedExchangeNetwork).
- (2) Rather **inward oriented**, initiatives follow a **community-based** intention in the first place. They are working with internal group dynamics as an element of social innovation by creating alternative ways of social relations, socialising, cooking, eating, sharing spaces or living together within the initiative (local initiatives of Slow Food, co-operative alliance (ICA) for housing, transition towns, Via Campesina, Sharables, Impact HUB and ecovillages (GEN)).

**Service oriented initiatives** have learnt to **better take care for their properties**, equipment or intellectual capital after providing it openly to the public. They implement membership systems where members learn to responsibility treat initiative property (Hackerspaces, FABLABS). **Internal oriented initiatives** often use their national and global **networks** to work for political impact as a voice of the local initiatives (Slow Food, Ecovillages (GEN), Via Campesina). Some initiatives are equally engaged internally and externally (ImpactHUB and Transition Towns). These 'hybrid' initiatives tend to be aware of **balancing internal connection and outward** oriented impact (e.g. ImpactHUB Vienna). In the case of TransitionTownTooting members are in a

**searching process for deciding on a focus** by disputing on ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ transition work. Decisions on the purpose of the initiative were missing which would have helped to clarify about the consequences and choosing the correct systems and processes (TT Tooting, CTP 199). From the individual perception of the members, there can be find a certain competition between internal dynamics and external ambitions due to time constraints and individual capacities which comes increasingly relevant over time when initiatives are sustained and when the time and effort of personal engagement in initiatives needs to be integrated into daily life on a regular base.

Both kinds of initiatives have developed **infrastructures that need to be changed, renewed or transformed** over time to **sustain the initiative** and meet the needs of members and the ambitions of the initiative. We can find for instance, change of leaders (SlowFoodAraba 29, Hackerspace 262, ecovillage Findh. 306, Part.Budg. 66), team change and students leave (DESI 208), death of leader (CreditUnion 453), murder of leader (ICA/COVILPI 428), withdrawal of entire board (ecovillage Find. CTP 307), and various kinds of changes in governance, management or business methods (e.g. Slow Food Mexico 17, ecovillage Ber. 55, IH 53, Part.Budg. 70, 186, TT Ry 97, DESI 212, Hackerspace 276, ecovillage TH 296, ecovillage Find. 309, LivingKnowledge 318, 325, FEBEA 411, 440). Many of these examples will be introduced more closely in the following section.

Some initiatives have managed to **create activities that combine outer ambitions and inner dynamics**. For instance, in the case of Transition Town Tooting they finally created ‘a visual one page strategy’ which is both a map of what they do and a way of explaining what they do to other people (TT Tooting, CTP 118). Another way of balancing the inner and outer requirements is an iterative approach. A failure in outward activities was perceived as a sign for the group not yet being strong and conscious enough to carry such a large project, including financial investment and responsibility in the case of ecovillage Tempelhof. After failing with a first site to purchase, they realised “*a group process was needed*” and clarification of the common ground (Ecovillage TH, CTP 288). The **group consciously shifted the focus of development from outside search to inner group processes**. The initiative has developed the practice to deal with difficult situations on a socio-psychological level by cultivating the attitude of learning something out of each set back. The internal process caused a new start with regular meetings for community building processes and visions on how to organize decision making. The group started visiting existing successful community initiatives to learn from (Ecovillage TH, CTP 288).

#### Conclusions:

There is various kind of tensions in all initiatives differing according to the founding impulse of rather outward oriented or inward oriented and community-based. **The clearer the starting impulse** including common ground, formulation of purpose and aims, financial resources, governance and management system – **the better the initiatives seem to be able to handle the tensions**. Taking these different ambitions into account, the **intensity of tensions** depends on the stability and resilience of the initiative due to various factors. Taking motivations of individuals into account – (1) autonomy, (2) relatedness and (3) competence – the tensions between individual members and the initiatives occur correspondently in term of (1) commitment, agreements and responsibility, (2) conflicts, community and leadership and (3) acknowledgement, management, and professional actions.

#### 4.3.2.2 The tensions in initiatives and ways of dealing with it

Initiatives have to deal with multiple kinds of tensions due to their innovative ambitions. They have often been founded to develop solutions for certain societal issues and tensions. The

following section introduces areas and examples of tensions between internal dynamics and external ambitions which occur in the initiatives under study and ways of dealing with it.

### **Tensions between commitment and autonomy**

The **continuity of members** is an important issue, especially in smaller initiatives. In this respect involvement of younger people and students is experienced as ambivalent (DESI, CTP 279).

It is aimed at strengthened the cohesion and commitment of members. It is seen as a successful result of positive work in the local groups (SlowFood Araba, CTP 29). On the other hand, becoming more organized and 'professional' in structures and processes can cause **fears around the structure** becoming too rigid (TT Tooting, CTP 118).

### **Tensions between different groups:**

**Tensions between social classes:** If initiative suddenly changes the target group and addresses a different societal class can cause problems (Slow Food USA, CTP 340). Also Slow Food Mexico had become an **elitist and closed organization**. To counter this, the new leaders focused their efforts on **promoting new** "convivia" in new territories, creating an informal network of young cooks, and encouraging the participation of all sectors (all classes) of the population (Slow Food Mexico, CTP 19). **Ways of dealing with it:** This response meant also a learning process for the new leaders, who understood that changes must be introduced through **dialogue, negotiation** and the inclusion of all sensitivities within the same project.

**Tensions between generations:** *"We turned from a generation of convivium leaders and members about 50 or 60 years old into an organization where decisions were taken by new young leaders."* (SlowFood Mexico, CTP 17). **Ways of dealing with tension between younger and older generations:** *"We need to avoid certain prejudices or bias against certain groups. I think that all our activities and projects should be multidisciplinary and transgenerational. We must involve everyone. Sometimes it is difficult, but I think the outcomes are very positive. In this term, social and ideological ties or barriers should be overcome."* (SlowFood Mexico, CTP 17) The CTP permitted practitioners to enhance their leadership and team-working skills. They also focused on develop their communication abilities in order to build a comprehensive and inclusive discourse capable to reach to the wide public. They learned from this CTP that **groups should be plural, diverse and inclusive** (SlowFood Mexico, CTP 17). Especially the older organisations amongst the TRANSIT case studies have implemented youth branches of their organisations after noticing the aging of the longterm members (e.g. INFORSE, GEN). Young Energy of INFORSE was founded through collaboration with the educational sector. *We learned that young people are engaged; we learned that they are interested in becoming a part of VE - if we arrange the process in the right way* (INFORSE VE, CTP 390).

### **Tensions between responsibility and power**

It can also be inferred that even in flat organisations where people lead themselves, it is necessary to have an executive manager that takes the **legal** responsibility, and handles external relations and activities like **signing contracts**: *"The internal organization has a very flat democratic holacratic, name it as you want, but you know in a sense there should be someone who is legally responsible."* (ESSRG, CTP 345). ImpactHUB activists notice that members are not used to take responsibility: *"I think some people come into the network with a strong institutional culture background, just a different paradigm of organizing, which then [gets] projected onto this network"* (IH KC, CTP 53). In the case of Transition Town Ry, the working groups were not really **empowered by the core group** and could not generate successful events. Finally a sense of 'crisis' had pushed them to hold a core group meeting with the working groups discussing the problem. They came up with the idea of changing the overall process. The **core group became more defined** and more people began to contribute which helped the initiative continue and sustain itself (TT Ry 97). **Sharing space** and living together is a special area for internal tensions. In a case of conflict between residences of a cohousing, the initiative LL even consulted formal institutions

to mediate the internal conflict (Living Lab Eindhoven, CTP 167). In ecovillage Tempelhof, the residents realised that power can only be held with **having capacities for responsibility** and engagement for the larger context. *“If you want to co-design a project you have to inform yourself a lot. In the end the power is theoretical because you can get involved probably only in 1-2 projects at the same time.”* (ecovillage TH, CTP 296; and [Kunze/Avelino 2015](#)). In the ecovillage Findhorn, the frame for decision-making was changed to enforce more responsible decisions by **only accepting long-term, committed staff members for deciding** on the budget (ecovillage Find., CTP 309).

### **Tensions between ideals and reality**

Transformative social innovation initiatives intend to realise ideals within societal structures. This causes various kinds of tensions within the initiative and the members.

**Transparency, comprehension of values and publicity:** Effort needs to be put in communicating the values that not only external people but also members can **understand the purpose** of the initiative (FEBEA, CTP 412). The initiatives need to give insights in the various, sometimes even conflicting agendas and to **spend enough time together to talk** about it (LivLab, iMinds, CTP 163). In the case of participatory budgeting the employees of the city hall realized that you cannot point out demands without planning. It is about maturation of the participation process: *“the community is able to understand more than we think; that there is much more than just getting a yes or a no”*. (PartBudg Fortaleza, CTP 70). *“Without transparency and a commitment to the truth, there is no way to have citizen participation, there is no way to **create relationships based on trust**, and I think this is the strongest lesson learnt in the whole process”* (Part. Budg. 186). Communicating the aims is especially important to organisations and supporters the initiative is depended on. An interviewee of a science shop admits that it may have been hard for the career-people to **understand their way of working** (Liv Know., CTP318). In TT Norwich an internal communication was missing on the role of the core group which was never resolved (TT Norwich, CTP 113). The global ImpactHUB network could re-invigorate the values by **rebranding its name** to emphasise the transformative ambitions: from HUB to ImpactHUB (IH KC, CTP 53).

**Tensions between different interpretations of values and aims:** In science shops, there is little or no contestation, especially in the early phases. It seems that in the academic environment people mostly just ask critical questions. While not actively supporting it, there is little active resistance against such activities (Liv Know., CTP315). It is not only about accepting what others do, but **honouring different kinds of contributions**. Empowering and trusting in everyone with his and her contribution is seen as important – may it be as financial manager or as garbage man (ecovillage TH, CTP 296). In Arche Noah Seed Exchange (CTP 80) an open conflict emerged with many members involved and played out in general assembly meetings. **Remembering the original vision** fostered re-invigoration in case of internal conflict. The conflict that was played out on the level of visions, membership and image, helped the organisation to turn towards a better perspective in all these aspects. In the end it was very important to completely integrate all the benefits that came from the founding period. In the case of ecovillage Sieben Linden, two different ‘parties’, **values and people have clashed** over a period of ten years which threatened the stability of the initiative. While the general value – animal welfare – has been agreed upon in the common ground, the interpretation and feelings have differed and created two opposing ‘parties’. The situation was solved after **diplomatic processes with a resolution** which definitely can be interpreted as a good example of a ‘transformative compromise’. **Disclaiming from a part of their visions** to agree to the resolution, the two ‘parties’ had decided that the co-productive part and friendships with people ‘from the other party’ is of greater value for them which enabled the initiative to develop a solution for both ‘parties’. The resolution is still in operation after another ten years. A deeper learning insight includes the **necessity of agreeing on basic values before committing** to shared property and starting to work and live together (Ecovillage 7L, CTP 302).



## **Tension between ideals and professional requirements to run an initiative with legal and economic stability**

Tensions often emerge between the individual motivation to act, be influential in the initiative and being skilled and professional enough, especially when the initiative is growing over time. *“How would [the Hub] navigate the tension between serving a movement, building a business, and sustaining a network?”* (IH KC, CTP 53). *“I think we need the right balance between a commercial model and being impact driven”* (IH KC 49). In TTN, there is the question of **how far the initiative wants to get involved with government and business**. A tension about whether Transition Norwich was a grassroots organisation independent of government versus receiving grants (TT Norwich, CTP 113). In the case of IH, the interviewee sees the **need to reconcile the tensions between profit and social benefit**. *“You just need to have the impact first. If you then run like a business you will make money out of it. If you put profit first that is when you have a problem”* (IH KC, CTP 48). This process of reconciling profit and **ideals requires entrepreneurial skills** and business experiences which often are lacking amongst initiative members and especially founders as important frontrunners in initiatives (IH KC, CTP 48; Slow Food USA, CTP 340; Ecovillage Findh., CTP 307). **Professionalization** comes from better management (ESSRG, CTP 345). It is perceived as difficult to criticise co-members for lacking skills because of a **tension between personal relations and professional ambitions** in the initiatives (IH KC, CTP 53). The tensions could be solved by **integrating professionals when the founders released** from their leader position (see prop.2,Q3). Ecovillage Findhorn, which had developed into a popular ‘brand’ due to its ecological and spiritual charisma, serves as a label for subprojects and businesses in the region. Nevertheless, it is a challenge for Findhorn to gain any profit from providing this label because of a *“being naïve how we sold things off”*. It also includes the challenge to provide a broad enough **framework to hold all these companies** (Ecovillage Findh., CTP 307). The case of *“tension between professional and participatory planning methods* (Ecovillage 7L, CTP289) could be overcome with the years by **developing continuous collaboration with external professionals** who know the initiative over the years and are willing and skilled for participatory planning. Ecovillage Tempelhof has experienced a dilemma which could be solve by **deciding on priorities**. It was an internal shift to prioritise ‘community living’ rather than ‘green, nice living’ around Munich and it included leaving convenient and save jobs and living environments to found the ecovillage in a remote area (Ecovillage TH, CTP 288).

## **Tension between growing in members and sustaining the ideals**

Some initiatives emerge when societal systems collapse and self-management is required like in the case of ICA/MOI, CTP 219. They experienced a rapid growth. The initiative has **taught the newcomers** by old members to integrate them into the existing structure of self-management. A construction of **systematic spaces of transference and self-management training** was central to face the incorporation of new groups, without cooperative experience as well as inviting **external experts** for consulting for governance and management (ICA/MOI, CTP 219).

When the aims and structure is more flexible, the same issue occurs on a smaller, personal level in groups. The continuity of projects - which associates feel identified with or are proud of - as well as the continuity of persons involved in the board of directors or hired staff is essential for sustaining initiatives. *“There was a group working and then few more people come and collapse everything”* (Slow Food USA, CTP 348). In the ethical bank *“the number of hired personnel grew sharply, so that at some point, we **lost certain control** over what was happening within the organization. Then, we adopted a structure that works with different departments, each department has its own objectives* (FEBEA, CTP 411). Processes of internal differentiation can solve the challenges around growth and integration of new members.

## **Protecting community aims with membership criteria and newcomer phases**

Initiatives have experienced tensions due to their ideals of sharing and providing infrastructure and services and feeling exploited by members. *“We’re now seen as a cheap facility for tools, and not a community.”* (Hackerspace, CTP 250). Therefore many initiatives have developed diverse and different **systems of memberships** and **membership selection criteria** to protect the community-based services they provide. In ecovillage Findhorn it was perceived as necessary to change the attitude from being too open and naïve to a **sense of self-value** *“We felt a bit needy. We had a sense of desperation. We did not think it is a valuable business we had.”*(ecovillage Findh., CTP 307). Also in ImpactHUB *“the tone of it has changed from ‘you are licensed’, to ‘you are becoming a member of this association, and because you are aligned to this purpose and this vision and the values, you earn the right to use the brand”* (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48). A central insight was to connect users to the vision instead of enabling them for something, for which e.g. ImpactHUB has designed a special **‘loyalty program’** (ebid.; IH BeloHoriz., CTP 86). In the case of ethical bank, the membership is restricted to social enterprises to preserve the goals of the initiative (FEBEA Credal, CTP442). In the case of a FabLab a practical two-stage verification around membership was implemented to allowed the co-founders and members to **learn about how social norms and community culture could be constructed in a volunteer-run organization**. The co-founders were clear that creating a written set of community principles was an important part of this process. Directors who are skilled and responsible for expensive equipment have the power to ban members. (FabLab4, CTP 267)

These partly strict membership rules have caused tension on a different level though; namely between the quality of an open community and those of a closed club or ‘gated community’. Although the rules and partly years-long newcomer processes (e.g. in ecovillages TH, 7L, Findh.) might look rigid, the initiatives have found a **way to offer any person to apply for membership while protecting and maintaining the values**.

## **Tensions around governance and Leadership**

**Initiatives have to** implement some kind of structures, **management and governance to** develop a frame for maintaining themselves. Several tensions occur when the initiative has decided for a certain structure which is always perceived as ambivalent: on the one side it enables activities and development; on the other hand it enables certain activities and hinders others. Appropriate governance has to be able to **meet needs and ambitions of members for participating and being able to work towards external impact**. Another dimension of tensions comes from striving to express ideals and values with **internal governance structures, e.g. of participation and radical democracy**. *“A social business needs to pay more attention to governance than anybody else. When everything is going well nobody thinks about governance. They test the governance when things are going wrong. Whether you can survive a difficult situation”* (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48). After successfully solve a fundamental conflict on basic value directions, the question still remained *‘how to manage conflict’* in Arche Noah Seed Exchange (CTP 80).

Individual and emotional tensions *“There are three things that stand in the way decision-making: Ego, fear and indifference. We all have to deal with those”* (ecovillage Ber., CTP 55)

Tensions with founders and hierarchies: Founders invest lot of time and motivation, identify with the new emerging initiative, intend to realize their visions and dreams with it and they stick to their plan (Ecovillage Bergen CTP 58). Impact HUBs *“with a single founder are more likely to go bust. Founders are more likely to run out of energy and run off to do something else”* (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48). On the other hand, a FEBEA member states, that strong charismatic leader keeps members motivated and they follow his directions: Persons of authority and in leadership has to be convinced about an action or new action strategy. The other members will follow them (FEBEA, CTP 412). Hierarchical structures usually spark rejection, when changes are not properly introduced. If such organizational changes are adopted without the approval of the majority of the

initiative (FEBEA, CTP 411), the realisation is unlikely to be successful. Successful leadership skills involve *“to be strength but not restrict people’s willingness”*. (FEBEA Credal, CTP442)

Tensions with consensus decision making: On a **decentralized** level it is more difficult to make decisions, as some people have less information at hand. More people mean **more varieties** to be used, produced and used. (Seed Red Sem. CTP 75). In ecovillage Findhorn, at a certain point, people were dissatisfied with radical consensus decision making by everyone which was **perceived as ineffective** (ecovillage Findh., CTP 307). Choosing for more equal decision-making structures, also inherently comes with contestations and disagreements. Consensus decision in the initiative can be an **obstacle for engaged and professional members** *“For a large and complicated project the community should give a mandate to someone who is authorized to take the lead. It does undermine a project, if someone is really engaged and has become an experienced expert in something and then everyone else in the community is adding their opinion expecting that it will be acted accordingly. [...] On the other hand, the community of course is still integrated in the participatory planning process through hearing their needs. The method of systemic consent worked well in our case.”* (Ecovillage 7L, CTP 303). *“It can be slow and cumbersome. But the key thing is for me that actually in the end decisions stick. Because they are the will of the majority and the minority have to respect it”*. (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48).

Educate and keep members empowered: In Ecocitrus every two years the cooperative management changes, it is perceived as important to **change decision makers**. *“In fact, sometimes we should change positions.”* Moreover, in order for producers to have greater participation in cooperative activities, a **constant investment in** education, communication and empowerment of members and partners is needed (RIPESS, ecocitrus, CTP 359). It is important to have competent managers and members for maintain basic governance principles. *“There are the pillars of cooperativism that support it. I think some of the key pillars are **education, transparency and knowledge**. You have to have knowledge, you have to know what you do”* (RIPESS, ecocitrus, CTP 359). Members of Ecovillage Tempelhof have learnt that empowerment and leadership **implies not only action and power, but at the same time responsibility and being able to carry the consequences of once decision** even if they turn out differently than intended. (ecovillage TH, CTP 296).

Install legal frames and ownership structures to insure distributed power: In ImpactHUBs collective ownership has been established as well as decision bodies which control each other. No single person or excluded group can decide over the whole organization/ initiative (IH KC, CTP 53). *The board is elected to keep a close eye on the company and then the association keeps an eye on the board. [...] We don’t legally co-own the Association but the Association owns the Company a 100%, so we co-own our activities”*. Shared activities include voting on mandates, governance mechanisms, deciding on the network budgets. **We are being co-owners and as such take biggest decisions together”**. (IH KC, CTP 53). Same counts for most of the initiatives which has set up legal frames of cooperatives, foundations or associations to prevent tensions around power and responsibility.

### **Conclusions on tensions and ways of dealing with it:**

Tensions between internal dynamics and external ambitions are sometimes threatening for the existence of the initiative. The group can be split through a conflict or the cohesion of the group can get lost and the initiative slowly dies if aims, structure or mutual tolerance is missing. An initiative finally has to implement structures which work on realistic, not too idealistic base to maintain itself. On the other hand, it has to stick to its values and purpose to retain its special approach in comparison to conventional organisations with similar themes. Sustaining its aims and ideals constantly requires clear decisions for the core values by every engaged member partly as compromises by accepting withdrawals from other needs and intentions, e.g. profit versus social values.

Eight areas of tensions could be extracted from the data base: commitment, social classes, generations, responsibility & power, ideals & reality, competence & professionalization, openness & protection, governance & leadership, and growing. Dealing with the tensions is often a process of seeking and experimenting between trial and error. Solutions entail space for communication and diplomatic negotiation, setting up structures and rules, internal differentiation, searching for win-win-solution which integrates individual needs and purpose of the initiative. Deciding for a strategy, structure and setting priorities with all members and intrinsically motivated implementations often supports the group to focus and strengthen their ambitions and impact and therefore keep members motivated.

The actions and interventions undertaken may result in failures, either conforming and renouncing ideals or in success of reaching a level of integration ('transformative compromise') which is able to meet the controversial parts. Several factors need to come together to successfully reach a 'transformative compromise': (1) becoming aware of tensions, (2) identifying the issues and reasons, (3) agreement to the importance for a part or the entire initiative, (4) find appropriate ways and approaches to deal with it. Sustainable solutions need to be well planned; in the end these solutions are often both continuist (when the initiative is going back to roots) as well as incremental (when the initiative is making radical change of organisational structures due to the roots and original intention and values).

#### 4.3.2.3 Different stages with tensions in initiatives

Analysing the database had shown that initiatives encounter different stages. In the following section categories of these transitional stages are distinguished and described. The stages can be experienced very differently in initiatives, as described with various examples. The stages can but do not necessarily always follow the listed order of stages in a chronological way in the initiatives' development. Tensions which occur and possible ways of resolution are described for every stage. For instance, different stages require different skills: *"You need different people at different times of the organisation's life"*. (IH KC 49)

##### **Stage of foundation and orientation**

Tensions around implementing structures: becoming more organized and 'professional' in structures and processes can cause **fears around the structure becoming too rigid** (TT Tooting, CTP 118). In this case of TT, The interviewee has learned that it is useful not to be afraid of strategy and to think of ways of sharing strategy instead and get knowledge around it.

Starting to consciously create internal group dynamics: *"I always say it's not difficult to build an ecovillage physically, but the group, that is the major challenge"* (ecovillage Ber., CTP 55). *"When we started it was 5 people in a café, saying 'We've all met on this Facebook group'. It was totally informal, and we're learning as we go"* and later developed a professional hackerspace (Hackerspaces 275). The group contained some very talented people but they collectively were **naive about how groups work** and function; a lack of *"cohesive bottom up leadership"* and no established format for holding the meetings invites personality clashes (TT Norwich, CTP 113).

Tensions between Founder' impulse and empowerment process of members: *"The founder is often a charismatic person who has attracted other people to them ... as they get to know them, 'Does he mean what he says or is he really in it to fill his own pockets?' And that then creates all sorts of tensions or politics or fractures and it absolutely can destroy the organisation.* (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48). In the case of ImpactHUB, the founder remained in a powerful position till *"pressure from the other IH's and the investors [pushed the founder] to let go of control and ownership[...]. It felt very dissonant that The Hub apparently wanted to make the world the better place with one individual in complete control and ownership of all the entities for profit."* (IH KC, CTP 53). Amongst the

operational IH KC team there was a strong tension and “*so much history*” around this **issue of sole ownership by the founder** (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48).

In the case of ecovillage Tempelhof the founders stepped back from the managing board to implement their intended ‘all leaders’ principle. A ‘**laziness of the rest of the community**’ and a **gap in leadership skills** had caused the accumulation of power. Till today there are different opinions, **if the founders have really withdrawn** from the leading position also on an informal level (ecovillage TH, CTP 296). An inverse example happened in a RIPPES initiative, when the members did not trust an external hired person who had become a leader of a major project of the initiative because a lack of trust, doubts about his skills and if he shares the values (Après Genève, CTP 354)

As a learning lesson to prevent from threatening tensions about ownership issues in the sensitive founding stage, IH has changed its selection criteria for global network membership: “**all new candidates need to have founding teams**. That has partly to do with this problem, and partly to do with founder burden, which is the other side of the coin.” (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48). In a case of a SeedExchange Initiative, the tensions was felt as an important psychological circumstance. Those who stayed after the founder left felt some sort of guilt about it: “*there is also the psychological effect that when a founding person leaves then those who stay feel guilt, and this is not a positive but a strong motor to be good enough and get over this organisational friction*”. The paradox was that “*nobody had the competence to see what phase we are in, and to find a way how to integrate these different visions into a new development*”, and work together in fruitful way (ArcheNoah SeedExchange, CTP 80).

### **Stage of professionalisation**

After having established a lively initiative with engaged people, e tasks and activities often raise fast to an overwhelming amount. At this stage the initiative is pushed to become more effective by establishing structures and kinds of regularities. This consolidation stage is often accompanied with manifestations of starting with a legal frame, financial resources, hiring staff, and a spatial manifestation. “**Professionalism**” means “*having your systems in place*” (IH KC 49). Tensions occur because of different skills are required compared to the stage of starting an initiative. “The type of founder-person is not the type of maintainer-person” (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48).

This structuring is often a painful process from autonomy but being overwhelmed to professionalization, establishment and routine. In the case of Impact HUB Amsterdam, “*there was a struggle to go from an ad hoc way of ‘running’ the business to a more streamlined and organized way of doing so. How much planning is necessary in order to control and develop The Hub?*” (IH AMS 43) “*After two years of building we were asking ourselves “Who’s going to continue to take care of the basic operations and all those activities that we have in our business (...): admin, communications, posting and all those other activities?”*. The answer was not us, therefore, we decided to hire a manager[...] running the operations: member services, offering events, day to day activities and the administration” (IH AMS 43). After the operation manager was hired, this resulted in a **much more professional, efficient and productive hub**, the membership base broadened and opened up In the process of professionalization, **roles and expectations changed**: “*There is much more freedom as you are starting as an entrepreneur, while later on there are so many things that demand your time and attention, and the stakes are higher. [...] Knowing who fits where and what role is needed, is really valuable. You have people who are more opportunity oriented, innovative and strategic, and some people thrive more on stability and continuity*”. As practices get more and more complex, **one has to respond to ever increasing demands by using intuition**. Especially because there still “*was a high degree of idealism in our way of working*”. (IH AMS 43). FEBEA has experienced a smooth process of professionalization through external support in consulting and learning from other initiatives and organisations (FEBEA, CTP 416).

Capacity building through internal tensions: In the case of a RIPESS cooperative tensions of **power struggles had helped to exercise democracy**. The conflict was important to **empower the group, generate knowledge about democratic practices** and seek more equal conditions for everyone involved. Today, the management is made out of the producers themselves (RIPESS, ecocitrus, CTP 359). The community building process of ecovillages often takes several years before the group feels ready to commit to purchasing a site together. Phases of social interaction and internal clarification alternate with actions around building houses, signing contracts, or adopting new members. Also regional collaboration becomes important for ordering - and later for offering - services (Kunze et al. 2015).

Solving tensions through differentiation processes: Clear roles and structure, separation of public and internal meetings: By reducing the public meetings and separating them from the role of the core group, people felt empowered to participate and take on specific roles (e.g. someone volunteered to do the newsletter). The core group therefore grew in size. It was suggested that they learned to be patient with themselves and that they themselves had limited resources which should be used wisely. (TT Ry 97) Banca Popolare Etica is progressively promoting a professionalization process, hiring more high-qualified personnel and defining new strategic lines for the mid-term and long-term also by separating the strategic part, the political part and the operative parts (FEBEA, CTP 413). *"I easily delegate things and I very much trust my team. I don't feel distressed about situations."* (ESSRG, living lab CTP 345)

Solving tensions by implementing elaborated governance methods: Positive experiences have been made in the following cases with new governance methods which have been implemented and practices for several years. The main challenge is to train newcomers for it: In the ecovillages of Tempelhof (ecovillage TH, CTP 296; [Kunze/ Avelino 2015](#)) and Findhorn (Ecovillage Findh., CTP 307) they try to implement and work with some elements of sociocracy while ecovillage of Bergen has implemented it for several years already. **Sociocracy** is a system of governance that uses consent-based decision-making among individuals and an organizational structure based on task-specific circles: *"The core value of sociocracy is that you acknowledge the individual; sociocracy saves time eventually: "you can make decisions that are supported so they actually get implemented"* (ecovillage Ber., CTP 55) The principles that each individual is heard, is essential to avoid conflict disadvantage. Hackerspaces are organized as "**Do-ocracy**", which refers to forms of participative self-management within organisations. *"They've never had that type of freedom before. They maybe work in a job with low levels of trust and high levels of micromanagement."* (Hackerspaces 276). *"We have learnt to **communicate more between the organisations**. The community had learnt about the decision making system of '**systemic consensus**'."* (Ecovillage 7L, CTP 303). Ecovillages have established forums and retreats for personal sharings about one's needs to keep in touch on a regular base for conflict prevention. It is nurturing community and trust by building social relations (ecovillage 7L, CTP 300). *"We're exploring the latest prototype, and the next board will take that forward: **Liquid Democracy**"* (IH KC, CTP 53)

Celebrating an honoring: Last but not least it is essentially important for some initiatives to celebrate achievements as socializing events and for honoring the efforts of members. Celebrations and rewarding events are strengthening for initiatives and essential especially for volunteer activists to feel acknowledged in their contributions (Slow Food Italy 22,23,24; FEBEA 36, 58). It is put effort into a hosting culture (IH KC 49). People give a lot of input and time, and the "currency" that they are paid back with is identification, sense, but also the questions of status and respect became very central. (Arche Noah, SeedExchange, CTP 80).

### **Stage of waxing and waning (enlarging and shrinking of structure)**

A SeedExchange initiative practices an informal governance structure as a small group. They were depending very much on their own decisions and personally on each other. After expansion of members, they also to expand on the organisational level: the multiplication of projects, and

activities starting to grow in numbers (Arche Noah, SeedExchange, CTP 80). In the case of ImpactHUB Amsterdam a spatial move was forced. When they have found a bigger location, something which would have happened anyway eventually, was now accelerated: *“A consequence is that it forced us into a next level. A bit faster than we would have naturally grown (...). It would have grown anyways. Our business was growing at the same time as this uncertainty was introduced”* (IH AMS, CTP 47)

Intensions of personal relations start to conflict with a reality of growing numbers of members: *Co-workers and associates want to know what is going on in their initiative every day... We have to understand that it is perfectly legitimate that they prefer to maintain things as they used to be in the beginning (FEBEA, CTP 411). “In the beginning, when the organization was small, it was a really close, like a closeness community, and at enlarging, a gap became, when an organization became bigger, gets big, it is hard to maintain this conviviality, and community, and I think that is something that people miss.”* (Slow Food USA, CTP 340)

Dilemma of remaining small or growing The initiative reflects daily on the risk involved in expanding the cooperative, growing too much, although remaining as a minority does not seem a compatible alternative with the bank's mission, or with the desire for social transformation among the activists (FEBEA, CTP 416) The flexibility has been higher in the beginning and personal contact with all members is no longer possible. *“Changes in our structure have been developed over different years. [...] We have set up a structure with many intermediate bodies”.* (FEBEA, CTP 411)

A solution: Growth control: The fast expansion in members of ecovillage Tempelhof caused **ambivalent social dynamics**. The growing number of people did not only bring a greater richness in skills and engagement for the initiative but also a greater chaos, namely a growing number of conflicts, misunderstandings and loss of control. The community decided for a **limiting number of newcomers per year** and when passing one hundred members the community started to differentiate into smaller social reference groups (ecovillage TH 290). *“I’m happy for the community to grow steadily and organically because it gives time for each of the new members to get assimilated into the team”* (Hackerspace 276). Growing too quickly and lose control of developments is a danger (Arche Noah Seed Exchange CTP 80) and can be prevented when sticking to the importance of perseverance, vision and the community (IH AMS, CTP 47).

### **Stage of re-organisations and adaptations**

Merging into a democratic shared ownership organisation: At the level of the global network structure, ImpactHUB *“went from being owned and controlled by one individual, to an association which was owned and controlled by no one personally but by everybody”*. The shares are divided in such a way that *“nobody is in control”*. Unlike most other companies, majority voting amongst shareholders needs to be 2/3 (instead of 51%), so that *“smaller shareholders cannot be bullied by the top 2”* and *“that means we’ve got to have good alignment”* **change in ownership was rooted and born out of contestation** (ImpactHUB KC, CTP 48)

Different stages of organisational development: strategic development and evolutionary process Coming from a consensus based decision making system, the learning for the FF was **integrating and building on responsibility, commitment and expertise as important basics of a functioning decision making system**. The experience of nearly bankruptcy had led to the insight that that experienced staff members need to have a greater weight in the decision making **which seemed contradicting with the idealistic aim of equality and consensus** (ecovillage Find., CTP 309). *“The consensus decision making system will not allow radical change. You need leadership that draw you to the next step.[...] in communities, we need to push ourselves to grow, that is what we are not so good at”* (Ecovillage Findh., CTP 307).

Supervised transitions/ organisational development: An ongoing process of “change of vision” is needed: *“I believe this is our most important challenge: going beyond a short-run vision*

*and seeing the future. I think this is a responsibility*"(FEBEA, CTP 416). After the crises of withdrawal of the entire board, Findhorn foundation ecovillage started a **three year process of reinvention. The staffs were closely involved with the aim that they co-create and grow into the new system.** An organisational vision and a **strategic plan for the next 20 years was developed:** a series of semi-autonomous, independent entities (Ecovillage Findh. CTP 307). Ecovillage Sieben Linden experienced after settling on the new place a phase of exhaustion and less communal activities. Being coached by another community they learnt the ZEGG Forum group communication method and introduced annual retreat to re-invigorate community life, which takes place for more than 15 years since then (ecovillage 7L, CTP 300). Tthe global Impact Hub network had **established a working group which explored different organisational models and proposed an alternative structure.** This new governance structure of aims to be **'decentralised', 'distributed' and 'bottom-up'**, where every Impact Hub 'is accountable for the whole'. *"We are balancing this with becoming a bureaucratic system: finding ideal balance between participation and agility"*(IH KC, CTP 53). It is seen as important that members incorporate the structural change and new governance methods. Therefore change processes need to be slowed down in comparison to conventional organization development (IH KC 49).

Stick to the roots: The founding impulse has helped many initiatives into being and is seen as important to be retained. *"I personally have learnt that it is really important to have an historical perspective, because when you have constant changes at leadership at national level, and constant changes in staff turning over, and there is no one who has this historical perspective, you will lose a lot. You will lose a lot of momento. You lose your history, it is a problem, because if you leadership change, you lose your background and you have no backup"* (Slow Food USA, CTP 340)

Tensions occur which are deeper than organisational models: The key learning point is that the **ambiguity in the organisational model is a problem.** As a hypothesis, either way could work (i.e. strong core group or no core group), but they need certain social relations and contextual factors to make them possible (TT Norwich, CTP 113). Individual members, their skills, engagement, and reconnection to the ideals is seen as more important than governance structures: **Structures are only as good as the people who run them. Any structure can be abused.**"(IH KC, CTP 53). *"I would say that administrations come and go, policies change but I think that Slow Food engage a certain kind of personnel who believes in the cause... it is a spirit of engagement that comes from individuals.... the spirit of Slow Food survived, not matter what is going on with the leadership"* (Slow Food USA, CTP 348). To fully implement this vision of 'all leaders' in ecovillage Tempelhof, it is still a long way to go, because the influence and the **advanced knowledge of the founders** remains present on an informal level and creates oligarchical structures. Still, the community has gotten far in this process compared to other organisations. **'All leader' is a high ideal** which can only be approached but probably never reached. *"Hierarchies are always there – because of age, time, knowledge, educations, skills, ability to take responsibility etc. It is not our aim to resolve this. We have all the same right, but not the same skills. The challenge and learning task is rather to acknowledge one's own place in the community – the place and task that feels 'right' in this moment. This requires fluid structures, mutual trust, a lively feedback culture and the aim to overcome the ego"* (ecovillage TH, CTP 296).

Maintaining the ideals as base for all structures in the initiative: *"How can we keep the light, love and co-creative action alive, no matter what kind of appropriate organization we chose? It is easier, when it is all one, but the bigger we are, we need to make sure that there are enough pathways."* (Ecovillage Findh., CTP 305)

Constant evolution to sustain a resilient initiative: *"We're constantly evolving"* (IH KC, CTP 53). *"You can never structure your evolutionary step [...] you need the inner qualities to make the change. You have to embody it. [...] Spiritual practice and development, it is not just meditation on a cushion, it is about shadow work."* (Ecovillage Findh., CTP 307). Based on



individual development, the methods to work with in community have already been developed: ***“transparent communication, inner shadow work and spiritual community – the practices are there. But: Do the people have the willingness to really do it? Regular spiritual practice and development? There is no chance to rest in this process.”*** (Ecovillage Findh., CTP 307)

### **Conclusions on stages and tensions**

Initiatives encounter different stages when developing over time. The transition from one stage to another is often experienced as critical turning point. The pushing force to evolve into another stage comes mostly with tensions. Thereby, the stages are not fixed entities but rather fluid qualities; an initiative which has transformative ambitions in various external and internal areas may find itself in different stages at the same time. We can interpret that initiatives go iteratively through the following stages, experience certain tensions and are challenged to balance different internal and external aspects respectively:

(1) The stage of foundation and orientation brings tensions around agreeing on ideals, aims, structures and roles, and for the process of trust and community building. The individual members are challenged to clarify their needs, capacities, responsibilities, and roles in relations to the initiatives common purpose, intentions and its possible manifestations.

(2) The stage of professionalization requires for professionalised structures. Members have their roles and activities and which might need to change due tensions around needed skills for professionalization. It can synchronise with tensions around the position of a founder or several founders. The challenge occurs around decision on increasing effectiveness through establishing structures and management which comes with investing financial resources and a (larger, more professional) spatial manifestation.

(3) The stage of growing and enlarging or declining some tensions from the first stage return on a larger level and in relation with the manifested structures. Integrating new members requires an elaborated approach of introduction, membership or education to sustain the ideals, the purpose and motivation. The challenge is to grow into structures that can retain the core ideals of the initiative. It cannot be avoided that personal relations get lost for the sake of large organisational structures and broad impact management. The challenge is to preserve trust and personal relations as principle manifested in interactions.

(4) The stage of re-organisation and adaptations can emerge not only due to internal but also due to external changes. Tensions appear on a more subtle level, less fundamental and threatening than in the earlier stages. Tensions occur around effective routinisation and getting mainstreamed and the activities to keep momentum, motivation and the community-/members-based character. It is challenging to run a large organisational structure with the ambition to acknowledge every individual and the purpose of the initiative.

### **4.3.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments**

Sustaining initiatives is accompanied with various kinds of tensions. The initiatives follow purposes of transformative social innovation in different areas, according to their aims. These ambitions and purposes are intended to be established on a regular base for challenging, altering, replacing or providing alternatives (CARP) to existing social relations. Initiatives have to deal with multiple kinds of tensions due to their innovative ambitions. They have mainly been founded to develop solutions for certain societal issues and tensions. From a perspective of societal transition

it seems the initiatives are manifested forms to support people in dealing with tensions between their own needs and cultural, social and systemic conditions and therefore seeking to develop (social) innovations.

Concerning question 1 most of the initiatives experience tensions between internal dynamics and external ambitions in their history. The kind of tensions in initiatives varies according to the founding impulse, and if it implied rather an outward oriented or an inward and community-based oriented focus. The clearer the starting impulse including common ground, formulation of purpose and aims, financial resources, governance and management system – the better the initiatives seem to be able to handle the tensions.

**Observation 1:** The claim that tensions between internal dynamics and external ambitions exist can be confirmed. In addition it is relevant that some initiatives seem to have a focus on rather inward orientation, others on outward orientation while both have to deal with tensions between these two fields. For further consolidating of this observation of inward and outward focus of initiatives, more systematic data would be needed on internal organisational structures, legal forms, financial organisation and membership systems of initiatives.

Concluding observations of section 2 on dealing with the various tensions, it can be concluded that major lines of tensions appear (1) between ideals and implementation. An initiative finally has to implement structures which work on a realistic, not too idealistic base to maintain itself. On the other hand, it has to stick to its values and purpose to retain its special approach in comparison to conventional organisations with similar themes. 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. (2) There is tension between inclusion and self-protection, which has led to different approaches for newcomer integration and membership criteria. Although, initiatives actively search for ways in which they can promote an active and growing number of members, and adapt to external pressures and circumstances, they still often realise that they better work towards 'conscious growth control'. (3) Sustaining the initiative means adapting the growth to the capacity for integrating new members into the social network of the initiative and supporting them to develop their capacity to learn and internalize the aims and required skills. This controlled growth can be expressed in form of restricted membership criteria and rules or education programs. In the contrary case of shrinking processes, the initiative starts with internal reflection for re-orientation.

**Observation 2:** Eight kinds of tensions could be identified so far (commitment, social classes, generations, responsibility & power, ideals & reality, competence & professionalization, openness & protection, governance & leadership, and growing). There may be further tensions which have not been communicated with this notion and hence cannot be found in the data base with the respective key words. Concerning dealing with tensions, developed solutions entail space for communication and diplomatic negotiation, setting up structures and rules, internal differentiation, searching for win-win-solution which integrates individual needs and purpose of the initiative. Sustaining aims and ideals constantly requires clear decisions for the core values by every engaged member - partly as compromises - by accepting withdrawals from other needs and intentions, e.g. profit versus social values. Stability of the initiative depends on adequate ways of integrating of new members. It sometimes requires membership criteria according to the initiative's aims.

Governance, leadership and internal structures are ambivalent fields, because they can solve tensions but simultaneously appear as sources of tensions in themselves. Some initiatives have suffered from unclear decisions and implementations of governance and structures, because sustaining an initiative requires clear responsibilities and acknowledgement for maintaining motivation and engagement of members. Most of the initiatives not only value active participation of members and collective or participatory decision-making. They also work to invent, develop and establish internal governance structures that allow for this. Furthermore, they have recognized the importance to participate in decisions to keep members motivated. When differences of visions arise, the initiatives attempt to allow space for debate and aim at reaching a consensus about the direction to take. Nevertheless, initiatives do not always involve members in all processes, especially when passing the stage of professionalisation. Due to efficiency they have partly hired professional management teams which can cause tensions, if they are not strongly in line with the initiative's values.

**Observation 3:** Appropriate forms of participatory governance structures have been developed and established to deal with tensions – while the initiative keeps adjusting the structures in continuous and evolutionary processes. Governance and internal structures need to provide space for meta-communication in the initiative's development which supports the initiative to focus and strengthen its external ambitions. Finally, inclusive decision making fosters active and motivated membership and therefore mobilise resources for external impact.

Some initiatives have managed to create activities that combine outer ambitions and inner dynamics. The actions and interventions undertaken may result in failures, either becoming more conformist and renouncing ideals, or may end in success of reaching a level of integration ('transformative compromise') which is able to connect the controversial parts. Sustainable solutions need to be well planned; in the end these solutions are often both continuist (when the initiative is going back to roots) as well as incremental (when the initiative is making radical change of organisational structures due to the roots and original intention and values).

**Observation 4:** The success of solutions to the tensions does not depend in general on either continuist or radical approaches. Solutions seem even most successful if they combine incremental and innovative aspects for providing and establishing a transformative pathway ('achieve transformative compromise').

Question 3 on stages resulted in observations that initiatives encounter different stages when developing over time ((1) foundation and orientation, (2) professionalization, (3) waxing and waning, (4) re-organisations and adaptations). The transition from one stage to another is often experienced as critical turning point. The pushing force to evolve into another stage comes mostly with tensions. Thereby, the stages are not fixed entities but rather fluid qualities; an initiative which has transformative ambitions in various external and internal areas may find itself in different stages at the same time or may develop repetitively through the stages while growing, differentiating and maturing. **Initiatives are often started by charismatic founders led by idealistic visions which often conflicts later in maintaining the initiative. In the next stage of professionalization management skills are needed.** *Processes of internal differentiation can solve the challenges around growth and integration of new members. Re-orientation becomes important not only in the case of shrinking and stagnation but also due to an evolutionary drive of members or due to external change.*

**Observation 5:** It cannot be concluded that any initiative has developed from either an inward to an outward or from an outward to an inward focus in general. The orientation rather appears as an iterative process with the aim to balance inward and outward focus. The reason is that initiatives always depend on both, their members' needs and the external resonance and success of their activities. If the initiative may have to focus on inward or outward aspects rather depends on its aims, purpose, themes and the social-material contexts than on the described stages initiatives have to develop through. It seems that the focus of development oscillates to where it is needed next for solving occurring tensions. Therefore, it cannot be confirmed that there is a direct relation or dependency between the focus (inward or outward) and the stages of development. However, there is dependency between tensions and an evolutionary push to transit to another stage.

It is suggested to reformulate proposition two due to the empirical findings, as follows:

**Proposition 2.** *SI initiatives can have a sustained operation and impact only if they can handle the tension between keeping their members motivated (which has to do with their continued willingness to endorse the principles of the initiative, but also with experiencing connection and belongingness, autonomy and 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 both or either all individuals' needs or motivations or with the initiatives aims and values. As SI initiatives grow and develop they encounter tensions as a pushing force for evolving to another stage. It requires them to adapt, or develop afresh, new forms of internal organisation and governance in order to survive and prosper.*

Theoretical background which can help to interpret the internal dynamics and external ambitions can be found in respective sociological approaches. Starting with classical definitions of societal dynamics (Tönnies 1887 (2002), Weber 1978), sociological approaches to 'community' as a quality of social groups can provide frames for interpreting internal dynamics (e.g. Grundmann et al. 2006) encompassing communitarianism (e.g. Putnam 2001, Etzioni et al. 1995, Prisching 2008). For empirical grounding it helps to refer to anthropological studies of internal dynamics in community-based social movements (e.g. Brown 2002, Kunze 2012, Andreas et al. 2012, Böhm 2014, Liftin 2014). For deeper understanding the contents and actual developments of initiatives, literature from activists of the social movements on experiences and methods of internal dynamics has to be analysed (e.g. Christian 2003, Peck 2005). Furthermore, a study on the evolution of innovative organisations can help to understand internal dynamics in relation to cultural changes of organisational development (Laloux 2014).

## 4.4 Proposition 3: On the importance of changing social-material relations within the initiative

### 4.4.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**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 and enacting new rules of interaction both within the initiative and outside it (e.g. in the local communities in which they are embedded) are a key part of the process of overcoming dominant social-material relationships. Through constant reflexivity, SI agents engage in, and test out, new relational dynamics and then deploy strategies for achieving a wider uptake of the social innovation, by linking to broader developments in the social-material context.*

The proposition needs to be condensed, simplified and sharpened for empirical analysis. The original argument – or one of the arguments included in this proposition – was about internal interpersonal relations within the initiative having to change, as a requirement for an initiative to contribute to change outside its own initiative. Now the proposition starts with emphasis on socio-material and then claims that “only changing interpersonal relations potentially misses important aspects”. This suggests that interpersonal relations are not socio-material, which I believe is false, both theoretically and empirically. The point about this proposition, as I see it, has to do with the scale of socio-material relations: change of socio-material relations at interpersonal and group level, as a necessary (but not sufficient) requirement for transformative change in the socio-material context. I propose to reformulate the proposition as follows:

**New Proposition:** *In order for an SI-initiative to contribute to transformative change in the socio-material context, there needs to be a change in socio-material relations within the initiative at the interpersonal and group level. In order for an initiative to CARP (challenge, alter, replace and/or provide alternatives) dominant institutions in the socio-material context, it (also) needs to CARP those internal, interpersonal socio-material relations that reflect contextual dominant institutions. If not, the initiative will (willingly or unwillingly) reproduce (elements of) those dominant institutions rather than CARPing them. A SI-initiative requires awareness and conscious strategies to work on the embeddedness between internal and external changes of socio-material relations.*

Based on this reformulated propositions, we ask the following three **empirical questions**:

1. How and to what extent do internal socio-material relations differ/overlap from institutionalized relations in the socio-material context, & how has this changed over time?
2. How and to what extent do the internal socio-material relations within the initiative affect the initiative's interaction (CARP/reproduce) with dominant institutions?
3. How and to what extent does the SI-initiative make use of (which) strategies to be aware of and consciously work with the interaction between internal, interpersonal socio-material relations on the one hand, and institutionalised relations in the wider socio-material context on the other hand? (And where do they experience individual, interpersonal and group limitations of the socially innovative models they propose; as well as how do they keep space for expanding horizons, enhancing freedom – how do these result in changes implemented within the initiatives?).

#### 4.4.2 Presenting the evidence

The comparative evidence presented here is based on a combination of (1) keyword searches, (2) full-text searches, and (3) secondary analysis of full CTP descriptions. The Excel in appendix provides a detailed overview of each search, of each initiative/ CTP that was fully read, and which of the propositions and empirical questions the CTP provided relevant information for. The excel also provides an overview of all the numbers and abbreviations used to refer to the initiatives and CTPs.

#### 4.4.2.1 Internal Socio-material Relations

In this section, we answer the first empirical question:

**How and to what extent do internal socio-material relations differ/overlap from institutionalized relations in the socio-material context and how has this changed over time?**

Searching the keywords of theme 2 (see table 1 below) demonstrates the diversity of the kinds of socio-material relations deemed relevant across the initiatives and their CTPs.

Table 1. Keywords searches theme 1

<b>Theme 2: Kinds of social innovation at issue</b>	<b>#</b>
Interpersonal relations	109
Social-technical relations	89
Social-economical relations	85
Social-spatial relations	79
Social-ecological relations	38
Social-spiritual relations	5
<i>New Doing, Organizing, Framing, Knowing</i>	
New Organizing	175
New Doing	143
New Framing	103
New Knowing	62

#### **Different types of socio-material relations**

When reading the descriptions of the initiatives, it is clear that some types of relations receive more explicit attention in some initiatives than in others. For example, socio-ecological relations receive more attention in **Ecocitrus (RIPESS IN12)**, **Slow Food (SF 66)** and **ecovillages (GEN IN94)** than in others. Socio-technical relations are prevailing in e.g. Hackerspaces and **Fablabs (HS IN80, FL IN74)**, while socio-economic relations are a main focus in e.g. the **Merkur Cooperative Bank (FEBEA IN57)**. Socio-spiritual relations seems to receive the least explicit attention, or might be subsumed in the general category of “interpersonal relations”, which are most often referred to. The broad attention for interpersonal relations overlaps with the broad attention for ‘new organizing’ as the most often referred to type of social innovation at issue (see table above).

#### **Interpersonal relations**

Having said all that, it is also clear from the empirical data that interpersonal or social relations were not an explicit topic in the interviews that were held. Full text searches on “interpersonal relations”, “social relations”, or “bonding” receive very few results (1-5). As such, observations and references to interpersonal social relations often seem to be indirectly implied. Also, in some initiatives, the issue of personal relations only developed at a later stage. **Hackerspace South-Central England (HS IN80)**, for instance, started as a place where the founders could do hardware

hacking and “make things”. Outreach, openness, and inclusivity were not an initial part of these goals; these were values on interpersonal relations that seemed to follow later.

### **The scale of socio-material relations**

Something that is missing from the list of keywords concerns the *scale* of socio-material relations. In several initiatives, the importance of regional and local relations is emphasized in terms of shortening supply chains, regional independence, solidarity amongst farmers, local relations between producers and consumers, and so on (**e.g. RIPESS IN12, SF IN66, VC IN32**). The scale of socio-material relations can also be central in considerations about how socio-material relations (should) change towards more sustainability. In Slow Food Araba-Vitoria (IN66), for instance, this is illustrated by the following quote:

*“With regard to consumers, we try to make them pay more attention on the labels of products they buy. We tell them that, when possible, it is always better to buy directly to producers. Because, in the end, intermediaries grab all the money. I think people have to read more and learn where food comes from. Because a product may be organic, but if it comes from Chile, it is not sustainable. It is not like bringing it from the village which is 15 minutes from Vitoria. Local producers sell it in the street markets or either through the “food basket” they bring you home once a week, and we see the latter more and more” (SF IN66, CTP26).*

### **Translocal, local, regional and national socio-material relations**

When comparing ‘internal relations’ to ‘institutionalised relations’ in the ‘context’, it matters to distinguish different scales in that context. There are the institutionalised relations in the local and regional context, which may differ from the national or international context. Furthermore, there is the transnational/translocal context of the networks that the initiatives are part of.

Often, the internal relations within an initiative overlap with the ‘institutionalised relations’ in the translocal network context, while they differ from the ‘institutionalised relations’ in the local, regional or (inter)national context. While the ‘institutionalised relations’ in the translocal network may not qualify as ‘internal’ to the initiative, they are ‘internal’ to a particular movement, such as the organic farming movement (**RIPESS IN12**) or the ecovillage movement (**GEN IN94**).

For example Ecocitrus (**RIPESS IN12**) worked on changing socio-ecological and socio-economic relations (towards organic farming and a cooperative, solidarity economy) that clearly differed from what they considered to be mainstream institutionalised relations in the local agricultural context (i.e. farming with chemicals and capitalist for-profit methods). However, they did find their changing socio-ecological and socio-economic relations aligned with and supported by the translocal networks of RIPESS and FEBEA, as well as the local/regional ‘Forum of Rio Grande do Sul’. Their way of working (organic farming) was seen as “crazy” by many in the local community, including farmers and politicians:

*“In organic production, for example, today here in the region we are known nationally, abroad, within the state, but for farmers, institutions and local politicians it's still a taboo, something that's not normal. We're abnormal, we're crazy people and we don't work as we're told to work when it comes to production, commercialization and the non-use of pesticides. We're seen as the 'ugly ducklings', like in the kid's story.” (Ecocitrus producer and founding partner) (RIPESS IN12, CTP 334).*

*“When you talk about organic production, we're always contrary to what's considered ‘normal’. When you speak of supportive economy, cooperativism, you're going against consumerism - buying more, spending more, selling more... You know? We want to do the opposite. Spend less..*

*Yes, we gain something, but not in our pockets, we gain health, we gain in leisure, we spend more time with our families, we're interested in other gains" (Ecocitrus VP). (RIPESS IN12, CTP 334).*

Also in the case of ecovillages, the embedment in a global and translocal network confirms the participant's confidence in the face of a critical and sceptical local context. The co-founders of **Ecodorp Bergen (GEN IN94)** had been longing for a different way of living together in community for a long time, before they discovered the ecovillage movement and participated in the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN) in 2011. It was encouraging to discover that:

*"There are many more idiots like me, I am not at all the only one (...) When I saw that it very international, this made me even happier. I also learned a lot from the experiences of others" (co-founder 1) (GEN IN94, CTP320).*

In the following years, the founders of Ecovillage Bergen have played and continue to play an active role in the ecovillage movement and to further build those translocal relations. Soon after Ecovillage Bergen was founded, it was the first Dutch ecovillage to become a member of GEN. All three co-founders have participated in several GEN conferences in the past years. They also took action to expand the translocal relations towards national relations, as co-founder 1 was directly involved in setting up the Dutch ecovillage network (Ecodorpennetwerk Nederland) and is still one of its board members. The first Dutch ecovillage festival was organised in Ecovillage Bergen in 2013, and has been organised there two more times in the years after. This particular case demonstrates how socio-material relations that deviate from dominant institutions in the context can develop across different scales: starting very locally as a desire amongst a group individuals, then connecting with an international, translocal level, and then developing a national network so as to connect with other eco-communities in the national context and also to normalise the phenomena of ecovillages in the national context. As such, it seems the embedment in a translocal network seems to be instrumental in the interaction with dominant institutions, which leads us to the next empowerment question.

#### 4.4.2.2 How Internal Relations Affect Interaction with Dominant Institutions

We now turn to the second empirical question:

*How and to what extent do the internal socio-material relations within the initiative affect the initiative's interaction (CARP/reproduce) with dominant institutions?*

#### **Using internal relations for CARPing dominant institutions**

In some cases we clearly see that an SI-initiative is used with an explicit intention to CARP institutionalised relations in the societal context. The timebanking case of the **Volunteer Labour Bank/Network in Japan (TB IN19)**, for instance, provided alternative institutions for the traditional inter-generational and inter-gender relations in society, such as the notion that it is the responsibility of women to take care of the elderly. As such, the initiative was a vehicle 'for improving conditions for women as carers of the elderly'. The providing of an alternative did not only occur by demonstrating that a different way is possible in a local small-scale experiment, but also by building wider networks that spread these alternative social relations across the wider social context. The **Volunteer Labour Bank/Network (TB IN19)** was a long-term endeavour that enabled women to build a network for future society that they would later on rely on themselves, as such really 'providing an alternative' for the dominant institutions through which care for the elderly is arranged. As described in the CTP description: 'They benefitted directly by the opportunity to connect and organise mutual help within their group and by the possibility that by



sustaining their groups over time through continuous recruitment they could also secure help for themselves in their old age by banking time credits and redeeming these in later life' (TB IN19). However, the Volunteer Labour Bank/Network also clearly demonstrates that certain dominant institutions – or at least certain elements thereof - are also reproduced, possibly even mirrored within the initiative. In particular, the idea that it is the responsibility of women to take care of the elderly, went unchallenged in an initiative that focused on involving women.

### **Group belonging**

In other cases, the way in which internal relations affects the interaction with dominant institutions, is of a more indirect and implicit nature. First, there is the basic mechanism of 'belonging to a group' and 'standing stronger together' as an empowering basis to 'face' those dominant institutions, whether it is to CARP them, make use of them, reproduce them or merely 'survive' them. We come back to this mechanism, including specific empirical examples, under the third empirical question.

### **Unchallenged and unproblematised social relations**

It is important to note that in this process of 'group belonging' and 'standing strong together', there is a whole range of institutionalised social relations from the social context that are reproduced and remain unchallenged, often unconsciously. Relations between men and women, or other issues related to gender or sexuality, are one example that seem to be relatively unchallenged and unproblematised across the initiatives and CTPs, not only in the case above, but also in many others. A full text search on words such as "men and women", feminism, gender, homosexuality etc. appear little to zero time. The same applies to other issues of identity politics. The words racism, discrimination, emancipation do not appear one single time across all descriptions of initiatives and CTPs.

### **How legal forms design internal and external relations**

Another way in which internal social relations affect interaction with dominant institutions, is through the legal form which initiatives choose to formalise themselves. These legal forms often have specific socio-material relations and interpersonal rules designed in to them. The legal form of the cooperative association (**e.g. RIPESS IN12, FEBEA IN57**), for instance, predetermines a certain equality amongst members (1 member, 1 vote, regardless of the amount of shares), thus shaping the internal relations. It also explicitly affects how the initiative relates to external relations and dominant institutions; for instance by allowing commercialisation and a different tax regime compared to e.g. a non-profit association.

We see a similar dynamic in the case of **ESSRG (LK IN52)**, created as a limited company within the university, thereby allowing certain independence from that university in how it relates to the external actors. It seems that initiatives consciously choose the legal form that is best aligned with their internal relations as well as with their interactions towards the social context, and also, that these choices change over time (see more under question 3).

### **How dominant institutions affect internal relations**

The empirical question asks how internal relations affects the interaction with dominant institutions. We can also turn around the question and ask how dominant institutions affect internal relations. In some cases we clearly see how negative pressures from dominant institutions (e.g. eviction from property) seemed to have a positive and potentially empowering effect on internal relations in terms of strengthening the internal group bonding, taking a next step, discovering and developing the groups resilience (**Ecocitrus RIPESS IN12, Ecodorp Bergen GEN IN94 CTP57, Impact Hub Amsterdam, IH IN21 CTP47**).

## Prior socio-material relations

It is also interesting to trace how internal socio-material relations developed over time, starting already before the initiative came into existence in the first place. It seems that several initiatives were made possible by strong prior socio-material personal relations. The **Hackerspaces in South-Central England (HS IN8)**, for instance, was strongly embedded in existing networks of technology communities, which provided access to people with high levels of social capital and creativity. These relations were greatly facilitated by existing mailing groups, which points to the importance of socio-technical relations and socio-technical knowledge. In the case of **Transition Towns Tooting (TT IN88)**, the co-founders of the initiative had not only worked together before, but also swam together in an open air swimming pool. The founders of the Merkur Cooperative Banks (**FEBEA IN57**) indicate that many people joined the Merkur Bank 'because people heard about it from family, friends or business associates' ("mouth to mouth"). The initiative **ShareBloomington (SHA IN70)** started with the ShareFest event, which was organised by a student and 'a group of friends who he met during the Occupy movement in 2011'. In the case of the **Impact Hub Amsterdam (IH IN21)** it is described how it started based on the personal relations and networks of the founders, and how this reliance on prior personal relations changed as the initiative was getting professionalised:

*"In the beginning people could just come in and have a coffee and could join some sessions. But because of our success we could not have coffee and one-on-one conversations with everybody anymore, so we needed to structure some of those processes, and that made a big difference. So basically the first community members were much more individually related to one of the founders. After that they were more related to the members and the team as a whole" (co-founder 2) (Impact Hub Amsterdam, IH IN21, CTP43).*

### 4.4.2.3 Strategies to Consciously Work with Internal/External Relations

In this section we answer the third empirical question:

*How and to what extent does the SI-initiative make use of (which) strategies to be aware of and consciously work with the interaction between internal, interpersonal socio-material relations on the one hand, and institutionalised relations in the wider socio-material context on the other hand? (And where do they experience individual, interpersonal and group limitations of the socially innovative models they propose; as well as how do they keep space for expanding horizons, enhancing freedom – how do these result in changes implemented within the initiatives?)*

#### Relational Values & Learning

Many initiatives seem to consciously work on the interaction between internal, interpersonal socio-material relations on the one hand, and institutionalised relations in the wider socio-material context on the other hand, and to use a variety of strategies to do so.

A total of 268 CTPs are reported to have involved on of the following keywords: **Inclusiveness, Internal decision-making, Competence development, Identity and Values.**

A total of 125 CTPs include at least one of the following relational value concepts in their textual descriptions: **trust, reciprocity, equality, collectiveness, cooperation, sharing, solidarity, inclusion, transparency, openness, connectedness etc.**

The shift in relations and relational values, comes with new ways of framing. For instance, in the timebanking case of the **Volunteer Labour Bank/Network in Japan (TB IN19)**, they invented the

concept of 'paid volunteerism' (CTP451). While there was/is considerable critique of such seeming contradiction, in that particular context it was a way to break through traditional values and the societal stigma of receiving charity. Interestingly, in that particular case, the concept of "reciprocity" was rather seen as a dominant institution, resulting in elderly not wanting to receive charity without giving something back, and since they were too old to volunteer themselves, they felt ashamed. Paid volunteerism was a way to enable the elderly to give something back to the volunteers, even if it was a very small amount (non-market prices).

Besides explicit relational values, there are also other values regarding learning, introspection, experimentation, and personal development:

*"People who come here must be willing to take place in the academy and learn about life and about who they are. (...) I think that's the art of this school, it's about the art of living, you get to know yourself better and you learn to accept each other. What you want together, there should be enough overlap to do that together. I find that very exciting and very important. If everyone would do that, the world would look very different. Then the transition would actually already be made."* (co-founder 1, **GEN IN94 CTP54**).

*"Learning for us really occurs on a daily base. I think the main learnings are when something doesn't go according to plan, or when you set goals and it doesn't work out, and it's really a culture of sharing that and learning from each other. So it's not necessarily that all of the start-ups or everyone within the team you have to make all the mistakes that someone made before you. It's about actually setting a culture that you can also share the failures so that you can actually understand, 'hey that's an interesting learning path'. And there is a lot of reflection moments built in, in our team meetings"* (team member Impact Hub Amsterdam) **IH IN21, CTP43**).

The importance of learning is referred to in several initiatives, as well as the need for unlearning. In the case of Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre (PB IN45), it is argued that the citizens who participated needed to 'learn how to participate' and to unlearn certain ingrained ideas and habits around top-down decision-making:

*"In order to participate in the process, people needed to behave well during the assemblies, for example. They needed to wait for their turn to speak, they needed to request permission to speak, to organize their speech. Before this, they did not have any kind of experience in a truly participatory process. The neighbourhood associations were involved in a top-down decision-making process; the president used to be the owner of the association and decided everything"* (**PB IN45, CTP188**)

Much of the learning concerns the understanding of group dynamics and motivations of people. A telling quote in this regard is this one from the **Seed Exchange ProSpecieRara (SE IN18)** case:

*"I always say that I am a biologist, I should be an agronomist but it would be better if I were a psychologist. My job is to get people motivated to keep the animals. Of course I do a herd book, I do selection, I do measures but without the farmer in the background, who likes that breed and PSR, it is nearly nothing... So we get to know why these people get animals, why they breed them. We should understand the drive, the motivation of the farmers."* (**SE IN18 CTP 194**).

### **Legal forms & decision-making methods**

One strategy concerns the use of specific legal forms (as mentioned before) and decision-making forms that are aligned with their internal values and interpersonal relations, while also facilitating the interaction with the external world. Ecocitrus (**RIPESS IN12**) shifted from an association

towards a cooperative (CTP356), so as to explicitly enable an opening up towards the market (see more under discussion of proposition 9), while also maintaining internal solidarity and equality:

*"When you go to work in the cooperative, the first thing you have to do when you enter the cooperative is 'forget that there is a me', there's only an 'us'. If you are in a cooperative thinking of 'me', you're in the wrong place. 'Me' is the result of 'us'. If the 'us' isn't doing well, the 'me' will never win. That has to be clear to everyone"* (Ecocitrus VP). **(RIPESS IN12, CTP359)**

In addition, they introduced a system of **rotational management** so as to enable and ensure a management that was both participatory and professional (CTP358).

*"Today we have an agreement that we elect a president for two years with the possibility of re-election for another two years, but we always demand that there be a change in administration every four years. No one is so good that can be president forever and everyone can be president. We always try to work like this. Everyone's got their own identity that helps do certain tasks"* (Ecocitrus VP). **(RIPESS IN12 CTP358).**

**TT Tooting (TT IN88)**, for instance, formalised its initiative by setting up a rotating **co-chairing system** so as to enable cooperation, shared leadership and ownership. 'Co-chairing has helped the group continue and develop, and has contributed to its longevity. They proposed co-chairing as a system also for the global TT network board'. Similarly, the **Impact Hub Amsterdam (IH IN21)** has implemented **Holacracy** as a decision-making method that involves all team members in important decision-making while also ensuring efficiency of implementation by working in self-organised teams. Holacracy is also used by the global Impact Hub company, and taken on by several other Impact Hub initiatives. A very similar decision-making method is that of **Sociocracy**, which is used in **Ecodorp Bergen (GEN IN94)**, and which is also being introduced at national and international levels of the GEN translocal network, partly based on the experience of its local application. In each of these three cases we see a **diffusion pattern of a decision-making method being adopted in a local initiative, and when successful, being applied at the network level, as well as spread to other initiatives in the network.**

### **Explicit awareness about and group work on internal social relations**

There seems to be a strong explicit awareness about the importance of internal social relations as a condition for not only making the initiative survive, but also as a condition for contributing to positive change as well as for facing external challenges and pressures. This is also manifested in individuals emphasising the need to consciously work on internal relations, including dealing with negative external or internal pressures in such a way that the group prevails:

*"We managed to make the management of the conflict and this generated improvements in the organization, empowerment, and knowledge of what we do. The conflict itself was well managed and led to cooperative improvement (...) Do you know the analogy of the crumpled paper? Once it's crumpled, you try to make it smooth again, but you can't. There are always feelings in this, and we try to work them. How do you work people's feelings? You reveal them. I think forgetting is hard. When you're in an organization, you have to work at it. It's no use keeping grudges, resentments aren't good for you. It's also a personal learning experience"* (Ecocitrus VP, **RIPESS IN12 CTP359**).

Ecovillage Bergen (**GEN IN94**) went through a considerable internal crisis when the local government threatened with criminal charges and shut down the entire premises for several months, due to a procedural mistake in the cleaning of asbestos (CTP57). The person in charge of technical matters in the ecovillage describes the support from the group as follows:

*"The moment that the investigator got to us, I was the first to be called for interrogation. (...) Two days before the interrogation, we got together and prepared for it. I still get emotional*

*thinking about it. We sat in the circle with one another, and discussed the threat that was there. That whole baggage... I really felt like a weight fell off my shoulders when it disappeared in the group. (...) It felt like we carried and transformed it as a group. When being suspect you feel the pressure, of course, and because of the group I felt that I did not have to carry it alone. I always used to do a lot of things on my own, and I still do. But I felt that I was not alone facing this challenge” (co-founder 2, GEN IN94 CTP57).*

### **Trade-offs between different socio-material relations**

Such a strong group bonding does not occur automatically, and requires a lot of conscious work. Therein there sometimes also seems to be a **trade-off between different types of socio-material relations**. For instance, in the case of Ecodorp Bergen (**GEN IN94**), before the piece of land was purchased (and before the abovementioned crisis occurred) a lot of time and effort was invested in the group bonding. At some point a conscious decision was made to reshift the focus that people first had on the particular piece of land (socio-ecological relations) towards connecting to each other as a group of people (interpersonal socio-cultural relations):

*“We were not at all occupied with each other, but only looking at the land. Because it was a location that appealed to the imagination of many people. It became a matter of who could get the biggest piece of land. We suddenly saw this, and that there was no coherence in the group. (...) I discovered that we were not a community, (...) We really decided to leave the land for what it is. It was a bit painful, but also good to feel that. And it was good to be exposed and ask: ‘what connects us, except for the land’? We realised that the land was secondary, and that we had to search what our primary connection was (...) The social aspect I find the most difficult, the most important and also the most appealing” (co-founder 1, GEN IN94 CTP54).*

## **4.4.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments**

We now turn to cluster some of the main insights from the cross-case comparison around proposition #3. Based on these insights, there are a number of moderations and specifications to consider within the proposition, as well as additional theoretical resources to consider for the TSI theory development.

### **4.4.3.1 Main insights around proposition 3**

First, it should be noted that most of the **empirical material lacks explicit reflection on interpersonal relations and group dynamics**. This follows from the focus of the CTP interviews in which individuals were asked about the development of initiatives, and not explicitly asked about interpersonal relations or group dynamics. Nevertheless, insights on socio-material relations can be deduced from the way in which individuals describe the development of initiatives.

The initiatives show **diversity in the types of socio-material relations** they focus on (socio-technical, socio-ecological, socio-economic, etc.). A clear **majority refers to ‘interpersonal relations’**, which overlaps with the **broad attention for ‘new organizing’** as the most often referred to type of social innovation at issue (see table 1). The empirical data as well as the empirical questions from proposition #3 **focus on the ‘vertical’** interactions between internal vs. external, innovative vs. dominant, **and less on the ‘horizontal’ interactions** between different types of socio-material relations (e.g. how socio-technical relations affect socio-cultural relations etc.).

There is a **particular ‘translocality’ to socio-material relations** in the initiatives under study, which blurs the distinction between ‘internal’ (initiative) and ‘external’ (context). The cases demonstrate examples where an international translocal network is more ‘internal’ to the local initiative than the local, regional surrounding of that initiative. The internal relations within an initiative may overlap with the ‘institutionalised relations’ in the translocal network context, while they differ from the dominant ‘institutionalised relations’ in the local, regional or (inter)national context. While the ‘institutionalised relations’ in the translocal network may not qualify as ‘internal’ to the local initiative, they are ‘internal’ to a particular movement that is internalised in the local initiative, such as the organic farming movement (RIPESS IN12) or the ecovillage movement (GEN IN94). As such, the aggregation of geographic scales does not determine the extent to which relations are ‘internal’ or ‘external’.

**Internal social relations are used to CARP institutionalised relations in the social context.** First, changing social relations internally are used as small-scale intervention with the aim of stabilising and/or growing this intervention to CARP institutionalised relations in the social context (e.g. TB IN19). Second, changing social relations internally are used (explicitly or implicitly) to increase **internal group bonding** and thereby strengthen the initiative’s capacity to face and possibly CARP dominant institutions in the social context. In both cases, **many institutionalised relations in the social context remain unchallenged** in the initiatives under study. In particular, topics of identity politics (race, sex, gender, etc.) seem to remain unproblematised.

The empirical material does not only address how internal relations affect the interaction with dominant institutions, but also the other way around: **how dominant institutions affect internal relations**. In some cases we clearly see how negative pressures from dominant institutions (e.g. eviction from property) seemed to have a positive and potentially empowering effect on internal relations in terms of strengthening the internal group bonding, taking a next step, discovering and developing the group’s resilience.

**Legal forms often have specific socio-material relations and interpersonal rules designed in to them** (e.g. the ‘cooperative’ predetermines a certain equality amongst member: 1 member, 1 vote, regardless of the amount of shares). Such legal forms also explicitly affect how the initiative relates to external institutionalised relations in the social context (e.g. by allowing for specifically different tax regimes and activities).

It seems that several initiatives were made possible by **strong prior socio-material personal relations**. Initiatives often emerged in existing networks of socio-material relations (e.g. family connections, technology communities, mailing groups, swimming clubs, protest groups, etc.).

There seems to be explicit **awareness about the importance of internal social relations**, also as a basis for contributing to societal change. Such awareness also manifests in **explicit strategies to work on internal relations and relational values**. Such strategies include choosing specific **legal forms** (see above) and **decision-making methods**, as well as the **(re)framing of relational values** (e.g. ‘paid volunteerism’ in response to traditional values of reciprocity in TB IN19). Such strategies that are developed as tools to deal with internal dynamics, often travel to other initiatives at different scales (local and translocal). Sometimes the explicit working on internal relations comes with a trade-off between different socio-material relations (e.g. shifting a focus from socio-ecological relations with the land to interpersonal socio-cultural relations in the case of GEN IN94/ CTP54).

#### 4.4.3.2 Moderating proposition 3?

Based on these insights, there are a number of issues in propositions #3 that need to be (re)considered. First, the concept of 'socio-material relations' implies that the propositions about relations concerns anything that concerns one entity having 'a relation' to any other entity. This basically means that the proposition can be about everything. I would propose to allow for propositions that focus on interpersonal relations between human beings, and to separate these from propositions that discuss the relations between different socio-material phenomena. Of course, all propositions are also 'inter-related', but the point is to tackle different foci in each proposition.

Second, when working on the meta-analysis, there were several questions popping up regarding the interactions between different types of socio-material phenomena (socio-technical, socio-ecological, socio-cultural etc.). When one specific type of socio-material relation changes, does this require all other types of socio-material relations to change as well? E.g. can there be a fundamental change in socio-technical relations without there being a change in socio-cultural or socio-economic relations? Or vice versa? When socio-ecological relations/practices are CARP-ed (e.g. by working with organic agriculture), does this necessarily come with CARP-ing of interpersonal socio-cultural relations as well? It is questionable to what extent the current empirical data provides answers to these questions, besides general statements about the intertwinement between different types of socio-material relations. Nevertheless, I would propose to have a separate proposition about the nature and levels of intertwinement of different types of socio-material relations/ socio-material phenomena. Instead of this being a general propositions about 'socio-material relations', it might be good to specify that proposition in terms of different types of socio-material doings, organizings, framings, knowings etc.

Third, there is a need to more clearly distinguish scales and refer to such scales consistently throughout the different propositions, including a specification of the scale(s) to which a proposition applies. Examples of scales are: individual/ interpersonal/ collective/ organisational, or local/ regional/ translocal/ national/ transnational/ international, etc. When we speak about 'SI-initiatives', and about 'internal' vs. 'external', are we referring to a particular scale (e.g. 'local' or 'collective') or is the scale an empirical question for each initiative? When we refer to 'the social context' that includes ALL scales. It is necessary to distinguish different scales within that social context.

This will also help to clarify the distinctions between the propositions and the clusters. The distinctions between the clusters are based on the following characterisations:

1. Relations within individual initiatives
2. Relations across/between initiatives
3. Relations to institutional change processes
4. Relations to the broader socio-material context

These four categories imply several words that inherently imply the issue of scale (e.g. 'individual' initiatives, 'broader' social context, 'within', 'between', 'across'), while at the same time not specifying to what extent scales are (not) determined in terms of local, translocal, regional, national, etc. Are 'individual initiatives' all local, or can they be translocal, or can there be different scales 'within' each individual? Such questions especially emerged when reflecting on the interactions between 'internal relations' and (external) 'dominant relations' / 'institutionalised relations'. The way in which relations in the social context are 'institutionalised', or the extent to which they are 'dominant', vary across different scales. As such, discussing how internal relations interact with external relations requires a specification of the scale at which external relations are considered.

Last but not least, I propose to distinguish between (1) short propositions that focus on one specific relation/process (alá Fligstein), and (2) more complex 'meta-propositions' that are about the meta-relations between different relations. To just give an illustration of what I mean:

- Short prop. 1: Changing interpersonal relations is a pivotal (*necessary but not sufficient*) basis for CARPing dominant institutions.
- Short prop. 2: All dimensions of socio-material relations (socio-technical, socio-ecological, socio-cultural etc.) affect the extent and manner in which SI-actors CARP dominant institutions.
- Complex meta-level proposition: The extent to which SI-actors take different socio-material dimensions into account in their work on changing internal relations influences how and to what extent they (can) CARP dominant institutions.

It seems to me that proposition #3 – as well as several other propositions – are formulated at that rather complex meta-level, while the empirical data and the depth of our (or at least my) meta-analysis seems to be more at the level of those shorter more simple propositions.

#### 4.4.3.3 Additional theoretical resources

There are numerous existing theoretical resources that provide typologies, concepts and frameworks to unpack the more intangible and immaterial dimensions of the 'social'. Because we reject the very distinction between 'material' and 'immaterial', between "technological' and 'social', and because we insist on consistently referring to socio-*material* relations - incl. very general meta-categories such as 'socio-technical' and 'socio-ecological' - we run the risk of missing out on some of the more in-depth knowledge that is gained when allowing ourselves to *zoom in* on 'less-obvious-material' social matters (as e.g. feelings, symbols, rituals, power, empowerment, group dynamics, leadership, trust, etc.). As such, it seems to me that we might face a slightly ironic situation that our fundamentals in STS-inspired 'relational' theory somehow complicate the inclusion of existing literature / frameworks that could be helpful in unpacking different scales and dimensions of 'social relations', as found in e.g. social psychology, organizational theory, political theory or anthropology. To deal with this, I propose to allow more space for theoretical resources that are brought in from e.g. social psychology, community psychology or power theories. Instead of then 'translating' those insights back to 'socio-material' meta-propositions, we might consider allowing for 1-3 propositions that tackle more specific/isolated social phenomena that are part of 'social' relations between human beings (e.g. group dynamics, conflict resolution, power).



## 4.5 Conclusions and reflections on cluster A

### 4.5.1 Conclusions

**Proposition 1:** Evidence supports the claim that members come together in an attempt to find better ways of pursuing certain values/ideals/ principles, and align them to specific (novel) practices and behaviours. Members are attracted to the freedom to pursue certain ideals, to new forms of relatedness based on equality, inclusiveness and fairness (to name just a few examples), and search for ways to align them to new practices and behaviours. However, there are significant differences in understandings about which particular ways of doing and organizing would be most appropriate to meet objectives and support motivations. When they are made explicit, they can be openly negotiated and workable compromises can be found. When they are not made explicit, it can lead to chaos, lack of effectiveness in organizing and pursuing collective goals, as well as disenchantment and loss of membership. *Further theoretical development should include a focus on diversity of motivations and the interplay between these, organizational objectives and structures or ways of organizing at different stages.*

Different stages in the development of SI initiatives come with different tensions. In the processes they go through at different stages, members and leaders learn about how to accommodate multiple and diverse motivations and finding the best organizational structures to do so. They also learn that motivational similarity should not be assumed and that there is a need for organizational strategies to target the right kind of motivation in members. Creating organizational structures which stimulate motivations that are in line with the initiatives' objectives is an important part of the consolidation of an initiative.

Evidence provides some support for the fact that motivations are supported over time by the satisfaction of the psychological needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence. However, the nature of the data available, which focuses on the CTPs, only makes possible drawing conclusions about motivations and interpersonal relations based on the indirect references made to them when interviewees discuss critical turning points. Evidence supports the claim that establishing new relations and new modes of community is important in SIs. However, not all members are equally motivated to be actively involved in shaping how the initiative is organized. This can sometimes go against the ethos of particular initiatives and their objectives for change.

Leaders and founders cultivate tolerance and openness to diverse motivations, and understand the importance of de-centralized structures. References are made to the type of leadership strategies that are successful in bringing everyone on board at different stages, in managing the interests of different categories of members, in navigating organizational change and in facilitating reaching agreements in crises. *Further theoretical developments should give more attention to the role of leadership in social innovation initiatives at different stages.*

**Proposition 2:** While proposition one addresses the emergence of SI initiatives, this proposition addresses the questions of how initiatives are sustained including the internal tensions they must deal with. The core of this proposition is on the maintenance and sustainability of initiatives. According to their aims and purpose, the different initiatives follow purposes of transformative social innovation. The claim regarding the fact that initiative have an inward or outward orientation seems to hold, as some initiatives focus more inwardly, while others direct their attention outwardly. However, all encounter tensions between the inward and outward focus that they need to deal with. Evidence also points to the fact that the clearer the starting impulse including common ground, formulation of purpose and aims, financial resources, governance and management system – the better the initiatives seem to be able to handle the tensions. This also applies to making individual motivations explicit.

Furthermore, an initiative has to implement structures which work in the real world, which entails compromises regarding their ideals. 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. Solutions entail space for communication and diplomatic negotiation, setting up structures and rules, internal differentiation, searching for win-win-solution which integrates individual needs and purpose of the initiative. When differences of visions arise, the initiatives attempt to allow space for debate and reaching a consensus about the direction to take. Nevertheless, initiatives do not always involve members in all processes, especially when passing the stage of professionalization.

Although, initiatives actively search for ways in which they can promote an active and growing number of members, and adapt to external pressures and circumstances, they still often realize that they better work towards 'conscious growth control'. The actions and interventions undertaken may result in failures that entail renouncing ideals and adopting conservative practices, or may end in reaching a level of integration ('transformative compromise') between different motivations and perspectives on development. Solutions are often both continuist (when the initiative is going back to roots) as well as incremental (when the initiative is making radical change of organizational structures due to the roots and original intention and values). Solutions seem to be most successful when they go beyond this dichotomy and combine incremental and innovative aspects ('achieve transformative compromise').

**Proposition 3:** First, it should be noted that most of the empirical material lacks explicit reflection on interpersonal relations and group dynamics. This follows from the focus of the CTP interviews in which individuals were asked about the development of initiatives, and not explicitly asked about interpersonal relations or group dynamics. Nevertheless, insights on socio-material relations can be deduced from the way in which individuals describe the development of initiatives.

The initiatives show diversity in the types of socio-material relations they focus on (socio-technical, socio-ecological, socio-economic, etc.). A clear majority refers to 'interpersonal relations', which overlaps with the broad attention for 'new organizing'. The empirical data as well as the empirical questions from proposition #3 focus on the 'vertical' interactions between internal vs. external, innovative vs. dominant, and less on the 'horizontal' interactions between different types of socio-material relations (e.g. how socio-technical relations affect socio-cultural relations etc.).

Evidence suggests that internal social relations are used to CARP institutionalised relations in the social context. First, changing social relations internally are used as small-scale intervention with the aim of stabilising and/or growing this intervention to CARP institutionalised relations in the social context (e.g. TB IN19). Second, changing social relations internally are used (explicitly or implicitly) to increase internal group bonding and thereby strengthen the initiative's capacity to face and possibly CARP dominant institutions in the social context. In both cases, many institutionalised relations in the social context remain unchallenged in the initiatives under study. In particular, topics of identity politics (race, sex, gender, etc.) seem to remain unproblematised.

There seems to be explicit awareness about the importance of internal social relations, also as a basis for contributing to societal change. Such awareness also manifests in explicit strategies to work on internal relations and relational values. Such strategies include choosing specific legal forms (see above) and decision-making methods, as well as the (re)framing of relational values (e.g. 'paid volunteerism' in response to traditional values of reciprocity in TB IN19). Such strategies that are developed as tools to deal with internal dynamics, often travel to other initiatives at different scales (local and translocal).

The empirical material not only addresses how internal relations affect the interaction with dominant institutions, but also how dominant institutions affect internal relations.

## 4.5.2 Reflections

There is sufficient solidity to propositions 1 and 2, but the evidence provides a deeper perspective on the nuances of motivational and relational dynamics reflected in the claims they make. There are also new aspects captured from the data and these include: the dynamic interplay between motivations at different stages of development and organizational practices and structures put into place to pursue the initiative's goals; the role of leadership in supporting intrinsic motivation and creating a space for the negotiation of differences in motivations and organizational visions; and in-depth perspective gained on the types of tensions that characterize each development stage, their impact on motivations and the creative compromises reached to adaptively respond to practical realities while maintaining enthusiasm and commitment of members.

The analysis of evidence for proposition 3 revealed the need to reconsider the concept of socio-material relations, as the concept now fails to capture the dynamics of efforts to develop new interpersonal relations within the initiative and the role of new interpersonal relations in CARPing dominant contextual socio-material relations. It is not so much that this proposition is not solid, but rather that its focus should shift in order to capture this role, and the interplay between creating new interpersonal relations and reproducing existing ones, as well as efforts to transcend internalized relational institutions.

The proposition also needs to better include relations at different scales, and reflect the notion that change of socio-material relations at interpersonal and group level, is a necessary (but not sufficient) requirement for transformative change in the socio-material context. In order to better capture both interpersonal relations between individuals in social innovation initiatives and the relations between different socio-material phenomena, a proposal is made to differentiate between shorter propositions that focus on particular types of relations, and meta-propositions, which should capture the inter-relations between different scales and types of relations. Finally, there is a need to more clearly distinguish scales and refer to such scales consistently throughout the different propositions, including a specification of the scale(s) to which a proposition applies. Examples of scales are: individual/ interpersonal/ collective/ organisational, or local/ regional/ translocal/ national/ transnational/ international, etc. The "translocality" of socio-material relations also needs to be considered when re-formulating proposition 3 (see Section 21).

Additional theoretical resources that could usefully be brought in to further develop propositions in Cluster A (and potentially other clusters as well), include literature from *organizational psychology* on leadership styles and their role in the shaping of organizational culture and practices, as well as on the evolution of innovative organizations (e.g. Laloux 2014); on motivations and their interplay with different organizational forms and rigidity/fluidity of structure; and from *social psychology* on stages of group development and their relationship to conflict resolution and collective performance/functioning. Furthermore, the inclusion of existing literature / frameworks that could be helpful in unpacking different scales and dimensions of 'social relations', as found in e.g. social psychology, community psychology, empowerment, organizational theory, political theory or anthropology, would also be useful for further theoretical development. This could include allowing for 1-3 propositions that tackle more specific social phenomena that are part of 'social' relations between human beings (e.g. group dynamics, conflict resolution, power).

Theoretical background which can help to interpret the internal dynamics and external ambitions can be found in respective sociological approaches. Sociological approaches to 'community' as a quality of social groups can provide frames for interpreting internal dynamics (e.g. Grundmann et al. 2006) encompassing communitarianism (e.g. Putnam 2001, Etzioni et al. 1995, Prisching 2008). For empirical grounding it helps to refer to anthropological studies of internal dynamics in community-based social movements (e.g. Brown 2002, Kunze 2012, Andreas et al. 2012, Böhm 2014, Liftin 2014).

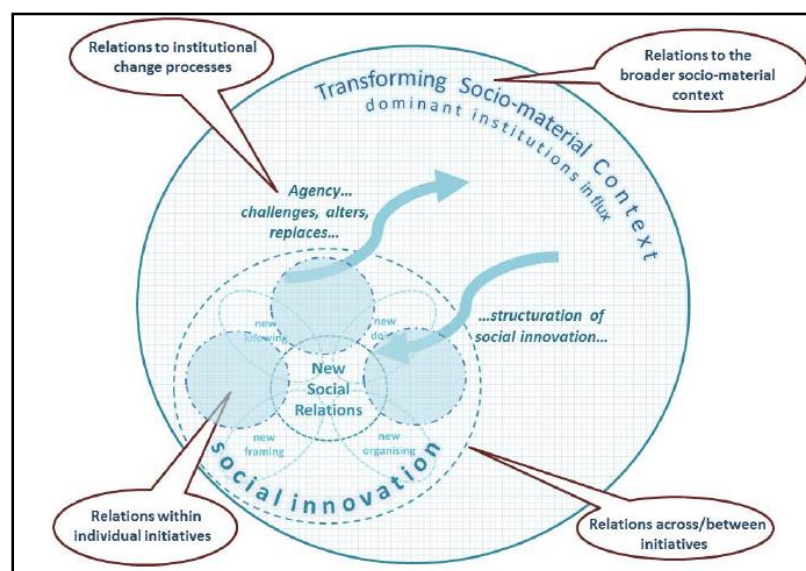
## 5 Cluster B: Relations across/between initiatives

### 5.1 Introduction

#### 5.1.1 Description of proposition cluster

This cluster covers what we refer to in our theorization of TSI as the relations between 'local manifestations' and transnational 'SI networks', but also relations between SI initiatives and the various relations they have with other actors in what has been theorized as SI 'fields', 'ecologies of SI', 'strategic action fields' (Haxeltine et al. 2016: 4) and other ways to describe the embeddedness of the local initiatives – the focal actor in the CTP methodology (Cf. Chapter 3) – in broader constellations of actors.

The graphic below, taken from TRANSIT working paper 7, visualizes the aspects of TSI that cluster B seeks to cover. This overview of TSI reminds us that this cluster should especially complement 1) the cluster A work on the relations *within* individual SI initiatives and 2) the cluster C work on the relations to institutional change processes. This complementarity is important as there are inherent overlaps: SI initiatives as loosely structured, networked collectives tend not to have hard boundaries that allow to distinguish internal from external. Likewise, the network formation and embeddedness in 'fields' and 'ecologies' also comprises various formal and informal institutions.



As will become apparent through the meta-analysis results, the short characterization of cluster B as 'relations across/between initiatives' is indeed not entirely accurate. As articulated in propositions 4, 5 and 6, cluster B actually addresses relations and interactions with many other kinds of actors and entities: the 'local manifestations' are seen to co-produce TSI processes through various network relations.

## 5.1.2 Preview to chapter

As indicated, our meta-analysis has generated several proposals for deepening and refinement of the propositions – and for the description of the cluster theme itself. Before going into the details of them, it needs to be underlined that there all refinements and specifications, rather than explorations of new avenues or attempts to invent TSI theory anew. In earlier phases of TRANSIT research (Cf. section 2.1), the networking phenomena addressed in this cluster have already been observed through intensive in-depth case study. Moreover, the developed co-production framework for TSI has brought forward already quite solid theoretical framings and conjectures: the very understanding of TSI in co-productionist terms sensitizes us to the relevance of network relations and distributed agency such as disentangled further in this chapter.

Referring to the analytical strategies for meta-analysis we distinguished upfront (Cf. section 3.4 and appendix), our results have done only limited falsification of propositions. They have provided some confirmation of the relevance of various other actors, joining and to a certain extent challenging the ‘local manifestations’ of SI initiatives in their centre stage position. Most of all however, our results have *unpacked, substantiated*, and added some *time-sensitivity* to our statements on network interactions.

In the following we present meta-analysis results on

Proposition 4: On the role of transnational connectivity between SI initiatives (**section 5.2**)

Proposition 5: On the interactions across transnational SI networks (**section 5.3**)

Proposition 6: On the importance of relations to external actors within the SI field (**section 5.4**), after which summary conclusions are presented (**section 5.5**).

## 5.2 Proposition 4: On the role of transnational connectivity between SI initiatives

### 5.2.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**Proposition 4.** *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). The work of a transnational SI network 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.*

#### **Analytical strategy:**

First of all, it is evident that P4 articulates what from the beginning on has been identified as a key element of TSI theory – the importance of transnational connectedness of locally embedded SI initiatives. The proposition can be considered quite firm in the sense that we've found quite some theoretical confirmation (on 'glocal' SI etc.), and quite some empirical confirmation through WP4 case study empirics as well.

Second, still we need to consider that there is a certain selection bias in our empirical basis: we have focused on cases of local manifestations that have an identifiable transnational connection. This means that actual *falsification* of the proposition through CTP data is challenging and that a quest for further *confirmation* is vulnerable to reinforcing the selection bias. As we did not have complete knowledge of what we would find in the initiatives before selection, there is bound to be some inconsistencies, with initiatives that operate very much in isolation, despite the fact that TRANSIT identified them to be globally connected. In order to counterbalance the selection bias, it seems imperative to apply the critical falsification spirit in one way or another, and identify such cases.

Third, the current formulation of P4 already indicates that *substantiation* and *unpacking* are obvious ways to elaborate it. The proposition substantiates the empowerment that international networks provide, or better said, the empowerment that *membership of them* provides. The typology usefully tries to unpack the empowerment, distinguishing the kinds of work an international network does. The current threefold distinction – roughly based on the typology in D4.4 – could be refined, it seems: First and third categories are fairly concrete but very broad, the second category is not very concrete. The proposition also overlooks the aspect of empowerment that LMs can provide to the network, and solely focus on unidirectional empowerment coming from the international level.

Fourth, the proposition could be provided with some *time-sensitivity*. Theorization of 'bottom-linked' social innovation by Moulaert cs. has raised important questions on the 'hen and the egg' issue involved here, i.e. networks may be constructed/emergent from the bottom, but may also be a kind of 'prime mover' that is helping to resurrect local initiatives. This issue of sequence and patterns in network formation processes could be combined with the falsification moves described above:

### **Empirical research questions:**

1. What kind of empowerment is afforded or provided between networks and LMs? Keep in mind that LMs may empower an international network as much as it may empower them.
  - ✓ What kind of exchanges are taking place between social innovation initiatives and the international network? - knowledge, information, resources, practices, staff, legitimacy, etc.
  - ✓ Can the types of empowerment be divided into different types, categories, patterns and directions of flow?
    - How are the exchanges taking place? – are there physical contact, through mail/skype/phone, do they have a platform, is it through word-of-mouth, are there periodic or intermittent events, what is the available infrastructure
2. What is the sequence and pattern in network formation?
  - ✓ What sequences of network formation can be distinguished?

- ✓ Are any identified patterns or sequences more prevalent in specific time periods?
  - ✓ Do any patterns or sequences seem related to their geographical place/distribution?
    - What is the evidence of membership of transnational networks in which these networks are rather secondary in importance?
3. Did any of the initiatives turn out not to fulfil our selection criteria?

The questions here are numbered according to their priority, and secondary or low-priority questions are marked with a white circle. Category 3 is challenging and did not turn up anything during the coding, so will not be mentioned further. This group relates to falsification, and while it is very relevant, it is very hard to search the database for evidence. Concluding that a LM is unconnected to a LM, would require reading all the CTPs for that LM, and then you might assert that the LM is unconnected. This is work-intensive and very analytical, and thus a low priority in contrast to category 1 and 2 where evidence can be searched directly through keywords.

#### 5.2.1.1 Extraction and coding procedure

The tag “international networks” is of course relevant. At the time of the database freeze 50 CTPs used that tag and 8 LMs. That in itself is quite extensive, around 250-300 pages of CTPs. This tag might be combined with different tags to extract specific types of empowerment, however it was chosen to extract all of them to avoid any additional bias in how researchers have tagged the CTPs-

A full-text search found the word “international” +”network” a total of 40 times, however only 6 new CTPs that wasn’t included under the international network tag turned up. These were coded in a new session of coding after the initial 50.

A use of the tag “network” gave 90 CTPs, of which 21 also had the “international networks” tag. Of the remaining 69 CTPs only 31 one where skimmed to ascertain possible relevance due to time constraints. Of these 31, 6 proved to be relevant for the proposition, while 25 were not relevant. Of these 25 CTPs 10 were specifically related to networks at the national level, which could be of some relevance depending on context. However, neither the 6 relevant nor the 10 peripheral CTPs were coded due to time constraints.

Also, taking the first CTP and the timeline diagram for a local initiative were thought to be relevant, based on the hypothesis that it would mostly be related to emergence, and there might be mention of how this related to the international network. However, the initial 50 CTPs show only little prevalence of early points being more relevant, with CTPs number 1-3 for an LM having 9-10 each, and CTPs number 4-6 having 6-7 CTPs each.

As the proposition pertains to (reciprocal) relations between networks and local initiatives, it is arguably important to focus on the 20 networks and their 80 initiatives – more than on CTPs or strings of CTPs. A basic exercise would be to verify in broad-brushed fashion, for all 20 networks, what kinds of empowerment membership of them is affording. This might be challenging given the initial search given above, i.e. a minority of the CTPs & LMs mention any international networks. And while 15 networks are represented, just 4 of them make up 50% of the CTPs extracted. And for Living Labs for instance all 4 CTPs extracted are from the LM in Sfax, while the 7 CTPs from

Slow Food stems from 4 different LMs. So, there is a large variation in the sample. The best way forward seems to be coding and creating a typology from the current extraction, and then engaging the researchers in the rest to see if they can verify that as a broader generalization.

A random sampling was conducted, reading through all CTPs of one LM. I did turn up some additional data of relevance, it all fitted within the coding that emerged from the initial extraction.

### 5.2.1.2 Coding

The 50 initial CTPs have been through one round of coding. Initially text searches were used to locate instances of the relevant network or international interactions in each CTP, but with little results, as these specific words are often not used in the description or quotes. Therefore, doing a complete reading and coding was deemed necessary. In the end, only 46 of the initial 50 CTPs had any relevance, at least two seemingly being tagged incorrectly, as no mention was found of international networking. A further 5 were of negligible interest.

The coding was done in relation to the three main questions and their sub-questions, with new themes, topics, and aspects being noted during the reading. Research question 1 resulted in 382 references (quotes) from the CTP files distributed like this:

#### **Kinds of empowerment:**

- Types of exchanges – 100 references in 15 categories/aspects
- Types of empowerment – 200 references in 26 categories/aspects
- How exchanges are taking place – 78 references in 11 categories/aspects

With 4 references in categories outside the 3 sub-questions. Sub-question 1 and 3 also has a lot of commonality, with some categories like conferences being present in both. A conference is both a type of interactions as well as how and exchange practically is taking place. While inspiration in the form of ideas, tools, and experiences is a type of exchange, which might take place either through internet communication, publications, conferences and other means.

Research question 2 only resulted in 77 references, and only 38 of the CTP were found to have anything in relation to emergence/network formation. These are distributed on 7 categories, and all within sub-question 1. Anything in relation to patterns in relation to time or geography is not apparent through a reading, but will require an analysis on the on sub-question 1 in relation to the factual data for the CTP and LM.

Lastly, research question 3 only resulted in 12 references distributed among 7 CTP, and all relate to different types of contestations in the LMs, where some groups may feel disempowered at the expense of other members.

On a side note, some references often relate to categories in different research questions, i.e. the same reference appears under several aspects. If all duplicated are counted, there references are well above 2000. However, absolute amount of references carry very little significance. Some CTPs also tend to repeat themselves a lot, and thus result in more references in a specific category, without representing any prevalence or such a process in the real world.



Ideally, there should be a second round of coding, as some categories only emerged in the very last CTPs analysed, and may find more relevance in other files if looked for specifically. The coding might also turn out interesting keywords that can be used for searches in the database. The time-frame of this analysis have unfortunately not allowed it. The coding has been done in NVivo, see example below.

Name	Sources	References	Created On	
1.1 - types of exchanges		34	101	27-01-2017 11:50
Campaigns		1	1	09-02-2017 16:43
Concepts		2	2	02-02-2017 10:42
Conferences and other events		20	38	27-01-2017 12:56
Governance		2	3	02-02-2017 11:22
How link is established		3	3	27-01-2017 12:00
Individuals active in the global		1	1	01-02-2017 15:47
Inspiration		1	1	27-01-2017 12:29
International exchanges from or with outside the network		19	33	27-01-2017 13:41
International to international		2	2	08-02-2017 07:34
Local context actors outside the network		1	1	08-02-2017 10:59
Missionary trips		1	1	09-02-2017 16:03
Networking		2	2	07-02-2017 15:24
Projects		5	7	07-02-2017 11:39
Publications		3	3	02-02-2017 13:41
Structures and codes		1	1	01-02-2017 14:05

## 5.2.2 Presenting the evidence

The categories presented here is a condensation and selection of the coding done above, ordered along the research questions and the most prevalent aspects.

### 5.2.2.1 Types of exchanges/interaction – Questions 1.1

The three categories here, resulting from merging of multiple categories in the coding, represents 80 out of 101 references made during the coding.

#### **Conferences and other events**

Probably the most prevalent way that an international network interacts with LMs and other actors are through events, often conferences, but also workshops, lectures, and other types of gatherings. Many CTPs are in themselves manifested in an event. A typical story from Basic Income:

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*Through her work she became interested in basic income and in the year 2000, she attended the 8th BIEN International Congress, held in Berlin. At the Congress she met then co-chair of the BIEN network,*

*Guy Standing, who was the director of the Socio-Economic Security Programme at the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in Geneva at the time. Dommen joined the ILO and, together with Guy Standing and a number of academics based around Lake Geneva, formally founded BIEN-SUISSE in 2001 to organise the next BIEN Congress that was to be held in Geneva in 2002. – BIEN-SUISSE CTP 1 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-founding-of-bien-suisse-in-geneva>)*

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The conference here served as a meeting place, as a connector between different people, which then went back home to create a LM. Ecovillage Bergen also started, or were inspired by, a conference:

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*Co-founder 1 participated in the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN) conference held at Tamera in 2011, indicating that s/he had “really learned a lot” and that it had been an important experience. It was encouraging to discover that “there are many more idiots like me, I am not at all the only one (...) When I saw that it very international, this made me even happier. I also learned a lot from the experiences of others” (co-founder 1). The other co-founders also confirmed that they learned a lot from other ecovillages. Besides the attendance at the conference, they also visited other ecovillages: two co-founders spent a month in ecovillage SiebenLinden (Germany) and were inspired by the way of living there. – Ecovillage Bergen CTP 1 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/discovering-other-ecovillages>)*

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Another example is Seed-swapping in Szeged, a CTP that took place during a conference:

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*It was held in spring 2011 as part of the 5th Let's Liberate Diversity international conference in Szeged. Its main goals were to strengthen international professional relations and to provide a platform to get an insight into each other's practical work. - Magház Seed House CTP2 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/seed-swapping-in-szeged-hun-1>)*

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Conferences also serve to continuously support LMs, not just for inspiring or starting new LMs:

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*After establishing Magház, the founders had a lot of questions and concerns, therefore they continued to take part in other conferences and meetings on agrobiodiversity as well. "Those events gave us a huge impetus and we could gain precious experiences and knowledge." All of the related events were mainly relevant because of their practical dimensions. - Magház Seed House CTP3 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/international-meeting-at-arche-noah-1>)*

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### **International exchanges with external actors**

An interesting type of exchange not considered initially, and that has not been an explicit part of our research, is the exchanges taking place between LM and international organisations/networks that aren't part of the same network but has a large influence in empowering them.

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*Both at the international and national level, the ecovillage movement strongly cooperates with the Transition Towns movement and the permaculture movement. For instance, these movements together with other organisations founded ECOLISE – the European Community-Led Initiatives on Climate Change and Sustainability. Also in the Dutch context, ecovillage initiatives cooperate with Transition Town initiatives. This is also manifested in the fact that the representative of Transition Towns Netherlands is a founding board member of the Dutch ecovillage network. – Ecovillage Bergen CTP1 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/discovering-other-ecovillages>)*

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This CTP explicitly mention their connection to other networks, one of which is also part of our study. At other times, international networks are actively involved in founding or expanding the networks we study:

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*He pointed out that the process of internationalization was promoted by a group of people that were either the founders or pioneers of the initiative. The respondent remark that: It is important to note that we are talking about not only individuals, but founder organizations with high legitimacy (ONGs, Caritas, Solidarity Economy networks...) - **Credit Unions FIARE CTP2** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/attempt-to-create-a-new-european-ethical-credit-cooperative>)*

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At other times other international networks are merely partners in projects. The EU which certainly is an international actor, but not a network, also play a crucial role for several CTPs:

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*The project included 23 organizations across a number of countries. CLER was co-ordinator of the entire project and was leading the French actions and interventions. The project started in 2001 and the EU-funding ended in 2003. Some of the activities do, however, continue. The project made it possible for CLER to employ two people more – spending their time carrying out the activities related to the project. - **INFORSE CLER CTP3** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/2001-predac-r-a-european-project>)*

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Here is another quote illustrating the importance of the EU:

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*The European union was instrumental, as they funded the first European project that founded the Living Knowledge network. There were an EU officer who were very proactive and actively encouraged a consortium of science shops to answer an EU project call - **Living Knowledge Wissenshafsladen Bonn CTP4** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-first-international-project>)*

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Sometimes LMs are directly member of or affiliated with other international networks:

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*The IEEE Robotic and Automation Society (RAS) Tunisia Chapter had a rather indirect, but important role in this CTP. The organizing committee used the IEEE brand and network to promote the event and give it an international label. In addition, the student branch of the IEEE RAS participated in organizing the competition. - **Living Labs Sfax CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp1-the-inauguration-of-the-chair-of-innovation-in-sfax>)*

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## **Projects**

Projects represents a type of outcome or production that serve as a basis for interactions, here interaction with society at large:

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*The Slow Food National office contributed to implement in the United States two of the principal projects – the Ark of Taste and Presidia- that Slow Food International have extended in Europe and other parts of world. With the “Heritage Turkey Project” Slow Food gained the acknowledgement of the American Society. Besides, the creation of the national branch permitted to establish partnership – **Slow Food USA CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/constitution-of-the-slow-food-usa-national-association>)*

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Sometimes projects is one of the ways that LMs interaction with each other and the international level of the network:

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*He would say that this is, partly at very nice network, nice people are involved, it is good to be there because it is time we enjoy, the conferences are great, you get a lot of inspiration, and so I kind of... we were active enough to talk with many people, to talk about the possibilities to work together at the project. So in that sense, if you were asking this, we were kind of very active to be involved in projects. – Living Knowledge ESSRG CTP4 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-perares-project>)*

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And lastly a project, and not its outcome, can be a focal point for interaction with other actors externally to the project:

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*In addition, the National School of Agroecology allowed for different links with different state agencies, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Institute for Agricultural Development (INDAP), the National Women's Service, the Ministry of Agriculture Education, the Mayoralty of the commune of Chépica and the Board of Neighbors of Costa de Auquinco (place where the event was held). The IALA-Chile project, received support from CLOC and Vía Campesina, with financial help from the EMAÚS Foundation and the Basque Country government. – Via Campesina ANAMURI CTP6 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/national-school-of-agroecology>)*

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### **Other categories**

Here is a short overview of some of the categories that could not be merged with the preceding categories, but are not presented as they relate to relatively few references and CTPs. They are represented as CTPs: References

- Campaigns – 1:1
- LM individuals active in the international network – 3:3
- Exchanges between international networks not involving LMs – 2:2
- Publications – 3:3
- Promotion travels/visits – 1:1
- Structures & Codes – 3:4

As can be seen, they represent a quite small percentage of all the types of interactions identified. Interestingly, this means that there is a quite high similarity in how the LMs interact with the international level.

#### **5.2.2.2 How interactions/exchanges are taking place – Question 1.3**

##### **Conferences, gatherings and meetings**

Conferences are present again, as it is both a type of interaction, as well as how interactions practically takes place. It has been merged with a category called gatherings and meetings, which also represent face-to-face interactions, coming together in a space, although there is a difference in scale, visibility, and how much it relates to external actors. Both categories had 21 references each, relating to 14 and 9 CTPs respectively. Only 6 CTPs did not overlap.

The quotes presented in the previous section about conferences also apply here. Therefore, the quotes here mostly represent meetings, gatherings, and congresses. Often meetings related to internal decision making processes, strategies, governance etc:

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*It was only after that retreat that the team found out about the global rebranding, which was communicated and discussed during a global gathering in London in April 2013. The core team of the Hub Amsterdam felt that the global rebranding towards Impact Hub, fitted with their prior ideas about developing their local hub to a next level. – **Impact Hub Amsterdam CTP4** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/local-rebranding-from-the-hub-to-impact-hub-amsterdam>)*

*So, I travelled to Innsbruck in Austria and I met Dutch colleagues for the first time, and we were talking about science shops and developing ideas to how we could collaborate on the international level. – **Living Knowledge Wissenschaftsladen CTP4** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-first-international-project>)*

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Or about exchanging knowledge, experience, practices etc.:

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*A major event has been a first meeting in London in 2007, where aspirant founders met to exchange best practices and learn about how to set up a Hub. – **Impact Hub London CTP2** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/change-in-global-governance>)*

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Or simply happenchance meeting happening in relation to conferences, putting actors together, which then might relate to an LM:

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*APRES-GE was concretely founded in 2004 by 3 persons, following a decision which had been taken by them in the train coming back from the European Social Forum the year before – **RIPESS APRES-GE CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-founding-of-apres-ge>)*

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## **Internet exchanges**

This category is interestingly a kind of opposition to the previous, where many interaction still rely on face-to-face meetings, we here focus on how some interactions can be done through ICT. It is composed of 12 referenced between 9 CTPs.

One basic affordance is the speed and reach of productions, like a film:

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*Once the film was out, it spread fast and far, not least due to the possibilities of the internet, although it was originally only available in German. It sparked local activist groups and activities elsewhere, exemplar of which is the Krönungswelle (crowning wave) organised in Lörrach and Berlin, Germany, in May and July 2009. - **Basic Income SUISSE CTP2** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-movie-essay-basic-income-a-cultural-impulse>)*

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Other times the establishment of an online presence have no specific goal, but it seen as an important step, or as part of the general dissemination of what an LM is doing:

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*In 1995 two major steps were made by the ecovillage movement: they set up a website ([www.gaia.org](http://www.gaia.org)) - **Ecovillage Bergen CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/discovering-other-ecovillages>)*

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*A collective blog was established, This low carbon life where people wrote about their experiences of trying to live a low carbon life. This was in part inspired by the Transition Circles process. – **Transition Norwich CTP3** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/transition-circles-project-tn2>)*

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For other LMs it has been a crucial communication tool:

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*in early 2009, on the spur of the moment, co-founder 1 decided on a Sunday night to create a mailing list and IRC channel for a new hackspace in the city they lived in. He emailed details of the list around to other technology-related groups in the city and wider UK, and received interested replied immediately. Through these initial connections, the co-founders were invited to meet with people in a nearby city to support their own efforts in setting up a similar space: “They emailed saying ‘We think this is a great idea! Can you help us do the same thing?’ even though we’d only been running for a few weeks.” – **Hackerspace South-Central England CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp1-tapping-into-existing-communities>)*

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## **Publications**

This category is composed of 11 references from 9 CTPs. Publications facilitate many different types of exchanges, both internally and externally from a social innovation network:

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*Daniel Häni claims to have had the idea to organise a popular vote in 1990 already. He first encountered the concept of a basic income by chance, when the cover page of the Swiss weekly Weltwoche titled: “Basic Income for all.” He remembers buying the newspaper and reading the article as follows: “... it explained the idea of a basic income for all, not even very well... and I thought: “ha, I believe we should have a popular vote on this in Switzerland.” – **Basic Income SUISSE CTP3** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/joining-forces-to-start-a-citiven-initiative-for-a-popular-vote>)*

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Publications in general seem to have played a large role in Basic Income, as a way to make the idea travel, in dissemination of knowledge about basic income. At other times publications is part of the internal structure:

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*And I said I am going to do this no matter what [making the international newsletter], it was so great to meet you and we should stay in contact and see what we can learn from each other. And a week or two later I got an invitation to join the first international science shop project. And I did that, I did the magazine and the newsletter for the project. Moreover, I contributed or was somehow one of the main drivers to set up the Living Knowledge network. This was the launch of living knowledge and this international project, and of course, it changed our activities quite a lot. – **Living Knowledge Science Shop Bonn CTP4** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-first-international-project>)*

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Sometimes projects and publications are synonymous, or publications may be one of the main outputs of projects:

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*The Slow Food Foundation has launched a number of international projects such as the Ark of Taste (an online catalogue of endangered food products) or the Presidia project. Besides, through the Slow Food Chefs’ Alliance and Earth Markets Slow Food fosters more egalitarian relations between producers and consumers. – **Slow Food Italy CTP4** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-slow-food-foundation-for-biodiversity-in-2003>)*

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### 5.2.2.3 Types of empowerment – Question 1.2

Composed of 200 references among 38 CTPs, this research question finds the most relevance among the CTPs analysed so far. Unlike the previous research questions that found a natural convergence around few categories, this is spread out widely, with at least 5 major groups even after mergers of categories. This means that there are many different types of empowerment in play.

The two previous sections have been a mapping of the types/categories of exchanges, and how they practically are taking place. This section covers the outcome, the impact, how the LMs and international networks are empowered through these exchanges.

#### **Sharing experience, knowledge, learning and the emotional/peer support it can provide**

One of the most prevalent types of empowerment observed among the CTPs, in relation to the international exchanges, is the sharing of experience, knowledge, and the learning afforded by these exchanges. Sometimes it is about practical advice and procedures for operating an LM, other times it is more the feeling of unity, support, and the emotional pat on the back such exchanges can give that are important. The first quotes illustrate what could be termed a standard information dissemination or exchange activities:

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*In 2005 Fiare signed an agency contract with the Italian credit cooperative with the aim of receiving technical support and training to start operating as a financial agent of BpE in Spain – **Credit Unions Fiare CTP2** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/attempt-to-create-a-new-european-ethical-credit-cooperative>)*

*The most important part was, however, the intense exchange of ideas that took place during the project. It was possible to get inspired by actions in other countries and translate them into a French context. The professional capacity of CLER grew as a result of the project, and the organization became prepared for participating in more EU projects. – **INFORSE CLER CTP3** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/2001-predac-r-a-european-project>)*

*Processes such as learning-by-doing, sharing experiences and mimicry were central for the creation of APRES-GE – **RIPESS APRES-GE CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-founding-of-apres-ge>)*

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However, the same Ecovillage Bergen for the same CTP, also exemplifies the importance of the exchange for their own motivation, beyond the experience, knowledge, or information in itself, which is common among many LMs:

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*They found this event as an excellent environment for learning new things and boosting their personal and professional networks. They were highly inspired by others and they received more energy to carry on their job. "It's always inspiring to me when I spend time with those people who are dedicated to local varieties." – **Seed Movement Magház CTP 5** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/lets-liberate-diversity-in-basel-1>)*

*it is highly inspiring, for practitioners, to collaborate with similar grassroots cooperatives or sustainable banks in both Europe and worldwide. Also, Merkur shareholders and clients find it motivating to know that they belong to a global movement. [...] "We need our peers and we learn from the other banks and our clients are also happy that they can see that they are part of something bigger...that is really a positive message to the clients" – **Credit Unions Merkur Cooperative Bank CTP5** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/danish-financialeconomic-crisis>)*

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*But the second thing that made a difference to me was just colleagues, other colleagues really understanding the nature of the work and sharing the values for the work that we were doing, and the sense of how important that this was, and higher education should be involved in this kind of work. So the collegiality, the general support from colleagues, also sharing difficulties... with colleagues which had had similar experiences was such a good and positive and supportive experience for me – **Living Knowledge Ireland CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-living-knowledge-network>)*

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In short, the sharing of experiences, knowledge, and learning generally take two forms, either as information or practices that are practical and directly helpful, or through the motivation and emotional support received and felt by like-minded colleagues.

### **Funding and the freedom it (can) give**

A basic type of empowerment is funding, which might seem too obvious. However, an interesting aspect is what specifically that funding empowers LMs to do, and where and how funding is obtained. Another interesting point is that funding seems to not be the most critical point, at least not in relation to the exchanges between LMs and international networks. However, for the first quotes here funding was crucial in bringing LM together to manifest them as an international network:

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*The discovery of other ecovillages could not have happened if it was not for those other ecovillage initiatives, and for the Global Ecovillage Network bringing them together, financially supported by the Gaia Trust [...] an international coordinating office at Gaia Trust, Denmark. Gaia Trust committed to covering the expenses of the network for 3-5 years. – **Ecovillage Bergen CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/discovering-other-ecovillages>)*

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In many cases, it is also the LMs who are financing the international network:

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*The respondent describes this moment as a CTP in terms of the larger dimension that Fiare gained as a consequence of the process. First, FIARE was able to fund - through credit activity- social projects mostly related to social cooperation, international cooperation, environmental protection and sustainability, as well as cultural activities and civil society building actions - **Credit Unions Fiare CTP2** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/attempt-to-create-a-new-european-ethical-credit-cooperative>)*

*The strongest argument about the formalizing process is what our international policy would be. That means: destine money. And that's not easy, to ask to members of cooperatives to liberate incomes for pay the internationalization campaigns "- **Co-housing FUCVAM CTP6** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/fucvam-internationalization>)*

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A lot of the funding coming from the international “level” comes from actors external from the social movement/network in question, especially from the European Union. However, the international networks are often instrumental in obtaining funding from these external actors:

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*In addition, the National School of Agroecology allowed for different links with different state agencies, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Institute for Agricultural Development (INDAP), the National Women's Service, the Ministry of Agriculture Education, the Mayoralty of the commune of Chépica and the Board of Neighbors of Costa de Auquinco (place where the event was held). The IALA-Chile project,*



received support from CLOC and Via Campesina, with financial help from the EMAÚS Foundation and the Basque Country government. – **Via Campesina ANAMURI CTP6**  
(<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/national-school-of-agroecology>)

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International networks also help LMs to attract funding in their “local” context:

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*The designation of Alberto López as a member of the International Board has also reinforced Slow Food's position with local and regional institutions with which the local convivium often collaborates. This international meeting favoured Slow Food's influence in the local context, especially in terms of their standing with public institutions, increasing the capacity of SFAV to obtain public funding or support from the local government:* – **Slow Food Araba-Vitoria CTP5**  
(<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/election-of-alberto-lopez-as-member-of-the-international-board-of-slow-food>)

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## **Legitimacy and labels**

Many LMs mention how the label of or membership in an international network lends legitimacy or reputation, although it sometimes isn't transparent how this actually empowers:

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*This as well as the affiliation with the transnational BIEN network also lent reputation and legitimacy to the newly founded association.* – **Basic Income SUISSE CTP1**  
(<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-founding-of-bien-suisse-in-geneva>)

*Fiare is a project that needs a safety network which endows it with legitimacy, identity and values. A network of entities which contributes with an ideological corpus and a militant base.* – **Credit Unions Fiare CTP2** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/attempt-to-create-a-new-european-ethical-credit-cooperative>)

*So, she [GP's executive manager] became very convinced and very committed... What is happening here, is that GP on one side draws on the experience and knowledge of Henk and the rest of the Living Knowledge network to disseminate to his colleagues how this type of work can be done. However, these partners also bestow legitimacy on him and the idea of having a science shop, which makes his own manager more committed and convinced about the idea.* – **Living Knowledge ESSRG CTP4**  
(<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-perares-project>)

*The designation of Alberto López as a member of the International Board has also reinforced Slow Food's position with local and regional institutions with which the local convivium often collaborates. This international meeting favoured Slow Food's influence in the local context, especially in terms of their standing with public institutions, increasing the capacity of SFAV to obtain public funding or support from the local government* – **Slow Food Araba-Vitoria CTP5**  
(<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/election-of-alberto-lopez-as-member-of-the-international-board-of-slow-food>)

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In some cases it seems related to risk, to fear of the unknown, and to be able to argue in your local context that you are one among many others of your type of initiative, can bring support of different kinds. It might also work in the opposite direction, labels or locals or of other international organisations might led you legitimacy to join a specific network, like Living Labs. However, informants often seem to espouse this importance of legitimacy a label can bring, without really mentioning how it helped them in any practical or specific way.

## **Visibility**

Visibility is tightly related to legitimacy, or at least visibility often comes through the same exchanges that legitimacy does. Visibility however is a very simple observation, if no one knows that you exist they cannot get interested in you, become members, supporters etc. LMs would not become subjects of research projects like TRANSIT either if they have no visibility. Visibility might in many instances be seen as a first step affording other developments to come.

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*From the moment that he began here one afternoon while we were four picnicking, to be the representative of the movement for the Iberian peninsula. It's a reason to be happy. And the recognition that you gain... because he was part of our local group (...) It means being a reference for the community. For the group here it was important, for our visibility, because people talked so much about our group, it made those in the group feel very flattered and very comfortable. – **Slow Food Araba-Vitoria CTP5** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/election-of-alberto-lopez-as-member-of-the-international-board-of-slow-food>)*

*SFAV's partners consider that Terra Madre 2014 has been a critical moment for SFAV. First due to the media stir of both events, which transcended Italian borders (400 journalists from 63 countries excluding the Italian press and numerous Spanish media -including two Basque radios: Radio Vitoria and Radio Euskadi-) - **Slow Food Araba-Vitoria CTP6** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/participation-in-terra-madre-2014>)*

*The interviewee states that the local group was "riding on the back of the international congress" and she is convinced that the start of the Swiss branch would not have received as much attention otherwise: "We would not have had the same visibility if we had just done it out of the blue." In addition to the media attention the International Congress got, the possibility to use the BIEN mailing list and newsletter (NewsFlash) to circulate the call for papers, the preliminary programme and other relevant information ensured that word about the Congress and BIEN-SUISSE travelled far among basic income supporters. – **Basic Income SUISSE CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-founding-of-bien-suisse-in-geneva>)*

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Media plays an important role in several of the CTPs, at other times it is through ICT and social networks that visibility is gained. It can be because of events, like a conference, workshop, or convention, or it might be something specific the election of a local to the governing body of an international organisation. Visibility also appears on different levels, visible in the "local" context and on the international scene is not necessarily the same.

### **LM's empowering international actors**

A type of empowerment often not thought about, is when LMs empower their networks and not other way around. This might entail any of the types of empowerment mentioned already, and is such not very specific, but just illustrating something that might have been overlooked. The most common of this type of empowerment process, is funding. Members of these networks fund activities, sometimes completely unrelated to them like the "10.000 Gardens in Africa" project in slow food.

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*SFAV partners are particularly proud of the "10.000 Gardens in Africa" project to which all Slow Food partners contribute through their annual membership fee – **Slow Food Araba-Vitoria CTP5** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/election-of-alberto-lopez-as-member-of-the-international-board-of-slow-food>)*

*The respondent describes this moment as a CTP in terms of the larger dimension that Fiare gained as a consequence of the process. First, FIARE was able to fund - through credit activity- social projects mostly related to social cooperation, international cooperation, environmental protection and sustainability, as*

well as cultural activities and civil society building actions – **Credit Unions Fiare CTP2** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/attempt-to-create-a-new-european-ethical-credit-cooperative>)

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LMs might also contribute with visibility and legitimacy to the international network though:

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Moreover, the BIEN International Congress received a large financial contribution by the Geneva state government and additional support by the Rockefeller Foundation. Although the ILO does not have a formal position on the basic income, it hosted the congress, thereby lending legitimacy and adding significantly to local, national and international visibility. – **Basic Income SUISSE CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-founding-of-bien-suisse-in-geneva>)

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#### 5.2.2.4 Network formation/emergence – Research question 2

The coding processes resulted in surprisingly little information on the emergence of the networks and their LMs. Doing some random samples of CTPs did discover that many CTPs contain data on this aspects, although often without mentioning the international network as a keyword. The emergence tag is of course relevant, but from a quick overview it does not seem related to the networking. A search of emergence + international also only resulted in 1 additional CTP. This left us with no practical way to extract any further details.

#### **Spreading without international support**

One of the categories is simply the networks that spread without any direct involvement of the international network. Sometimes it is random circumstances that lead actors to start LMs, like a study trip, a conference, or other ways that they encounter an idea. At other times LMs facilitate the creation of LMs in new places, but without the “international” being involved.

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In 2005, Fiare signed a collaboration agreement with Banca Popolare Etica through which Fiare becomes the financial agent of BpE in Spain. – **Credit Unions Fiare CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/change-in-the-communication-strategy-of-fiare-oriented-to-gain-more-public-support>)

In early 2009, on the spur of the moment, co-founder 1 decided on a Sunday night to create a mailing list and IRC channel for a new hackerspace in the city they lived in. He emailed details of the list around to other technology-related groups in the city and wider UK, and received interested replied immediately. Through these initial connections, the co-founders were invited to meet with people in a nearby city to support their own efforts in setting up a similar space: “They emailed saying ‘We think this is a great idea! Can you help us do the same thing?’ even though we’d only been running for a few weeks.” – **Hackerspaces South-Central England CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp1-tapping-into-existing-communities>)

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#### **International network key in spreading**

Another basic type of emergence, is when the international networks play a key role in the expansion. One type is when networks conduct events, like conferences or workshops, this may elicit new members and LMs through the visibility, legitimacy or simple transfer of ideas.

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*The interviewee underlines that the membership of the international network was of crucial importance to the Workspace and the later VBI. Just like most other national affiliates of BIEN, these local initiatives were of relative much lesser size, significance and impact than the network that they were part of. It were typically not so much the national-level activities and congress organizations that carried basic income advocacy: It was a bit in the reverse. When BIEN had their meetings in countries, then it [basic income activism] started to spread, and organize, and set foot on the ground. – **Basic Income Vereniging Basisinkomen CTP2** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-dutch-basic-income-association-vbi>)*

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At other times it is the infrastructure, like an online portal, archive, or exchange that helps to spread the network around the globe.

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*GEN is a platform for exchange, discussion, information and further development of the ecovillage concept and “has been a driving force in spreading the ecovillage movement across the globe” (Bagadzinski, 2002: 16\*). It not only supports and facilitates ecovillages, but also organises education and demonstration programs, and represents ecovillages at international institutions such as the UN, EU and several NGOs. – **Ecovillage Bergen CTP1** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/discovering-other-ecovillages>)*

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Other ways that networks facilitate expansion, is through the construction or safe-guarding of brands or other identity holding constructs.

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*In 2005, the first ‘Hub’ was opened in London, followed by many other initiatives all over the world (for example: Sao Paolo, Rotterdam and Amsterdam). Since then, the network and the amount of local hubs has grown across the world ‘like wildfire’ (Website Impact Hub, 2015). A global governance structure was set up, including a ‘transition’ period of contestation and reorganisation (see Bachman 2014 and Wittmayer et al. 2015). In 2013, the global network went through another major critical turning point: the rebranding of ‘the Hub’ into ‘the Impact Hub’ – **Impact Hub Amsterdam CTP3** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/global-rebranding-1>)*

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Lastly, there is the basic funding of new LMs.

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*What we decided, we are not financing directly our work, but we involve some of the other colleagues from another university in southern Hungary, where we know these colleagues who were open to the science shop idea. Then through PERARES we could also simple work the birth of another science shop – **Living Knowledge ESSRG CTP4** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-perares-project>)*

*The foundation has the chance to spread the Slow Food movement worldwide. We launch new projects and sustain them over time. We monitor our projects and support them. Although Slow Food associations worldwide conduct projects on their own, we provide them support from here (N.A. The Foundation has its operational headquarters in Bra). Throughout the Foundation, we are capable to have more impact on the ground, we have influence, at the same time that we coexist in harmony with all national associations – **Slow Food Italy CTP4** (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-slow-food-foundation-for-biodiversity-in-2003>)*

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## **Local initiatives condensing**

Lastly, there is the condensing or merger of already existing actors into a new or old network. This might happen in connection with the previous categories as well. Existing LMs condensing into an international network especially happened for credit unions, which even established several different international networks.

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*A third related event mentioned by the interviewee is the foundation of the new international network "Global Alliance for Banking on Values" (GABV). In March 2009, Merkur co-founded (altogether with Triodos Bank and others) a global network of banks with a value-based and societal oriented business profile aiming to demonstrate a strong alternative to the financial and economic models that led to the financial crisis. One of the main objectives of GABV is to prove that sustainability-focused banking have profit as well as positive impact. – Credit Unions Merkur Cooperative Bank CTP5 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/danish-financialeconomic-crisis>)*

*While the first Hubs had been set up in ways considered appropriate by their founders, there now seemed to be a need for guidance and sharing best practices: "It felt like we were grounding a global community with its first manifestation in London. So it didn't surprise us when we got visitors from all around the world seeking to do something similar. What surprised us was the volume. Initially, we were flattered by the huge amount of interest. But practically, it became a bit of a nightmare." (Jonathan Robinson, quoted in Bachmann 2014). "It was frustrating, because everyone had questions about the global model and we had no answers. (...) But there was no way back at that point" – Impact Hub London King's Cross CTP1 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-hub-goes-global>)*

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At other times, it is actual international organisations that go together to establish another international organisation.

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*The basic idea was to focus on sustainable energy and create a global network of local initiatives. INFORSE was established during the meeting in RIO on 4th June 1992 following the concern of several NGOs that energy questions played a rather small role in the discussions on sustainable development. – INFORSE VE CTP2 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/1992-ve-goes-global>)*

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And in yet other times it is merely a label, one among many, so a LM can be both a living lab, a fab lab, and a hackerspace for instance. This discussion elicits some considerations on the nature of a network, some networks cannot merely function as labels, while other can be nothing else.

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*This cognitive development helped the living lab board take strong steps towards developing its identity and separate recognition in the following period. The living lab became afterwards labelled as the Sfax Smart City Living Lab (CTP 6) and gained international recognition by becoming an ENoLL member. – Living Labs Sfax CTP5 (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp5-application-of-a-quality-management-system-to-acquire-iso-certification>)*

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### 5.2.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

Membership of international networks is generally empowering for local SI initiatives, yet it does not matter *that* much (as suggested by P4) for a significant part of LMs (and theoretical reflection is needed on the broader population of SI LMs, considering the selection bias), as only 50 CTPs out of the 350+ available at the time, were tagged as relating to the international network. A significant weakness here is a lack of analysis of the CTPs that lack this tag, although various blind and targeted verification tests have been done. Anyway, 15 out of 19 networks and 28 out of 65 LMs are represented. This might indicate that although most networks find the interaction between LMs

and the international level important, it might only be for specific LMs, or at specific times. There are two big problems however, this database extraction is based on keywords chosen by researchers only, and the CTPs themselves are chosen by the informants. Some CTPs have also been enriched by second-hand sources, what might have some implications for the pooling and comparison of CTPs. There might also be other CTPs that would tell us more, however as they were not chosen by the informants it indicates that they found them of less importance for their development. A larger review of the database, based on the first round of coding, could be conducted to see if CTPs without the relevant tag might still be relevant.

### 5.2.3.1 The main kinds of empowerment

#### **Funding**

Receiving funding is for many initiatives a basic requirement, even for volunteers, and sometimes this funding comes directly from the international network. At other times, it comes from outside sources, but the international network is crucial in giving them the legitimacy or visibility necessary to attract or be eligible for such funding.

#### **Legitimacy and labelling**

Legitimacy is a crucial aspect of starting an initiative. Often it relates to funding, as many actors would be reluctant to donate money to an unknown LM. The Living Lab in Sfax is a good example. Located in a politically unstable country in a different cultural context, they needed the label of international organisations to be considered legitimate, and ultimate become accepted as a Living Lab. The stamp of approval from large network might also elicit support in the local context, as visible from Science Shop Ireland or Slow Food Araba-Vitoria. At other times, it is just necessary to be part of a larger network to get funding, as actors like the European Commission do not fund individual science shop projects, for instance. A certain size is just necessary.

#### **Knowledge sharing, learning, and peer-support**

The most prevalent of all empowerment processes encountered, is the sharing of knowledge and support from peers, usually taking place during meetings, conferences, but occasionally also via ICT. There are two main aspects. First the down-to-earth practical challenges in operating a LM, which older LMs can advise on. Secondly there is the feeling of not being alone, of emotional support from peers, which seems just as crucial. This has a connection to identity and motivation. The prevalence of this category might be of subjective causes.

#### **Visibility**

Visibility, which is somewhat connected to legitimacy, is a very basic requirement for many social innovations. Basic income for instance needs wide public support to be successful, so they need to disseminate their ideas, they need to be visible. Slow food is a bit similar, they want to help local food products, commercially, and so also need to give such products visibility. Science shops are yet another example, they want to help civil society organisations, but depend on them to approach the science shops. If they are not visible, no CSOs would know that they exist. Impact Hub had a distinct challenge in relating to visibility, in that they were not distinct enough from other similar named initiatives, and so made a rebranding to get a *distinct* and visible brand.

International network can give such visibility through various activities. Sometimes prominent head figures in a network visiting is enough to cause widespread media-coverage locally, resulting in increased visibility. A secondary effect is often increasing legitimacy and funding.

### **LMs providing resources to networks**

This is not a very specific category compared to the previous 4, but has been included as a counterpoint to a common bias when discussing these networks, i.e. that it is just the international network empowering local initiatives. However, often LMs empower the network without getting “anything” in return. This is sometimes to affect international/global actors, events and processes that might benefit the network as a whole. At other times it is mostly altruistic, i.e. it does not benefit the LM but someone else, like aid for developing countries, disadvantaged groups etc. Such empowerment often takes the form of financing for the international network, which is prominent in Slow Food and Co-housing, but also exist in various degrees in other networks like FabLabs.

### **5.2.3.2 Emergence and co-evolution of networks**

Another angle to study the empowerment is what role the international network, or the LMs, played in the emergence of each other. The co-evolution/emergence of networks and local manifestations goes along the following distinct patterns:

#### **Spreading without international support**

Some social movement, or international networks, spread without the active involvement of the international network/organisation. This takes many different forms. The travel of ideas through word of mouth, articles, magazines, social network, chance encounters etc. is the most basic. Conferences may sometimes be seen as part of this as well, but they are planned and conducted by international networks, although it might not be for the purpose of establishing LMs. Another type of expansion is when LMs are instrumental in establishing new LMs, without involvement of the network. Lastly, some LMs are established without any connection, getting the idea “independently”.

#### **International network key in spreading**

The database also uncovered several instances of the international network actively expanding with new LMs. One way is of course by funding new LMs, which however seems rare. Conducting events seems the most prevalent, like conferences, where actors can be inspired to establish their own LM. Networks can also be instrumental by providing infrastructure that actors can draw upon to establish a LM, like online portals with information on how to tackle practical challenges. Surprisingly it seems that networks seldom are very active. However, the networks that were very active in the typology from D4.4 (ref) like Ashoka were not ready in the database at the time of coding.

#### **Pre-existing local manifestations merging, condensing, or joining**

Often there is a range of LMs that has emerged independently of any international network. However, they might merge together with other similar LMs to form a new international network as have been observed with credit unions or science shops. Sometimes there are already relevant networks to join, and it might just be a question of gaining knowledge of them, or fulfilling the membership requirements. Networks sometimes also actively invite or recruit existing LMs.

There is a difference in the nature of networks however. Some networks in many ways merely act as labels, and LMs can have several labels attached. This is what we might term loose networks, like Living Labs or Hackerspaces. Other networks are more tight, with governance structures, memberships fees, admission requirements etc. For these networks, membership is often very integral for their identity. An Impact Hub is not just any type of hub, a Eco-village not just any type of village. Where a Living Lab like the one in Sfax is just a lab, which draws various benefits for associating with various networks.

### 5.2.3.3 Substantiating, Solidifying & Falsification

The first typology on types of empowerment clearly substantiates & solidifies the proposition, adding on to the original data from D4.4.

The second typology on emergence and the data it is based on is actually less detailed than the corresponding analysis in D4.4, unlike the typology stemming from the first research question on empowerment. I.e. while this typology solidifies the findings in D4.4, it does not substantiate it. There might be several reasons for this, one of them that many CTPs looking into the establishment of LMs do not necessarily relate to any international network, so we here only get a subset of founding CTPs. Some LMs might also not chose the establishment as one of their 6 CTPs. In general, most LMs do not have a focus on the international work either, with very few exceptions, where D4.4 did a complete embedded case study on the international network, ensuring more details on this specific aspect. That being said, this typology still broadly serve to verify the existing typology in D4.4.

Neither typology and none of the data found falsifies the proposition in any way. The few cases of disempowerment found mostly related to differences of opinion between parts of a LM and the international network. However no effect seemed to come of it, or too little data was available to say anything meaningful.

## 5.3 Proposition 5: On the interactions across transnational SI networks

### 5.3.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**P5.** *Interactions across transnational SI networks are an important feature of TSI processes: they lead to a coevolutionary dynamic between networks, and may 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 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/altered institutions being proposed (their transformative ambitions), and ultimately including the introduction and consolidation of new values, norms, and cultural forms.*

### **Analytical strategy:**

The proposition needs adaptation in that, we focus on:

- interactions **between** rather than across transnational SI networks;
- the fact that we study the networks as embedded cases, thus including local initiatives interacting at local level. In further elaborating on this proposition, we propose to drop the local-transnational dichotomy and look at the interactions between local initiatives – also because the database only includes data on local manifestations.
- interactions between the local initiatives of the TRANSIT set of 20 networks, but also include the interaction with other (social innovation) initiatives.

To elaborate on the proposition and to identify relevant empirical evidence, we need to identify its core statement. We propose this to be the interaction of social innovation initiatives – specifically focusing on whether or not these ‘add up’. Are they converging into a broad, unified and influential movement (e.g. Kemp et al. (2016) idea of the ‘Third movement’)? Are there indications towards the formation of a network of networks (like RIPPES)? Do they form a highly dispersed, divided movement that grows ‘rhizomically’ but slowly achieves transformative impact nevertheless (Scott-Cato & Hillier 2011 on Transition Towns)? Or are they so dispersed, unconnected, isolated and very keen on independence that there is just little point in speculating about synergy and interference? Or as formulated in Haxeltine et al. 2016 in the extended proposition text: *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” (cf. Kemp et al., 2016), or does it display a fragmented “re-invention of the wheel” type process, and multitude of movements that only intermittently and coincidentally reinforce each other?* However, considering the kind of data we are accessing to work with this proposition, it is unlikely that there will be much evidence of such ‘adding up’. The focus of the empirical work is to trace interactions between (social innovation) initiatives.

Third, the proposition attempts at *substantiating* and *unpacking* the interactions between networks (in the latter part), but remains rather abstract and speculative in doing so. The CTP database could therefore usefully be queried for the concrete ways in which initiatives interact.

Fourth, qua *time-sensitivity* there is the possibility to consider how the interactions between initiatives – as far as there are such interactions rather than isolated operations – change over time. For example, what is the evidence of intensifying interactions with other initiatives, or the inverse of it?

This leads to the following questions for meta-analysis:

### **Empirical research questions:**

*What evidence is there on interactions of the social innovation initiatives of the 20 TRANSIT networks with each other and with other (social innovation) initiatives? What evidence is there of the opposite, i.e. of them operating in isolation/in parallel?*

*What kinds of interactions do exist between initiatives? What interacts (strategies, actions, narratives), how does it interact, on what topics/areas?*

*How did the interactions between initiatives – as far as there were such interactions rather than isolated operations – change over time?*

### **Key words:**

In a first step the description of all 65 initiatives in the database including their timelines have been read and analysed for evidence of interaction with other (social innovation) initiatives. This has resulted into some first evidence with regarding that interaction and yielded 46 CTPs to be further scrutinized along the above-mentioned questions – out of these all but eight belonging to six initiatives (Omstilling Ry, Red de Semillas, Transition Bro Gwaun, Transition Norwich, Transition Town Tooting, Via Campesina Anumari) have not been included in the analysis.

In a second step the tag ‘other initiatives’ has been used to identify 32 data entries (4 initiatives and 28 CTPs) – there was minimal overlap with the first step. All these data entries have also been analysed along the above-mentioned questions.

For future research other search strategies could involve:

- Keywords in Theme 1: international network
- Keywords in Theme 3: networking, imitating, connecting
- Full-text searches for the names of the TRANSIT networks: e.g. Impact Hub, Ashoka, etc.
- Full-text searches for words describing interaction (also as per the typology drawn up below: alliance, synergy, collaboration, interaction)

## **5.3.2 Presenting the evidence**

### **5.3.2.1. Interactions of social innovation initiatives (SI initiatives)**

With regard to the first question formulated above, the data shows that social innovation **initiatives (SI initiatives) are interacting** with one another. The following distinction can be drawn:

1. A SI initiative interacts with another SI initiative within the same TRANSIT network
2. A SI initiative interacts with another SI initiative of a different TRANSIT network
3. A SI initiative interacts with another (social innovation) initiative

While proposition 4 covers the interaction of SI initiatives within the same TRANSIT network, and proposition 6 the interaction with other societal actors, our focus here is on the second and third type of interaction.

There is clear evidence of interaction between initiatives of different networks. There is for example the collaboration between **DESIS/Polimi** with Slow Food Italy ([CTP Feeding Milan](#)) or with the cohousing movement ([CTP Project Cohousing.it](#)). We also see ShareMelbourne collaborate with the Impact Hub Melbourne ([CTP Darren Sharp becomes Australian Editor of Shareable](#)). For more evidence, see section B3.2.2.

However, the interaction which is most pronounced is between the SI initiatives under study and other (SI) initiatives (for evidence, see section B3.2.2.). There are two general observations with regard to this interaction. Firstly, what remains a methodological question is what we consider to be a SI initiative, rather than 'just' an initiative. Social innovation initiatives are considered as initiatives "*that are engaged in social innovation*" (Haxeltine et al. 2016: 19). With the latter understood as changes in social relations, every initiative engaging in changing social relations, involving new ways of doing, organising, framing and/or knowing (ibid.) is a SI initiative, no matter which organisational form it takes – whether a public body, a NGO, a community organization or an enterprise. As most of the CTP/Initiative descriptions do not detail whether or not the organisations that the SI initiative under study interacts with changes social relations, it is difficult to say from the organisational form referred to whether or not it relates to a SI initiative or 'just' an initiative. This makes for a blurry boundary between the work on proposition 5 and proposition 6. To address this, the focus here has been on trying to identify organisational forms that either are considered to blur institutional logics (such as social entrepreneurs with the focus on social rather than/next to financial impact) or can be located as part of a broadly understood Third Sector (cf. Avelino and Wittmayer 2016). However to underline this issue, we have used social innovation between brackets when denoting these initiatives (i.e. (social innovation) initiatives).

Secondly, we can distinguish between those other (SI) initiatives, which are engaging in activities not related to any of those that the TRANSIT networks engage in, and those (SI) initiatives, which are engaging in similar activities and can therefore be understood to be part of a broader 'movement' or field that also includes the TRANSIT networks. An example for the first one is the development of a community vegetable garden initiative by **DESIS Polimi** ([CTP Project Coltivando](#)). An example for the latter is the use of co-working spaces by for example **Hackspace 4** ([CTP Creating legibility through space](#)), an activity that also the Impact Hub, as part of the 20 TRANSIT networks engages in. Another example of the latter is the collaboration of **Vereniging Basisinkomen** with other individuals and civil society actors also concerned with basic income to lobby towards the government about experimentation with basic income ([CTP Establishment network of experimentation initiatives](#)) – they are forming the field of basic income in the Netherlands.

There is less explicit evidence spelling out that SI initiatives operate in **isolation or in parallel** (the second part of the question). A notable exception is the strategy adopted by **FabLab 4**, which "*intentionally distances itself from either Hackerspace or FabLab identities – rendering it somewhat isolated in the wider UK landscape*". This initiative distances itself from network affiliations, being aware of some of the negative connotations of the terms 'hack' and 'hacker', as put by the

interviewee: “People had no idea what ‘hack’ is. If you say hackspace, hackerspace, hacking, it’s just utterly alien...We didn’t learn this anywhere, we just knew that hacking had positive and negative connotations. Newspaper headlines in that era were wholly negative, so we were pretty sure that anyone who wasn’t in maker culture would have a negative connotation with it”. Doing so allowed them to access resources to which they otherwise would not have access, such as a physical place at a university ([Initiative FL4](#); [CTP No red flags](#)).

However, there is evidence that interaction with other (SI) initiatives is seldom purely instrumental or rational, rather it presupposes that the initiatives have something in common, a shared interest, idea, value, goal etc. (see 5.3.2.2, point 6).

### 5.3.2.2 Kinds of interaction

The interactions can be characterised in different ways. They can take the form of collaboration, for example **BIEN Suisse** collaborates with “numerous organisations and supporters” towards reaching a common goal ([Initiative Bien Suisse](#)). It can also mean that one initiative gives birth to another, for example **DESIS Polimi** stood at the cradle of a cohousing initiative ([CTP Project Cohousing.it](#)). In the following, we outline five different kinds of interaction between SI initiatives of different TRANSIT networks and between SI initiatives and other (SI) initiatives.

#### **Collaborating**

One form of interaction between SI initiatives and other (SI) initiatives takes the form of collaborating, meaning that both take upon them efforts in working together. This collaboration can serve a common goal, such as in the following examples:

- **RIPES - APRES GE** “decided to launch a new platform called “Demain Genève” with other regional organizations involved in transition” ([CTP Repositioning and the launch of Demain Geneve](#))
- **Bien Suisse** collaborated with “numerous organisations and supporters” towards the shared goal of a referendum on basic income ([Initiative Bien Suisse](#))
- **Vereniging Basisinkomen** collaborated with other individuals and civil society actors, forming a network, in lobbying towards the government about experimentation with basic income. As put in the CTP: “Together they created a platform through which to undertake a joint lobby towards national government”, ([CTP Establishment network of experimentation initiatives](#)).
- **DESIS Polimi** collaborated with **Slow Food Italy** to “identify how the two approaches could benefit from one another” ([CTP Feeding Milan](#)).
- **Timebank Fair Shares**, aimed at establishing a ‘green’ motorway service area. “The process of implementing the project has been an experiment in new ways of collaborating and achieving partnerships between Civil Society Organizations, Charitable Trusts and Businesses around the idea of strong local identity and providing alternatives to the ‘uniformity’ of standardised provision by multinational operators.” ([CTP Securing independent funding stream by establishing Gloucester Motorway Services](#)).

Coinciding with the fact that collaboration can also serve different goals that initiatives hold, is the fact that space is a consistent issue that brings SI initiatives to interact and collaborate.

- **ShareMelbourne** collaborated with the Impact Hub Melbourne towards their Shareable launch event. The Impact Hub sponsored the event, by providing the venue and facilitating the initiator of Share Melbourne, who was a member of the Impact Hub, in the preparation. They considered it a good business development opportunity ([CTP Darren Sharp becomes Australian Editor of Shareable](#)).
- **ShareMelbourne** also collaborated with another co-working space (Henley Club) using the same construction ([CTP Melbourne ShareFest takes place](#)).
- Also **ShareBloomington** collaborates with BloomingLab (a hackerspace) towards finding a shared space for their activities (for ShareBloomington owns a tool library that it needs to stall). Next to this collaboration with regard to finding a shared space, BloomingLab also supported ShareBloomington in getting a tool library ready (relocating and cleaning tools) in turn being able to lend tools ([CTP Connection with BloomingLab](#)).

There is also mentioning of collaboration without specific examples of the kind of collaboration:

- There is “*increasing interest from organisations – business, NGOs as well as governments*” to cooperate with **Impact Hub Amsterdam**. However, there is no example of such an interaction ([CTP Global Rebranding](#)).

### **Founding/giving birth to/standing at the cradle of**

SI/(SI) initiatives can surely be regarded as generative – with quiet some evidence that some are founded by other SI/(SI) initiatives and stand again at the cradle of new SI/(SI) initiatives. The subtle difference between the following two categories is based on the fact that the TRANSIT SI initiatives are taken as primary unit of analysis – either being brought about through (SI) initiatives or bringing about (SI) initiatives.

The interaction of (SI) initiatives stands at the cradle of (other) SI initiatives.

- We see this for three SI initiatives of FEBEA. The ethical bank, **Fiare Banca Etica** was born out of the collaboration of citizens and social organisations, some “*thirty entities from the social and solidarity economy*” in the foundation Fiare. These entities, most probably NGOs, “*had been collecting social capital with the aim of founding a bank*” ([CTP Agreement with the Italian credit cooperative Banca Popolare Etica](#), also [Initiative FEBEA/Fiare](#)). The bank could take up financial activities through collaboration with another ethical bank, the Italian **Banca Popolare Etica**. The latter also was founded “*by a big coalition of the major Italian social organizations*” with the ideal of sustainable social and human development ([Initiative Banca Popolare Etica](#)). New European banking regulations led to a collaboration and subsequent merger of **Merkur Civil association**, DK “*with a similar initiative in Zealand, which was created with the same intentions as Merkur but started later, and both created together the Merkur Cooperative Bank*” ([CTP Constitution of Merkur Cooperative Bank](#)).
- Similarly, the birth of the **Participatory Budgeting in Amsterdam** can be attributed to the collaboration of two social entrepreneurs with an NGO in Brazil on occasion of a ‘reversed development’ exchange programme ([Initiative Participatory Budgeting Amsterdam](#)).

In turn, we also see SI initiatives standing at the cradle of other (SI) initiatives or engaging in social innovation activities formalized not as initiatives but as projects of that specific initiative.

- **DESI Polimi** developed a community vegetable garden initiative ([CTP Project Coltivando](#)), a social start-up “*creating a community of producers to offer good quality products*” ([CTP Feeding Milan](#)), and a company developing co-housing in Italy, cohousing.it ([CTP Project Cohousing.it](#)).
- **ShareBloomington** initiates social innovation activities as projects. As such, it gave birth to different kind of social innovation activities, such as TimeBank Bloomington ([CTP: The formalization of TimeBank in Bloomington](#)) and a tool library ([CTP: The establishment of a Tool Library](#)) and is about setting up a seed library ([CTP: The forming of a Seed Library](#)).
- **Transition Bro Gwaun** “*had also tried to set up a local credit union service point as part of a bigger credit union*”, as well as “*researching and piloting ideas for the surplus food project*”, however both with limited success ([CTP Training courses in community engagement and outreach](#)).

### **Supporting & Providing services to others**

SI initiatives are supporting other (SI) initiatives through the services they are providing, either paid or unpaid, which are/were hardly provided by dominant actors.

- **Science Shop Ireland** supports “*community organisations in developing community organisations in developing research projects which can be carried out by students as part of their degree programme*”. To date, it has worked “*with more than 650 community groups including sports clubs, youth groups and recycling centres*”. ([Initiative Science Shop Ireland](#))
- **Impact Hub King’s Cross** (and also **Impact Hub Vienna and Amsterdam**) is supporting initiatives not only through offering a co-working space, but also supports “*social innovators/impact makers/social entrepreneurs to ‘scale’ (i.e. transfer/ replicate/ grow) their project/concept/business to other European countries*” through providing a Scaling Programme ([CTP Impact Hub Scaling Programme](#)).
- **Hackspace 4** was making use of a local co-working space for their fortnightly hack events, before it secured a space on their own ([CTP Creating legibility through space](#)).
- **Crédal**, a Belgium alternative financing cooperative serves “*almost 2.000 clients - individuals, professionals, Associations, social economy enterprises and citizen movements*” ([CTP Constitution of Credal Credit Cooperative](#)). The same holds for the other three initiatives as part of the FEBEA network, namely **Fiare Banca Etica**, **Banca Popolare Etica**, **Merkur Cooperative Bank**. Providing financial service to parties with ideals and visions for a better society is part of their business model.

### **Providing an umbrella**

A number of SI initiatives provides an umbrella for other (SI) initiatives, which share a way of working:

- **Living Lab Eindhoven** provides an umbrella to “*a variety of initiatives most of those are projects that were either from the beginning, or in retrospective labelled as living lab projects*” ([Initiative Living Lab Eindhoven](#)). As outlined in the description of the initiative, “*The CTP 5 is about the coalition agreement relates most generally to the living lab as an umbrella concept that connects the various initiatives that all share a ‘living lab way of working’*”

They also provide an umbrella for (SI) initiatives working on similar topics or towards shared goals:

- **APRES-GE** was created as a platform or umbrella “aimed at gathering various kind of actors working in the field of SSE [social and solidarity economy]” ([CTP The creation of APRES-GE](#)); it is part of its mission to “develop the regional network of SSE organizations and develop the SSE concept at the national level” ([Initiative APRES-GE](#)).
- All individual **Impact Hub initiatives** serve as an umbrella for social entrepreneurs and businesses, which can also be considered social innovation initiatives, depending on their foci. As put for example in the introduction of the Impact Hub King’s Cross, it considers itself “a community of social businesses addressing local and global challenges” ([Initiative Impact Hub King’s Cross](#)).

Like the Impact Hub initiatives, also other SI initiatives under study do have such forging of connections by providing/being an umbrella or network as part of their self-understanding. The Shareable initiative is a prominent example here.

- **ShareMelbourne, ShareableAthens, and to a certain extent Shareable-Co-Bologna&LabGov** function as an umbrella, or “public directory of what is out there” ([CTP Initiating Melbourne Mapjam](#)) or a “network of initiatives within the wider scope of sharing economy, such as co-working spaces, time-bank, etc” ([Initiative ShareableAthens](#)). ShareMelbourne outlines on its webpage: “ShareMelbourne is an initiative to connect all local sharing economy groups across the city including community gardens, tool & seed libraries, car-sharing programs, collaborative consumption start-ups, food co-ops and co-working communities” ([Initiative ShareMelbourne](#)). That the initiatives are part of that umbrella does not mean that they actually have knowledge thereof or actively engage in interaction: “In most cases, the groups have been mapped and added to the platform during a Mapjam (an event during which participants map grassroots sharing projects, cooperatives, community resources, and the commons), without being aware of it.” ([Initiative ShareableAthens](#)). Another disclaimer is that, while the initiatives mapped by ShareableAthens are aware of and at times collaborate with one another, they do not necessarily do so under the umbrella of ShareableAthens. As put in the description of ShareMelbourne, it is “a loose network that doesn’t involve formal procedures or include official members or fixed structure” ([Initiative ShareMelbourne](#)). Such ‘passive’ interaction includes initiatives that are part of TRANSIT networks, such as in Athens, the Hackerspace Athens or Time Exchange Athens ([Initiative ShareableAthens](#)). **ShareBloomington** is different in this regard, as it initiates social innovation activities as projects rather than acting as an umbrella for existing initiatives. As such, it gave birth to different kind of social innovation activities (see above, [Initiative ShareBloomington](#)).

### **Influencing & inspiring**

Interaction can also take the form of ideas inspiring or travelling from one SI/(SI) initiative to another and influencing them in their own ideas and practices:

- **Ecovillage Bergen** works in its community building with ideas of others, such as the Transitions Towns Movement: “[...]based on insights from other initiatives and approaches to group building. During the interview, co-founder 1 referred to several of those approaches, including the Transition Handbook of the Transition Towns movement, the method of Dragon Dreaming, the work of best-selling author Scott Peck on community work, and the exchanges between ecovillages within the Global Ecovillage Network.” ([CTP Reshifting focus from physical land to group of people](#))

- **Hackerspace 2** is influenced in its development by the work of “*culture organisations such as Lighthouse (Brighton) and FACT Liverpool [who] worked to support interdisciplinary work in arts, media, and technology. In Europe, organisations including V2 (Rotterdam) and transmediale (Berlin) worked to support similar ends*” ([CTP Creating a curatorial space](#)).
- **Transition Bro Gwaun** organised a training session with an initiative called Climate Outreach and Information Network focusing on how to frame one’s message to specific target groups. To this training also “other local transition initiatives attended”, including other environmental groups (e.g. renewable energy group, eco-centre) ([CTP Training courses in community engagement and outreach](#)).

### 5.3.2.3. Change over time

There was little evidence on changes of interaction over time. One case described a prolonged and intensifying collaboration between DESIS/Polimi and Slow Food Italy ([CTP Feeding Milan](#)). Investigating the dynamic properties of interaction should be subject for further research.

### 5.3.2.4. Reflections

Next to pointing out that there is interaction and what kind of interaction, the following are a number of reflections on the analysis above. They can be considered as a collection of interesting insights to be taken up by further research.

Firstly, **space seems to play an important role in the interaction of SI/(SI) initiatives**. The above evidence suggests that space and interaction are related in at least three ways: 1) space is a ‘currency’ in the collaboration of SI/(SI) initiatives, with one providing an actual space and the other a different trait (e.g. ShareMelbourne and Impact Hub Melbourne); 2) finding a space can become a common goal of SI/(SI) initiatives, which collaborate in finding such (e.g. BloomingLab and ShareBloomington) and very basic, 3) space enables physical interaction of SI/(SI) initiatives, through being venues for events and conferences (e.g. the launch event of ShareMelbourne). **Events** are crucial possibilities for actors to meet. For example in the development of the broader field of sharing and solidarity economy in Athens, events such as an annual solidarity, sharing and collaborative economy festival in Athens increases interaction. As outlined in the CTP: “*The outcomes of each edition of the festival, include new projects and collaborations that arise, either between groups that already know each other or with new initiatives that present their work for the first time. Moreover, new groups have been formed during the days of the event. According to the Time Exchange Athens communications representative “The festival is an incubator of new ideas that arise from the enabling environment that it creates”.*” ([CTP Sharing economy and solidarity festival organized by Time Exchange Athens and others](#)).

Secondly, as outlined a number of the **SI initiatives under study act as umbrella or network** for other (SI) initiatives, for sharing a way of working, or working either towards the same goal or on similar questions. This reveals again or highlights further the nestedness for some of the cases, e.g. Impact Hub Amsterdam provides an umbrella for social entrepreneurs, and is itself part of the Impact Hub Network. It also points to the fact that SI/(SI) initiatives are not working in isolation but often as part of a **broader field or movement of like-minded actors**. An interesting example



in this regard, is the ShareableAthens initiative. The featured timeline is not the timeline of the Shareable initiative, but the timeline of a broader movement towards a sharing and solidarity economy in Athens. As such, it illustrates a number of ways of interaction, such as for example the interaction of numerous actors during demonstrations at the Sintagma Square leading to collaboration of actors (including with Hackerspaces Athens), towards the establishment of Time Exchange Athens ([CTP The creation of “Time Exchange Athens - Syntagma Square”](#)). There is also some evidence that the belonging to an umbrella or network is not exclusive, rather SI/(SI) initiatives are connected to different umbrellas or networks and thus discourses, fields or movements. Such as Time Exchange Athens, which is connected to Shareable Athens and to the RIPESS Europe Network; or Hackerspace Athens, which is connected to Shareable Athens and is member of Hackerspaces ([Initiative ShareableAthens](#)). Also in this line of thinking, SI/(SI) initiatives might be added to a field or movement, they might not self-identify with, such as is happening through MapJams in the Shareable network. However, whether or not such interaction ‘adds up’ and to what, and to better understand the structures of such networking interaction, more research is needed.

Thirdly, there has been less evidence of SI/(SI) initiatives **preferring isolation or consciously going alone**, however, this aspect needs further scrutiny. What can be traced in the evidence is the conscious decision on whether or not to interact, on which terms and up to which point. One example is the to date fruitful collaboration between BloomingLab and ShareBloomington, where the latter sees potential for conflict due to the business models both organisations are pursuing. While BloomingLab asks membership fees, ShareBloomington aims to have its services accessible to anyone free of charge. ShareBloomington is actively thinking about the shape a collaboration can take that does justice to both models ([CTP Connection with BloomingLab](#)). Closely connected is a strategy of avoiding interaction, best exemplified with by ShareAthens, where *“Sharing economy” and “solidarity” are perceived as two different things, sometimes contradicting each other: the first is driven by a personal feeling of responsibility, while the second one by uncontested demand and personal integrity. Representatives and groups from the two sides do not always trust each other.* Trying to establish a Ouishare network in Athens failed due to the divide in discourse, values and perspectives of prospective members (solidarity) and initiators (sharing economy) ([CTP The last of a series of meetings - initiators of Ouishare quit](#)).

Finally, there is another interesting observation/question surrounding the fact that SI/(SI) initiatives seem to be **connected to each other through specific members**. Rather than of interaction, one might talk about **intertwinement** here. One example is the role of the founder of ShareMelbourne, who is also a member of the Impact Hub Melbourne. This led to a collaboration of the initiatives towards the launch event of Share Melbourne ([CTP Darren Sharp becomes Australian Editor of Shareable](#)). Another example is the representative of Share Athens, who was also member of the Ouishare international network, founder of Ouishare Athens, founder of a food transport web startup and active in solidarity networks etc. ([CTP Shareable representative moves to Athens from London](#)). Through that personal union, one initiative, Ouishare become the contact point for ShareAthens on the Shareable webpage. Questions arise on where one starts and ends, what such overlap allows for or hinders, etc. Also other interviewees chosen for ShareableAthens identify themselves as being members/founders of different kinds of (SI) initiatives. For example, one of the CTPs was identified by the following persons: *“1. Freelance writer and researcher by profession, member of Shareable, Ouishare, co-founder of several social initiatives in Greece and the UK; 2. Social entrepreneur, digital analyst & marketing specialist. (Ouishare, P2P Ioannina Greece,*

*Yummymommy, and other initiatives*); 3. Member of Ouishare international (*Ouishare Greece, Hackerspace Patras and other initiatives*)” ([CTP Presenting the international Ouishare initiative in Athens](#)). This shows that the broader field of those initiatives relies probably on a specific handful of people.

### 5.3.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

The proposition seems to need reformulation and clarification in a number of regards (see section 5.3.2.1), namely

- a) whether it is referring to interactions between rather than across transnational SI networks;
- b) whether to drop the local-transnational dichotomy and look at the interactions between initiatives, rather than networks is more fruitful.
- c) how to draw the distinction between (SI) initiatives and ‘other’ initiatives, specifically when looking at this through time

Interactions between SI/(SI) initiatives do occur – while those between SI initiatives related to a TRANSIT network are not abundant, there is considerable evidence for interaction between SI initiatives under study and other (SI) initiatives. From the evidence presented above, we can distinguish different kinds of interaction between the SI initiatives under study and other SI/(SI) initiatives, either related to a different TRANSIT network or not related to a TRANSIT network.

- Initiatives **collaborate**, meaning that both take upon them efforts in working together, either towards a common goal or towards separate goals.
- (SI) initiatives **stand at the cradle** of other SI initiatives; or SI initiatives stand at the cradle of other (SI) initiatives or social innovation activities formalized not as separate initiatives but as projects.
- SI initiatives are **supporting** other (SI) initiatives through the services they are providing, either paid or unpaid, which are/were hardly provided by dominant actors.
- SI initiatives **provide an umbrella** for other (SI) initiatives, which share a way of working, work on similar topics or towards shared goals. Some initiatives do have such an ‘umbrella-function’ as part of their self-understanding.
- Interaction can also take the form of ideas **inspiring** or travelling from one SI/(SI) initiative to another and influencing them in their own ideas and practices

Next to these obvious interactions, there is potential for interactions not related to critical points in the development of initiatives – thus interactions that are either so ‘normal’ that they are not considered as CTP or so ‘weak’ that they do not have considerable influence. Of course, there is also next to physical or traceable interaction the more light/weak interaction stemming from the fact that the SI/(SI) initiatives know of each other’s existence.

## 5.4 Proposition 6. On the importance of relations within SI fields

### 5.4.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**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 is highly dependent on the extent to which a complementarity and synergy in action emerges within distinct SI fields 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 of the dimensions of doing, organising, framing and knowing.*

#### **Analytical strategy:**

The proposition addresses an element of TSI that SI networks - consisting of local initiatives and transnational networks (P4) that in certain ways are interacting with other initiatives (P5) – are also interacting with other actors and entities that are neither initiatives nor to be considered representatives of dominant institutions (which are addressed in cluster C). In the most basic form, the proposition can be taken to assert that SI initiatives need certain alliances with other somehow transformation-oriented actors, an embedment in transformation-oriented networks – in the proposition text called ‘ecologies of SI’ to thrive and obtain transformative impact.

Furthermore, P6 states that these interactions exist within a ‘SI field’ with a specific agenda of transformative change, which can be understood as an arena of social action (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, but also Jørgensen, 2012).

A challenge in analyses in relation to P6 is that the concept of ‘ecologies of SI’ has not yet been clearly defined apart from being “*activities and bundles of doing, organising, framing and knowing (DOFK) that, sometimes and to some extent, may converge across networks of SI*” (in the TRANSIT Working Paper 6, November 2016 with the description of the propositions). The reference to Nicholls & Murdock (2012) does not seem to provide support for the ecology concept. One can also argue that applying a natural science concept like ‘ecology’ on socio-material dynamics like transformative social innovation is a ‘dangerous’ crossover between scientific fields. An explorative approach to the relations to other actors has been applied.

Another challenge is whether and how P6 can be stated in a way that adds something to the broad focus on interactions that P5 has, since P5 includes interactions both at local and international level, both among the TRANSIT cases and interactions with other social innovation initiatives and also mentions ‘networks of networks’.

Instead of assuming that interaction with other actors is empowering the SI initiatives the focus will be on a co-production approach. The same will be done in relation to the last part of the P6 text about capture versus transformation of the SI field. The aspect of capture and transformation can be analysed through changes in the transformative agenda (as part of a CTP), which might include a wish to get enrolled into a more transformative agenda or a need to accept a narrower agenda in order to recruit other actors into an activity/initiative. We can look for whether CTPs refer to changing relations to SI networks and/or other social entities and if such changing relations affect the engagement with agendas for transformative change.

Based on the considerations above the following research questions have been the background for searches in the CTP data base:

**Empirical research questions:**

*What kinds of other actors (a part from other TRANSIT initiatives or dominant institutions) organisations/collective actors/entities are the SI initiatives interacting with? How and why are these interactions developing?*

*Which impact are SI initiatives acquiring through these interactions?*

**Description of searches in the CTP database**

Two rounds of searches have been done in the CTP database.

A number of Theme 1 key words in terms of different types of organisations, which SI initiatives might interact with, were chosen for a round of tag searches.

The following table shows the results of tag searches in the database for initiatives and CTPs involving the different types of organisations mentioned as Theme 1 key words, except supranational governments and international networks.

✓ <b>Type of organisation</b>	✓ <b>No. of initiatives</b>	✓ <b>No. of CTPs</b>
✓ Academic organisations	✓ 14 initiatives, whereof 9 initiatives are located at or part of universities.	✓ 72 CTPs
✓ Religious organisations	✓ 0 initiatives	✓ 2 CTPs
✓ Civil society organisations ✓	✓ 28 initiatives ✓ Some of the 28 initiatives are Civil society organisations (CSOs) themselves, while others cooperate with CSOs, ✓	✓ 102 CTPs ✓ The big number of CTPs including CSOs shows the big role of CSOs in the analysed social innovation initiatives. ✓
✓ Hybrid/3rd sector organisations	✓ 11 initiatives ✓	✓ 34 CTPs
✓ Platforms ✓	✓ 9 initiatives, which themselves seem to be characterized as	✓ 49 CTPs – some involving the same initiatives, some involving other

	platforms.	initiatives, whereof some are NGOs themselves and others cooperate with NGOs. ✓
✓ ✓ NGOs	✓ 8 initiatives, where 5 are NGOs themselves and 3 are banks serving NGOs. ✓	✓ 41 CTPs
✓ ✓ Social movements	✓ 19 initiatives. Not clear when the term has been applied in relation to the initiative itself and when not. ✓ Some of the identified initiatives are not social movements themselves but cooperate with social movements. This includes the credit unions. ✓	✓ 46 CTPs
✓ ✓ Political parties	✓ 2 initiatives, where political parties have played a role in the initiatives itself: a Participatory budgeting initiative and a Basic Income initiative. ✓ ✓ Based on these characteristics more initiatives should probably have included political parties ✓	✓ 26 CTPs involving 15 initiatives where political parties have played a role
✓ ✓ Unions	✓ 1 Basic Income initiative. Based on these characteristics more initiatives should probably have included political parties ✓	✓ 5 CTPs, some of them focusing on forming a union.
✓ ✓ Social enterprises	✓ 9 initiatives ✓	✓ 38 CTPs, mostly involving these 9 initiatives ✓
✓ ✓ For profit enterprises	✓ 0 initiative	✓ 28 CTPs involving around 18 initiatives within - Impact Hubs - Co-housing - Transition initiative - Timebank - RIPESS / solidarity economy - Living Lab ✓
✓ ✓ Local / regional government	✓ 14 initiatives whereof 5 initiatives include local / regional government as partner (Participatory budgeting and Living Lab) and the other includes relations with local / regional government. ✓	✓ 96 CTPs from a big number of initiatives where formal or informal recognition by local / regional government has played a role.
✓ ✓ Regional organisations	✓ 4 initiatives, where the tag mainly seems to relate to the regional role of the initiative. ✓	✓ 19 CTPs, involving around 14 initiatives.

✓ National government ✓	✓ 5 initiatives, whereof 3 Basic Income initiatives, one participatory budgeting and one agro-ecology farming organization. ✓	✓ 33 CTPs involving 23 initiatives.
✓ Other organisations ✓	✓ 4 initiatives whereof 2 Shareable initiative, a Fab Lab and a DESIS Lab. ✓	✓ 28 CTPs

As the different tags did not seem to be given to SI initiatives and CTPs in a systematic way in the CTP database it was decided instead to do full text searches in the database on the different types of organisations.

In order to identify interactions of SI initiatives with other entities that could indicate that these interactions have had an impact on the SI initiative, full text searches were done on the following types of organisations combined with the word “+ partner” (the number of results is mentioned in brackets):

- university + partner (93 results)
- church + partner (2 results)
- civil society organisation + partner (147 results)
- platform + partner (40 results)
- social movement + partner (228 results)
- party + partner (33 results)
- union + partner (24 results)
- social enterprise + partner (15 results)
- profit enterprise + partner (13 results)
- industry + partner (22 results)
- local government + partner (24 results)

The numbers of results have not been used as an indication of the importance of the type of actor in social innovation. From each of the searches examples of interactions were chosen for further analysis and development of types of interactions related to the different types of actors. In the next section the results from the searches are discussed.

## 5.4.2 Presenting the evidence

Each of the following sub-sections present results from searches in relation to interactions of SI initiatives with different types of organisations. Empirical material is presented with examples from specific initiatives and sometimes specific CTPs in the SI development. When a specific CTP is in focus, the title of the CTP from the database is provided. A citation from the database documenting the interaction is provided, including a link to the specific section of the database. The text is taken directly from the database, which implies that for example typos in the database text also will be found in the citation.

#### 5.4.2.1 Relations to academic organisations

Several SI initiatives use university resources in terms of space, economic resources, etc. or have achieved recognition from university management which has been important in their development:

##### FL3 (North-East England) Local university resources

From the beginning this FabLab was located at a university in the beginning. Later on cooperation with the university was an important relation:

*“Through G, the organisers developed a working relationship with the university, particularly in the early stages of the group’s formation. As described in other CTPs, one of the early activities which the group engaged in to build community prior to sourcing their main physical premises was running events and meet-ups. The university was able to host several of these events for a period of time, making use of their machines and workshop spaces; but ran into difficulties when the needs of the group didn’t line up with the infrastructural capacity of the institution. Instead, the university was able to sponsor some of the equipment for the organisation when they found premises.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp4-local-university-resources>

DESIS Labs and science shops are SI initiatives, which are organised by university staff and involving cooperation with civil society actors. The process of getting acceptance from university management and colleagues is an important part of being able to develop this type of cooperation between a university and civil society, as shown in the following examples:

##### DESIS Lab, Aveiro Internal recognition (in the university) opened up new projects

*“An important member of the management body at the university recognized the value of design to promote social innovation. “there was a moment, and this was another critical turning point, when a pro-rector that was charged with promoting connections between social demands and the university, recognized that the project ‘Action for age’ (a previous project related to aging issues) was a valuable project and therefore introduced us to new partners, recognizing our value and fostering the development of new projects. The pro-rector began to say ‘design is very important here’ and ‘is also very important there’. This pro-rector was important as they created connections for new projects”.*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/internal-recognition-in-the-university-opened-up-new-projects>

##### Living Knowledge - The Environmental Social Science Research Group (ESSRG) Establishing activities at Corvinus University

*“So slowly GP is convincing colleagues to embrace the type of work they do in ESSRG and science shops. GP continues talking about a critical moment in his attempt to embed the science shop work at Corvinus:*

*NGO’s were coming, and so now I think that it is a critical moment at Corvinus that our dean attended the plenary and the workshop. See that was a world café like workshop. It was very lively and very intensive and successful I would say, and now it seems that the dean got the idea that this is something nice, also supported by of course an EU project, which always gives legitimacy...”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishing-activities-at-corvinus-university>

Sharing city initiatives have also included cooperation with a university and getting access to the resources of universities as shown in the two following examples:

#### Shareable-Co-Bologna&LabGov **The establishment of LabGov**

*“The content of the CTP (CTP4) is the establishment of LabGov and its evolution from a program within a single faculty to multiple faculties of the LUISS Guido Carli University of Rome. LabGov stands for ‘Laboratory for the Governance of the Commons’. LabGov was created to train a brand-new breed of “professionals and experts in the governance of urban commons” (Interview with C. Iaione, March 31st, 2016). These are young women and men able to create forms of partnerships between citizens, NGOs, public administrations, and local businesses, fostering the smart specialization of urban communities.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-establishment-of-labgov-and-its-evolution-from-single-faculty-to-multiple-faculties-of-the-luiss-guido-carli-university-of-rome>

#### Shareable- ShareBloomington **The Formation of ShareBloomington**

*“Firstly, the CTP was co-produced by Ryan’s Professor of Bloomington University, who invited Ryan to organize an event of sharing culture and sharing economy in Bloomington. That made Ryan think of how a ShareFest is organized, what goes into a ShareFest, and what products in town are related to sharing. The professor also helped Ryan with the financial aspects. He provided Ryan with several thousand dollars from the university budget, (did not say how many exactly) to organize the event more extensive in order to attract a bigger audience. As Ryan describes: “I am used to organizing events and projects with no budget, and no time. But with this, I got like you know four months and several thousand dollars, so we bought large food crates, save barrels and we put on several workshops.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp1-the-formation-of-sharebloomington>

There are examples of SI activities outside universities, which are organised together with universities:

#### Hackspace 2 (North-West of England)

*“HS2 was founded in 2009, with a mission to provide hands-on space to actively encourage practical workshops and peer-to-peer learning. The organisation operates as a not-for-profit organisation, housed in a space comprising workshops, offices, and event space. The organisation is host to both active groups and active user groups, including a DIY Bio project set up in collaboration with a local university. The organisation also works with other higher education institutes to provide grassroots technology tools and education to hard-to-read communities.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/hackerspaces-2>

Living Labs is another example of a social innovation where some labs have been organised in a city, but involving university staff and students as resources:

#### Living Labs -iMinds Living Labs **New iMinds structure**



*“The new structure resulted in some more stability in the tumultuous working environment of the living lab projects. The living lab projects are characterized by their short time span and relatively small budgets and it is highly unpredictable how many projects will come in a year. The administrative set-up of ‘iMinds living labs’ human resources is rather complicated. The iMinds living lab team works with many (junior) researchers on their dynamic project portfolio. Those researchers are usually contracted via the University of Ghent. That implies that the financial risk of hiring the researchers (part-time) in their own research projects.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp6-the-city-of-things>

An example of universities reaching out to SI initiatives in order to fulfil demands to universities is a recent cooperation between a university and an existing SI initiative – a Transition network member:

#### **Omstilling Ry (Transition Ry): Reclaiming waste project**

*“This CTP is linked to the Aarhus Capital of Culture status in 2017. The theme of this was ‘Rethink something’, so the project became about rethinking waste.*

*This was a CTP because it was the first time that Omstilling Ry had worked in partnership. It was the first time that they had partnered with a university which had approached them to collaborate.*

*The project that was proposed from the process was a biogas fuelled swimming pool which had other ecological elements (e.g. biological cleaning). If it is built, it will be the first one of its kind in Europe – and innovative in a number of different ways.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/reclaiming-waste-project>

Another type of relation to universities is the creation of a social movement - social housing in Argentina - where university students and staff are part of forming the movement:

#### **ICA/MOI**

*“The MOI (Movement of Occupants and Tenants) is a social, territorial and political organization born in 1991 with the aim to promote the housing access and the right to the city. Its primary organizational tool is the self-managed cooperative.*

*One of the bases on which the MOI stands is in the right to the establishment and to a more democratic citizenship. In this sense, the organization carries out strategies of action based on the regularization of the domains and the The right to housing, elaborating a project of organization and management that involved multiple social and political actors (students and teachers of the Faculty of Architecture (University of Buenos Aires), Center for Habitat Studies, Housing and Community, the Self-managed Communities Liaison Secretariat, etc.).”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/httpmoiorgar>

### **5.4.2.2 Relations to Religious organisations**

There are only a few examples of religious organisations interacting with SI initiatives. Via Campesina in Argentina developed cooperation with the national Catholic Church, which seemed important in the development of broad support for a national roundtable for sustainable

agriculture that also had a broad outreach by accepting the co-existence of agribusiness and family farming that normally are seen as contradictions:

#### Via Campesina/MNCI National Roundtable for Sustainable Agriculture

*“In February of 2014, was performed the National Roundtable for Sustainable Agriculture convened by the Sub-Secretariat for Family Agriculture in Santiago del Estero. The MNCI promoted the coexistence of both agriculture systems (agribusiness and family farming).....In February 2014 the **National dialogue Roundtable for Sustainable Agriculture** was convened for the first time with the support of the Argentine Catholic Church and the **national undersecretary of family farming**. The dialogue roundtable was developed through various meetings throughout the years 2014 and 2015.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/national-roundtable-for-sustainable-agriculture>

#### 5.4.2.3 Relations to Civil society organisations

Many SI initiatives are civil society organisations themselves. Within other SI initiatives there are examples where cooperation with civil society organisations has strengthened the SI initiative. Two examples of cooperation between SI initiatives and civil society organisations are within participatory budgeting and credit unions:

#### Participatory Budgeting Belo Horizonte

*“The Brazilian Participatory Budget began in 1989, in the city of Porto Alegre, in the southern region, being the oldest in the world. Participatory budgeting is a process of democratic deliberation and decision-making in which citizens decide how to allocate part of the municipal budget. Social movements and civil society organizations play an important role in the process.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/oidp-2>

#### FEBEA/Banca Popolare Etica Strategic plan to improve the external communication of Banca Popolare Etica

*“The respondent describes this process as a critical turning point which produced many positive outcomes. After implementing the new strategic plan, the bank observed an increase in the number of associates and customers. For several consecutive years, the loans disbursed were up by more than 24% and many civil society organizations contacted BPE for financial support and manifested their interest to work with a value-based bank.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/strategic-plan-to-improve-the-external-communication-of-banca-popolare-etica>

#### 5.4.2.4 Relations to Platforms

Some SI initiatives can be characterised as platforms, where cooperation among different types of actors in terms of organisational affiliation is an important element. Examples of such SI initiatives are found within:

- Living Labs

- Agro-ecology (Via Campesina)
- Solidarity economy (RIPESS)
- Slow Food
- Time banking

The following example shows living lab as a platform for public-private sector cooperation:

#### Living Labs - Sfax Smart Living Lab

*“Sfax Smart City Living Lab (SSCLL), a living lab in Sfax, Tunisia, aims “to create an environment for users and different sectors of society, where they can reveal their innovative ideas by collaboration of public-private sectors and users. It offers an open platform for public-private sector and users with a mutually accepted goal: to increase life standards of society by taking into account the needs of different users and sectors in Sfax city regarding research and technological development.” (smart-sfax.org, 2016)”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/living-labs-4>

This example within agro-ecology includes cooperation among left wing organisations, food sovereignty organisations and religious organisations:

#### Red de Semillas Red de Semillas set up their own association

*“This CTP describes the process how a working group inside a rural development platform formalized and set up their own association, named Red de Semillas. 2002-2004 the predecessor of the current Red de Semillas acted as a working group inside an extended platform called Plataforma Rural (with the same name, Red de Semillas). The platform is focusing on sustainable rural development issues: “inside the platform there were unions, organizations related to Christian, left rural movements, environmental movements and NGO-s which worked for food sovereignty.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/red-de-semillas-ctp2>

Also within solidarity economy examples are seen with cooperation among different kinds of organisations. This case shows that it might be necessary to work with a narrative of change that can unite actors with different perspectives in order to be able to establish cooperation (in the citation called “*an inclusive or integrative vision*”):

#### RIPESS/ APRES-GE The creation of APRES-GE

*“In 2004, the association for the promotion of Social Solidarity Economy (SSE) - APRES-GE - emerged in Geneva (Switzerland). The interviewee considers that this was a critical turning point because it was the first time that the idea of gathering different kinds of organisations into a platform in the field of SSE was put into action. Until then, there was no such organization in Switzerland, as he explains: “Despite the growing number of cooperatives in Switzerland, which was as high as in several other countries such as Italy or France, there was a lack of a structured SSE movement in our country”. Therefore, a bottom-up process aiming at organizing by incorporating members of this movement into a network was launched, with an inclusive or integrative vision.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-founding-of-apres-ge>

Within Slow Food an example shows how a platform might be a project, which offers a space for establishing cooperation among actors within different organisations and with different competences and might strengthen the support for a SI initiative:

**Slow Food/Slow Food USA: Slow Food USA’s RAFT Program (Renewing America’s Food Traditions)**

*“The RAFT project was an alliance of sustainable agriculture experts, environmental and food advocates dedicated to documenting, celebrating, and safeguarding the unique foods of North America as elements of living cultures and regional cuisines, supporting traditional communities that “strive to recover these foods as part of their diets, ceremonies and local economies” (Nabhan et al, 2010:268[1]).....RAFT project was a critical turning point for several reasons. The first, it was a successful collaborative experience between Slow Food USA, who had started formally in 2000 and a number of NGOs and research centers with long experience in biodiversity. This project helped Slow Food, to raise external funds for biodiversity projects and engage new members in the association. Slow Food USA broadened and nationalized its biodiversity programs and created new staff positions related to this project.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/slow-food-usars-raft-program-renewing-american-food-traditions>

This example within time banking shows also cooperation between different types of actors as background for strengthening a SI initiative:

**Fair Shares: Frustration over criminal justice work**

*“This CTP describes a partnership that **emerged** between the Fair Shares Time Bank in Gloucester and the local HM Prison around the project, “Timebanking in Prison”. One of the brokers of Fair Shares approached the HM Prison Gloucester and presented the idea to bring timebanking into the prison community.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-uk-5>

#### 5.4.2.5 Relations to Social movements

Some SI initiatives can be characterised as social movements. An example from a credit union, founded by social movements, shows that controversies can occur in a social movement when it discusses whether it should cooperate with actors based on other values if such co-operation can enable expansion of the activities of the movement:

**FEBEA/Credal: Strategic partnership between Crédal and Dexia Foundation**

*“This critical turning point describes the strategic alliance between the Belgium Credit Cooperative Crédal and the Foundation Dexia, which occurred in 2006 and will finish in the end of 2016. ....”*

*“Due to the financial endorsement from Dexia Foundation, Crédal was able to provide financial guidance to all its clients and concede microloans to “non-bankable” persons, Belgian and not Belgian”.*

*“...this critical turning point was preceded by tense internal discussions among Crédal’s shareholders. Despite the cooperative has benefited from multiple supports, including financial support, since its inception, the potential alliance with Dexia Foundation was perceived with reluctance from part of the members and shareholders. Dexia used to be a leading European financial institution which concentrates its activity in public sector banking.”*  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/strategic-partnership-between-credal-and-dexia-foundation>

#### 5.4.2.6 Relations to Political parties

Cooperation with political parties through development of regulation together with a municipal council was important in the development of a sharing city initiative in Italy. Similar examples of cooperation can also be found within the section about “Local government”.

#### **Shareable-Co-Bologna&LabGov: The beginning of the first Co-City: CO-Bologna**

*“The beginning of the Co-Bologna project is closely linked to the development of the Co-Bologna regulation, which was formally approved by the Bologna Municipal Council and published in May 2014 with the name “Regulation on Collaboration between Citizens and the City for the Care and Regeneration of the Urban Commons”. This regulation paves the way for the municipality to support “the creation of street or neighbourhood associations, consortiums, cooperatives, foundations to manage public space, public urban green spaces and parks, abandoned and creative spaces.”*  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp4-the-beginning-of-the-first-co-city-co-bologna>

#### 5.4.2.7 Relations to Unions

SI initiatives mentioning cooperation with unions include examples of SI initiatives where the labour movement and trade unions are part of cooperation about social innovation. An example is the involvement is the role of trade unions in Argentina in developing cooperative co-housing as social innovation in order to ensure citizens the possibility of decent housing, which involved cooperation between the occupants’ movement, the tenants’ movement, and trade unions:

#### **ICA/MOI: Co-housing federation**

*“This CTP analyzed the creation of the MOI Self-Management Cooperatives Federation and constitutes the formal step of a social transformative movement, created in the early 1990s, to that of an organization of a second-degree cooperative organization. From this perspective, the creation of the Federation clearly represents a CTP, an important leap in the representativeness and scope of the MOI, as well as an increase in its influence in the interaction with public organisms. The federation’s begin allows the MOI to continue its activity in the promotion of public policies of habitat from a space in which are found not only housing cooperatives, but also labor cooperatives.”*

*“The Federation of Self-managed Cooperatives is the product of the combination of two main institutions: Occupants and Tenants Movement and the Central of Argentine Workers.”*  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/co-housing-federation>

The development within basic income in the Netherlands is another example of a trade union (“the nutrition sector union”) taking part in developing a SI initiative:

**BIEN/Vereniging Basisinkomen Establishment (predecessor of) Dutch Basic Income association (VBI)**

*“The establishment of the Workplace was as such a collective achievement. Still there is one particular actor that played a crucial part in it, namely the nutrition sector union. As mentioned above, they provided the financial means for having the Workshop running, and to have a part-time staff member to coordinate its activities (such as organization of seminar and discussion evenings, issuing a magazine). The initiating role of this union organization is significant. It shows how unions have resources to support transformative social innovation (finance, accommodation, networks, coordination, longevity), but also how the basic income at that time appealed to the concerns of workers. The nutrition sector union, the interviewee explains, was interested in the basic income as it promised to empower their members in their position on the labour market. Well, they were an organization for people working in slaughter houses and all, and for these people it would be a considerable support to have a basic income in place. They were not a union of elite workers, so to say, so, it’s kind of logical.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-dutch-basic-income-association-vbi>

#### 5.4.2.8 Relations to Social enterprises

Co-operation in terms of investment from a trust fund into a credit union bank is an example of cooperation, which a SI initiative - the credit union bank – has entered in order to expand its activities:

**FEBEA/Merkur Cooperative Bank: Merkur receives a large investment from a new shareholder (a Danish trust)**

*“This critical turning point refers to the partnership between Merkur Cooperative bank and the Danish Gaia Trust signed in 1993. Merkur receives a 4 m DKK capital injection from this foundation in order to strengthen its banking activity, which will also increase Merkur’s finance businesses opportunities.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/merkur-receives-a-high-financial-investment-from-a-new-partner>

#### 5.4.2.9 Relations to for-profit enterprises

Examples of cooperation between SI initiatives and for-profit enterprises have been identified within Living Labs, solidarity economy and time banking.

The Tunisian Living Lab aimed at establishing cooperation between a university and industry:

**Living Labs - Sfax Smart Living Lab: The inauguration of the Chair of Innovation in Sfax**

*“The Chair of Innovation office was established with the aim to create links between the Engineering Faculty of Sfax University and the industry sector and act as ‘technological transfer’ office*

(TTO).” <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp1-the-inauguration-of-the-chair-of-innovation-in-sfax>

Ecocitrus is a farmers’ cooperative, which aims at decreasing the dependence of farmers from “the intermediaries and industry... By working with the precepts of social and solidarity economy, Ecocitrus cooperative is part of FBES (Brazilian Solidarity Economy Forum), which in turn is linked to RIPESS, as the Brazilian representative.”

(<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ripest-ecocitrus>). The SI initiative, the cooperative, entered into a partnership with government and a private enterprise in order to develop a strategy for producing biomethane gas:

**RIPESS/ Ecocitrus: Tripartite Partnership - cooperative, government and private enterprise**

*“The help of Ecocitrus in creating legislation on it is interesting to analyze the institutional voids. In Brazil there were still institutional gaps on the subject of biomethane gas, which was not investigated and regulated by the competent authorities. With the partnership of Ecocitrus with private companies, government and universities, it was possible to create an industrial plant that would allow a solid analysis on the subject, allowing the start of discussions on the current legislation in Brazil today.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ecocitrus-6>

Establishment of income streams for a time banking initiative through cooperation with charity actors and for-profit companies is an example of cooperation of a SI initiative in order to sustain its activities. Challenges for a time banking initiative “to achieve financial independence in order to provide for sustainability and integrity to its core mission of community building” (<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/timebanks-1>) made this SI initiative develop social entrepreneurship alongside timebanking:

**Fair Shares: Securing independent funding stream by establishing Gloucester Motorway Services**

*“This history is one of the **emergence of new ways of organizing** income streams for community and **civil society organizations**, based on new **socio-economic relations** between Charitable Trusts and Private **for-profit companies** and achieving **breakthrough** for new **business models** after these were challenged and contested and subjected to judicial review. The idea of a motorway service that not only creates local jobs, but also contributes to thriving local communities first came to Mark Gale, of Fair Shares, in 1994. However, it took more than 12 years to implement this idea due to formidable bureaucratic procedures involved in securing planning permissions, building support and fighting legal challenges from commercial companies with interest vested in conventional service station operations.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-uk-6>

#### 5.4.2.10 Relations to Local government

Three different ways of involvement of local government in SI initiatives have been identified:

- Civil society proposing a new way of governmental regulation (participatory budgeting)
- Invitation to participate in a sharing city initiative
- Legal approval of land use for development (eco-village development)

This example describes the involvement of a local municipality in budget monitoring as part of participatory budgeting:

**Participatory Budgeting Amsterdam (PB Amsterdam): Forced co-production**

*“The critical turning point as described by the co-founder of the Centre for budget monitoring and Citizen Participation (CBB) is **the moment that the local municipality gets involved in budget monitoring in fall 2012**. This moment is **a turn in the developments because the municipality rejected an initial request to become involved.... Inspired by how budget monitoring was done in Brazil**, intellectual citizens of the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam aimed to implement the same methodology in their neighbourhood.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/forced-co-production>

In this Australian sharing city initiative the initiators were able to engage local government in a local sharing city festival:

**Shareable-ShareMelbourne: Melbourne ShareFest takes place**

*“Attendants of the ShareFest came from diverse sections of the Melbourne community and for the first time included around three to four persons from local governments around Melbourne, as well as legal scholars interested in the sharing economy, community groups and sharing initiatives such as tool libraries, car sharing, ride sharing, community gardens and sharing start-ups.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp3-melbourne-sharefest>

Achieving approval from local government can be a condition for establishing a SI initiative like an eco-village:

**Ecovillage Sieben Linden: Buying Sieben Linden land and permission to build a new village**

*“When purchased, the permission to build a village was not approved, yet. In general, it is challenging to get legal permission for building a new village because the German landscape planning laws are very strict and limited with building new larger settlements.....*

*The official governmental administrations contradicted each other. “The administration was not prepared for the unusual request to found a new village. While the regional planning office was against a new village to prevent splitter development, the building permission office insisted on a new village to be guided by a legally binding land-use plan. The higher administrations till the national government have conciliated and clarified the conflict. Finally, the municipality as authorized administration has given permission for the land-use plan”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/purchase-process-and-permission-to-build-a-new-village>

### 5.4.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

Instead of assuming that interaction with other actors is empowering the SI initiatives, the focus has been on an explorative approach to identification of the types of actors which SI initiatives engage with and what these types of interaction seems to imply.

Examples of interaction have been identified within all the types of actors, which the database keywords propose.



### **Driving forces behind interactions**

The discussed examples of interactions show a number of different driving forces behind the interactions:

- Interaction as part of the social innovation itself (Fab Labs, DESIS Labs, etc.)
- Interaction as access to resources in terms of economic resources, competences (e.g. researchers and students), facilities in terms of space, machines, etc.
- Interaction as strategy for inclusion
- Interaction as request for governmental approval

### **Spaces, places and platforms for interaction:**

The identified types of interactions include SI initiatives, which offer *space* for local cooperation as *part of* the social innovation concept. Cooperation between different types of social innovations as a kind of *local* 'ecology of SI' has only been identified in relation to Sharing city initiatives. The establishment of space as part of social innovation includes the role of universities as space in *some* of the examples within several types of social innovation:

- Science shops
- Fab Labs
- Hacker space
- Sharing city
- Living lab

Other examples of space for cooperation include the use of facilities in a city within other examples of the same types of social innovation as mentioned above, but also examples within these types of social innovation:

- DESIS Labs
- Impact Hubs

Some SI initiatives can be characterised as platforms, where cooperation among different types of actors in terms of organisational affiliation is an important element, but the cooperation is not involving different types of social innovation, so platforms have *not* been identified as 'ecologies of SI'. Examples of platform-based SI initiatives are found within:

- Living Labs
- Agro-ecology (Via Campesina)
- Solidarity economy (RIPESS)
- Slow Food
- Time banking

### **The concept of 'ecology of SI':**

Ideally several of the TRANSIT types of SI initiatives could provide space or place for interactions among different types of SI initiatives, which could be characterised as 'ecologies of SI', either as places for cooperation like eco-villages, Transition network initiatives, Living labs and Fab Labs, or spaces for cooperation, like science shops, DESIS Labs, Hacker spaces, and credit unions. However, all in all, the analyses in the CTP database have not provided strong support the usefulness of the

notion of 'ecology of SI' in the further TSI theory development as the only identified example of 'ecology of SI' was seen in relation to Sharing city initiatives.

### **Capture versus transformation of the SI field:**

The last part of the P6 text focuses on capture versus transformation of the SI field. The aspect of capture and transformation has been analysed at a SI initiative level from a co-production perspective by looking for changes in the transformative agenda as part of CTPs within the single SI initiative. Such changes might include a wish to get enrolled into a more transformative agenda or a need to accept a narrower agenda in order to recruit other actors into an activity/initiative. A few examples of such actions have been identified:

- The accept of Via Campesina of co-existence of agro-business and agro-ecology in order to obtain broader for their organization
- The focus on an inclusive and integrative vision in the formation of a Swiss solidarity economy network (RIPESS) in order to be able to obtain broad representation in the new network
- The controversies within a credit union about cooperation with a more traditional bank in order to obtain enough capital to expand the lending activities of the credit union

The considerations above indicate that this part of P6 should be re-written from a co-production perspective.

### **Social innovation networks vs. social movements:**

Another issue in the further development of P6 is that social innovation networks in the present proposition text are described as different from social movements. However, some of the TRANSIT cases themselves focuses on social movements as social innovation, like the energy movement (INFORSE) and the agro-ecology movement (Via Campesina). Other cases are not part of a social movement like science shops, Living Labs, Participatory budgeting and Impact Hubs. Here interaction with social movements might take place. This issue needs also to be addressed in the further development of the text of P6.

## **5.5 Conclusions and reflections on cluster B**

### **5.5.1 Conclusions**

**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. iv) 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 social-material contexts (thereby increasing the transformative impact of SI initiatives).*

## Observations:

- 1) Membership of international networks is generally empowering for local SI initiatives, yet it does not matter *that* much (as suggested by P4) for a significant part of LMs (**section 5.2**)
- 2) The empowerment gained through membership of transnational networks consists of the following main processes (**section 5.2.3.1**)
  - Funding
  - Legitimacy & labelling
  - Knowledge sharing, learning, and peer support
  - Visibility
  - Local manifestations providing resources to networks
- 3) The co-evolution/emergence of networks and local manifestations goes along the following distinct patterns (**section 5.2.3.2**):
  - Spreading without international support
  - International network is key in spreading
  - Pre-existing local networks merging, condensing or joining
- 4) Some networks in many ways merely act as labels, and LMs can have several labels attached. This is what we might term loose networks, like Living Labs or Hackerspaces. Other networks are more tightly structured, with governance structures, membership fees, admission requirements etc. For these networks, membership is often very integral for their identity (**section 5.2.3.2**).
- 5) The few cases of disempowerment found mostly related to differences of opinion between parts of a local manifestation and the international network (**section 5.2.3.3**).

**Proposition 5:** *Interactions across transnational SI networks are an important feature of TSI processes: they lead to a coevolutionary dynamic between networks, and may 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 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/altere d institutions being proposed (their transformative ambitions), and ultimately including the introduction and consolidation of new values, norms, and cultural forms.*

## Observations:

- 1) A methodological (and conceptual) question is what we consider to be a ‘SI initiative’. SI initiatives are considered as initiatives “that are engaged in social innovation” (Haxeltine et al. 2016: 19) - whatever organisational form (a public body, a NGO, a community organization or an enterprise). Meanwhile, there seems to be an implicit understanding in TRANSIT

theorization and empirical research that SI initiatives are somehow different kinds of entities than the aforementioned examples of organisational forms (**section 5.3.2.1**).

- 2) There is less explicit evidence spelling out that SI initiatives operate in isolation or in parallel – though some indications of initiatives not getting along, such as sharing economy and solidarity-based economy (**section 5.3.2.1**).
- 3) The interactions between SI initiatives of different TRANSIT networks and between SI initiatives and other (SI) initiatives can be unpacked into the following five ways of interaction (**section 5.3.2.2**):
  - Collaborating
  - Founding/giving birth to/standing at the cradle of
  - Supporting and providing services to others
  - Providing an umbrella
  - Influencing & inspiring
- 4) In the interactions between initiatives, space seems to play an important role in at least three ways (**section 5.3.2.4**):
  - Space is a ‘currency’ in the collaboration of SI/(SI) initiatives, with one providing an actual space and the other a different trait (e.g. ShareMelbourne and Impact Hub Melbourne);
  - Finding a space can become a common goal of SI/(SI) initiatives, which collaborate in finding it (e.g. BloomingLab and ShareBloomington);
  - Spaces enable physical interaction of SI/(SI) initiatives, as venues for events and conferences (e.g. the launch event of ShareMelbourne). Events are crucial possibilities for actors to meet.
- 5) Next to physical or traceable interaction (as registered through CTP interviewing), there is arguably also more light/weak interaction to take into account - stemming from the fact that the SI/(SI) initiatives know of each other’s existence.

**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 is highly dependent on the extent to which a complementarity and synergy in action emerges within distinct SI fields 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 of the dimensions of doing, organising, framing and knowing.*

#### **Observations (section 5.4.3):**

- 1) The discussed examples of interactions show a number of different underlying driving forces:
  - Interaction as part of the social innovation itself (Fab Labs, DESIS Labs, etc.)
  - Interaction as access to resources in terms of economic resources, competences (e.g. researchers and students), facilities in terms of space, machines, etc.
  - Interaction as strategy for inclusion
  - Interaction as request for governmental approval

- 2) A significant share of the SI initiatives studied can be seen to attempt to act as ‘spaces, places and platforms’ for interaction – as itself an element of the new social relations that they promote.
- 3) Ideally several of the TRANSIT types of SI initiatives could provide space or place for interactions among different types of SI initiatives, which could be characterised as ‘ecologies of SI’, either as places for cooperation like eco-villages, Transition network initiatives, Living labs and Fab Labs, or spaces for cooperation, like science shops, DESIS Labs, Hacker spaces, and credit unions. However, all in all, the analyses in the CTP database have not provided strong support for the usefulness of the notion of ‘ecology of SI’ in the further TSI theory development as the only identified example of ‘ecology of SI’ was seen in relation to Sharing city initiatives.
- 4) Regarding the phenomena of ‘capture’, there is some evidence of wishes to get enrolled into a more transformative agenda or a need to accept a narrower agenda in order to recruit other actors into an activity/initiative. This should be theorized further in more emphatically co-productionist terms.
- 5) The conceptual distinction between SI networks and social movements merits clarification, so as to articulate better the mixed evidence of interactions, overlaps and marked differences between them.

## 5.5.2 Reflections

The above observations and conclusions on separate propositions are quite easy to elaborate into synthesis conclusions on cluster B as a whole.

The empirical investigation of the three propositions has amounted to mutually complementary exercises in the substantiation and unpacking of networking relations – with generally only preliminary elaboration of time-sensitivity (notably for proposition 4). Overall, much of the cluster B statements about the relevance of networked, embedded agency of ‘local manifestations’ have been confirmed, providing further detail on the kinds of other actors interacted with and the kinds of interactions that the networking consists of. A more detailed picture has arisen of the empowerment that local manifestations experience through their membership of networks and their partnering with other actors – compared to acting in isolation.

Even if no dramatic falsifications of our proto-theories on networked agency have been brought forward, the cluster B analyses did bring forward several critical interrogations of key assumptions that pervade TRANSIT research so far:

- 1) **‘Local manifestation-bias’**. These have for several good reasons been chosen as the focal actors through which we can methodologically gain access to TSI processes, but this method choice has also become accompanied with certain ontological assumptions on their role in TSI. As focal actors, they tend to be the actors to which TSI agency and impact is easily ascribed. Each in their own ways, the three meta-analyses on P4-6 have been struggling with this ‘LM-bias’ in the CTP methodology (Cf. Chapter 3). The importance of networking and co-production seems to be downplayed in CTP accounts, not only through the inward-looking CTP questions but also through the focus on critical turning points rather than continuous and less eventful interactions.

- 2) **'Empowering transnational SI networks'**. The empowerment of LMs through (membership of) transnational networks appears to be not that important – not as important as is somewhat suggested by the understanding of LMs as local affiliates. Important empirical observations have been made in this regard on phenomena of labelling, multiple memberships, and loose networks. An important methodological reflection is that our sample has been built up through affiliations to transnational networks – isolated, local SI initiatives are quite systematically not taken into account.
- 3) **'SI initiative as specific category of collective actors'**. The empirical investigations of especially P5 have underlined further what was theoretically-reflexively already known: it is very hard to distinguish 'SI initiatives' as entities or collective actors from the many other actors they are interacting or entwined with. Or phrased differently, it is problematic to isolate a supposedly socially innovative group of actors from the socially innovative processes and networks that they form part of.
- 4) **'Ecologies of SI'**. The notion of 'ecologies of SI' was found to be difficult to substantiate empirically. Likewise, the suggested relevance of 'social movements' and 'SI fields' has proven difficult to substantiate – probably partly due to the aforementioned 'LM-bias' and associated lacks of specific data, but also revealing certain difficulties to operationalize these concepts.

The above interrogations identify challenges for further theorization that clearly pervade cluster B. In the most basic form, they indicate the work to be done to articulate more precisely what entities and interactions the cluster theme 'relations across/between initiatives' refers to. More specifically, they call for further elaboration of:

- what LMs (of which the CTP database contains 65 timelines) are and refer to empirically
- what transnational SI networks are and what their empowering significance to LMs consists of
- what categories of other collective actors/entities interacted with are meaningful to distinguish (not necessarily those distinguished in the CTP database list of tags)
- what kinds of interactions to distinguish
- what kind of network constellations ('ecologies', 'fields', 'movements') can be distinguished, i.e. how they are defined and what they refer to empirically
- what metaphors for (kinds of) networked agency are adequate to convey the networking dynamics particular to TSI

The above attempt to summarize the remaining task for cluster B theorization underlines the importance of theoretical elaboration on the level of the entire cluster. Elaboration, merging, eliminating and adding of propositions will be difficult without the proposed general theorization of networking and embedded agency. In terms of theoretical resources, it seems fairly obvious what literatures can be usefully drawn upon: As already suggested under the P6 conclusions, the very co-productionist framework for TSI introduces a relational ontology of networked agency: A promising strategy to the streamlining of cluster B seems to be to consult the STS work on distributed agency, co-production, actor-networks, mobilities and assemblages for the language of networks that seems to be needed for this cluster B in particular. This could also help to ensure coherence with the overall TSI theory and the immediately adjacent clusters A and C.

## 6 Cluster C: Relations of SI initiatives to institutional change processes

### 6.1 Introduction

#### 6.1.1 Description cluster C

This cluster addresses the specific types of institutional change that SI initiatives interact with: *How do SI initiatives and networks engage (individually and collectively) with processes of institutional change? What relations are important in achieving institutional change?*

In TRANSIT, we have chosen to analyse transformative change in terms of institutional change processes, hence the subject matter of this cluster lies right at the core of the work we need to do in order to develop a theory of how social innovation leads to transformative change.

In essence the conceptual framing that informs this cluster (see Haxeltine et al 2016a) starts by noting that social innovators seek to develop new practices that address an identified need or vision. In doing so they make use of available resources and are also conditioned by sets of institutionalised traditions or rules (that both enable and constrain their actions). Institutions have a shaping role in human actions but at the same time are constituted through human actions. This interplay between actors and institutions, referred to as the process of structuration, accounts for the stability and continuity of social life—but actions that change or modify existing structures are also possible.

Actors may find ways to use existing institutions and resources in novel ways, leading eventually to transformative change in the form of new institutional structures. Actors may also find ways to create new resources. In these ways, social innovators have the potential to create novelty in existing structures, and this is the key to how social innovation leads to transformative change.

The concept of institutionalisation is pivotal for this cluster and describes the process by which changes in institutional structures emerge and become more widely embedded. It refers to the process of embedding some aspect of social life (which can be e.g. norms, rules, conventions and values, or a mode of behaviour) within an organisation, a wider field of social relations, or within the context as a whole. There can be differing 'degrees' of institutionalisation at different times and in different parts of the context – transformations can occur at different speeds in different places.

As a social innovation develops over time and space, it challenges, alters, or replaces established institutions, while at the same time it also inevitably reproduces established institutions. A social innovation process is made up of the actions of a variety of different social innovation agents, and collectively their actions lead to changes in the structuration of local practices. In other words, transformative social innovations interact with and influence the processes of institutionalisation by which changes in institutions emerge and become more widely embedded. A starting point then is the contention that the transformative impact of a social innovation initiative can be empirically assessed by identifying the differing degrees of institutionalisation of its core elements.

## 6.1.2 Preview to chapter

In the version of this cluster developed based on the analysis of the transit in-depth cases (Haxeltine et al 2016) this topic of relations to institutional change was divided between three propositions:

- Proposition 7: *On the interplay of TSI with dominant institutions*
- Proposition 8: *On finding or creating an institutional home*
- Proposition 9: *On the remaking of institutional logics*

To make the task more manageable a first step for each proposition was identify a small number of questions that could be used as the basis for searches and analysis of the CTP database.

**Proposition 7 (P7)** specifically addresses the questions: *1) Which strategies and actions towards dominant institutions can be distinguished (and how have these changed over time, and why)? How and to what extent do dominant institutions affect the SI-initiative (and how has this changed over time)?*

The findings address both our overall framing of how social innovations engage with institutional change processes and the identification of specific strategies deployed. The learning from this meta-analysis was that the distinction of Challenge, Alter, Replace, and Provide can be more accurately framed as Resist, Reform, or Replace and should be included in the reformulated version proposition. But that we should not get hung up on this 'top level' framing, rather we need to characterise the actual strategies that we observe initiatives using when engaging with institutional change. In agreement with the analysis in both P8 and P9, the findings highlight the need to identify and explain different types of institutionalisation process, and some examples are noted. The analysis for P7 has started to map out these strategies and this should be further developed. What we see in the empirics is quite messy and diverse interactions, highly subject to contingency and interactions with other developments in the context. The observed relations might fit better with the notion of "bricolage" than that of "dialectic": the proposal is that proposition should be reformulated along these lines.

**Proposition 8 (P8)** specifically addresses the questions: *1) Which states of institutionalization are TSI-initiatives seeking/avoiding, and for they doing so? 2) What is the evidence of institutionally hybrid arrangements or other institutional states (e.g. isomorphism, homelessness, or variations thereof) being pursued and which kinds of dis/empowerment are at issue? 3) Which patterns (e.g. oscillations, sequences) can be distinguished in the processes of searching for an empowering institutional home? Which are the main internal/external pressures that co-determine them?*

The findings confirm that the search of an institutional home is indeed an important challenge for the vast majority SI initiatives, and the analysis uncovered various ways in which "homelessness" can be problematic. However, institutional homelessness is not necessarily disempowering (as somewhat suggested by P8). There is significant evidence of deliberate homelessness, or what has been described as institutional nomadism. Institutional isomorphism is not necessarily disempowering or corrosive to transformative impacts - even if there is indeed evidence of various ways in which institutional homes indeed end up as imprisonment. Isomorphism can empower by 1) providing initiatives with their 'natural homes' in well-established institutions (Basic Income, Participatory Budgeting), but also by 2) the tactical, chameleonic repertoires of mimicry that



initiatives develop to appear normal, play the game, and assume regular institutional shapes that helps them to reach for resources.

Hybrid arrangements are confirmed as the 'institutional state' pursued by the majority of initiatives – even if many hybrid arrangements display strong traits of isomorphism and homelessness as well. Social entrepreneurship, participative governance and various kinds of 'academic shelter' can be distinguished as kinds of hybrid arrangements that provide empowering institutional homes in different ways to different kinds of SI.

The 'search' for an institutional home is indeed a matter of rather continuous consideration, rather than one-off choices of settlement. The search tends to involve institutional 'relocation' and 'temporary institutional shelters' such as pilots and experiments. Especially the latter category seems to merit further articulation in P8, so as to express the intermediate phases and stepping stones between institutional states.

**Proposition 9 (P9)** specifically addresses the questions: *1) How does the SI-initiative originate from which (combinations of) institutional logics? 2) How and to what extent does the SI-initiative (seek to) transcend, CARP and/or reproduce its original institutional logic and other institutional logics? 3) How does the positioning of the SI-initiatives in institutional logics effect its interaction with dominant institutions within and across various institutional logics?*

The findings highlight *the diversity of the "kinds of actors, organizations and institutional logics interacted with" across the CTPs. A clear majority is found in civil society (245), governments (177) and academic organisations (86), followed by business (75) and international networks (58). The analysis shows how the initiatives engage with institutional logics and provides clear insights for how we might better conceptualise and make use of institutional logics in the TSI theory.*

Based on the empirical material reviewed so far (needs to be verified through in-depth checking of all 80 initiatives & 480 CTPs), it seems reasonable to propose that actors (individuals/collectives) who develop SI-initiatives travel across different institutional logics in a particular way, i.e. not taking them for granted, taking distance, creatively combining elements from different logics and re-combining them into alternative and hybrid institutional logics, etc. Based on the analysis a proposal is made to reformulate proposition #9 in terms of *one* focused proposition on *how actors travel through institutional logics over time while developing their SI-initiatives*. Rather than making linear or conditional claims about SI-initiatives *having* to 'transcend' the institutional logic in which they 'originated', it should be more of a process descriptive proposition about how actors (either as individuals or as collectives) travel through institutional logics: *becoming aware of/ critical of/ taking distance from/ reconsidering, 'transcending', returning to* particular institutional configurations in given organisational, functional, geographic or temporal contexts.

**The conclusions and reflections (C.5)** outline a way forward for revising these propositions in the next theory building stage of the project. They note the need for some considerable further conceptual/theoretical clarifications, especially regarding our use of the concepts of institution, institutionalisation, and institutional logic. And that how we use these concepts should in turn discipline our use of the various metaphors deployed (such as "institutional home"). It will be vital in reformulating the propositions to ensure consistent use of these main concepts across the cluster C propositions. Finally, additional theoretical resources that might be utilised are identified.

## 6.2 Proposition 7: On the interplay of TSI with dominant institutions

### 6.2.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**Proposition 7.** *SI initiatives and networks exist in a dialectical relationship with existing institutions: they both transform and reproduce them. The institutionalisation of SI is inherently a political process in which SI is most likely to be ‘captured’, with ‘transformation’ being the exception. To enable and increase the transformative potential of SI, SI-actors need both a range of different (sometimes paradoxical) strategies towards institutions (complying, irritating, avoiding, resisting, compromising, hijacking, exploiting institutional pressures etc.) and to continuously adapt their strategies to changing circumstances, while holding on to original core intentions (of integrity, autonomy, motivation, and transformative ambition).*

The general point of the proposition about the dialectical relationship of SI initiatives with existing institutions is clearly an important element of TSI theory, and of cluster C, given the choice in TSI theory to explain transformative change in terms of institutional change. Theoretically the proposition seems quite firm: as has been elaborated in several TRANSIT publications, the stated dialectics reflect insights from transitions theory, relational sociology, institutional theory, social movements theory amongst others. P7 is unlikely to be *falsified*, also for the way it has been formulated. Some *solidification* is desirable though, to prove that the stated dialectical relationship occurs often, and that it manifests in various empirical shapes. The general point on the dialectical relationship and the need for (perhaps paradoxical) strategies for institutional change needs some further empirical *unpacking*, and clearly that’s the opportunity presented by the meta-analysis.

The proposition text in Haxeltine et al. (2016b) also addressed other important aspects of how social innovations engage with institutional change. The pertinent topic of *opportunity context* (Dorado 2005) was addressed in the proposition text but not included in the brief proposition statement. This can be seen as an omission, but in part also as a result of the constraint of developing just three propositions for cluster C initially. Furthermore there are *critical aspects* of how social innovation engages with institutional change that were addressed in Haxeltine et al. (2016a) but that did not yet find their way into the TSI propositions, of special relevance here is our work on developing typologies of TSI strategies for institutional change based on William Sewell’s work on theorising social transformation. On re-reading the text of P7 in Haxeltine et al 2016b and on ‘institutions’ in Haxeltine et al 2016a it seems clear that actually there were several propositions calling for development under P7. This meta-analysis can thus be a stepping stone towards further resolution.

One challenge for the unpacking of P7 is to decide on how to handle the several classifications of ‘TSI strategy’ that we have. Each addresses different aspects of observed TSI strategies. Firstly, we have the current text in the proposition on strategies towards institutions as: complying, irritating, avoiding, resisting, compromising, hijacking, exploiting institutional pressures etc. Secondly, we have the typology of strategies formulated based on Sewell’s formulation of how actors can engage differently with institutions and resources. Thirdly, we have the CARP (challenge, alter, replace, provide alternatives to) distinction, which represents the “challenges, alters, replaces” formulation of the TSI framework, with now also the notion that TSI can be engaged in ‘providing alternatives’.

All are relevant to address in further stages of the TSI theory development, either in parallel or in terms of combining or integrating them. Here we should be very careful not to misguidedly attempt to justify one favoured typology but rather we should be engaged in careful “empirical unpacking” around the broad notions of *strategy, action, engagement, relations, and dialectic*. The unpacking on P7 and consideration of the current status of the TSI theory development in general, leads to a number of considerations: *What formal and/or informal institutions (as norms, rules, conventions, values, and...) are the initiatives actually changing or trying to change? Which kinds of strategies towards dominant institutions can be distinguished, and which are the exemplars of those strategies? What evidence do we have of the challenging, altering, replacing of, and providing alternatives to, dominant institutions? What evidence is there of a dialectic of change?*

The proposition already expresses *time-sensitivity* in the stated need for adaptation of strategies. This could be developed along with the unpacking. *Which adaptations and substitutions of strategy (over time) can be distinguished? Do changes in the opportunity context lead to responses from the initiatives? Or are the strategies of the SI initiatives actually quite stable over time?*

The proposition could with some *substantiation*. On a general level, the challenge for TSI theorization has been formulated (Haxeltine et al 2016a) to empirically clarify what we mean by, and to what entities and processes we are referring with, ‘institutionalization’ and ‘institutions’. Following Wittmayer & Avelino (in progress), and in line with the overall TSI framework (Haxeltine et al. 2016a), we work with a broad understanding of institutions that includes both formal and informal institutions. P7 should be elaborated accordingly: *What formal and informal institutions SI initiatives are interacting with?* The need for substantiation strongly coincides with the need for unpacking.

### **1) Which strategies and actions towards dominant institutions can be distinguished (and how have these changed over time, and why)?**

- *What formal and informal institutions are the SI initiatives interacting with?*
- *What different kinds of strategy can be identified? Which are the exemplars of those strategies? What evidence is there of the challenging, altering or replacing of dominant institutions, or of providing alternatives to dominant institutions? Which concrete forms of “complying, irritating, avoiding, resisting, compromising, hijacking, exploiting institutional pressures” are the actions of SI initiatives taking?*
- *Which changes (over time) in the adaptations of strategies, and in the substitution or mix of strategies can be distinguished? Do changing opportunities (for institutional change) in the context over time play a role? Or are the strategies of SI initiatives actually quite stable?*

### **2) How and to what extent do dominant institutions affect the SI-initiative (and how has this changed over time)?**

- *What formal and informal institutions are the SI initiatives interacting with in significant ways (significant to their overall development and impact)?*
- *Does a ‘two-way’ interplay or dialectical relationship occur often? And in what concrete forms?*
- *What evidence is there that the institutionalisation of SI is “inherently a political process in which SI is most likely to be ‘captured’, with ‘transformation’ being the exception.”?*
- *Which concrete forms of institutionalization, mainstreaming, formalisation, and normalization are the interactions (of initiatives with institutions) taking (how has this changed over time)?*

## 6.2.2 Presenting the evidence

For the questions identified for this proposition the falsification/verification is mostly not the most suitable one to apply. The mode or style here then is mostly that of *unpacking* and *substantiation* unless specifically noted otherwise. The main thrust of the questions to address is how the initiatives are trying to change ‘things’, and specifically how they are trying to change institutions.

Initial exploration of the database quickly reveals that a particular challenge for this proposition is clarifying what we mean by institution, especially in terms of formal versus informal institutions. Many of the initiatives are clearly experimenting with new DOFK within the initiative, or with those who they have ‘close’ relations with. And this data is very much in the foreground when one reads the data files, so it would be easy to slip into describing ‘proto’ institutional change in the initiatives: the decision taken was to (try to) only do this where it seems to relate also to wider change in the actual data reporting on that example. The reasoning being that several of the other propositions are exploring this aspect of the data. A second issue that arose in initial exploration of the database, was the distinction between intention and outcomes. So if we take the challenge, alter, replace, provide typology then there is actually a four by four set of possibilities (at least)—an initiative might start out to alter but end up replacing, or, perhaps more importantly, start with the intention only to address a local need but then end up influencing institutional change. A third issue, as noted in C1.2 above, concerns the extent to which this stage of the analysis is constrained and pre-figured by the choice of keywords used in constructing the database. If not careful there could be a danger of simply confirming and substantiating the so called CARP distinction, as its prominently coded as keywords in the database.

In any case we proceed by starting with the keywords for “Theme 3: Ways of relating to the social-material context & dominant institutions”, all of which relate directly back to the specific terms used in our framing of question one. The aim in these initial keyword and text searches is both substantiation (which initiatives and how exactly are they relevant) and a further ‘unpacking’ (do the examples relate well to the keywords or not, if not what further distinctions can be made...).

### 6.2.2.1 Strategies and actions towards dominant institutions

#### **Question 1: Which strategies and actions towards dominant institutions can be distinguished (and how have these changed over time, and why)?**

Keyword search: Providing alternatives to institutions (109 results; of which 30 initiatives)

Here are the 30 examples of SI initiatives that are ‘providing alternatives’, not covered in equal depth, but rather I’ve just gone through to each to identify the nature of the ‘providing’ and then gone deeper where there seemed to be material relevant to the unpacking or substantiation:

- **Hackspace 1, Hackspace 2, FL3, FL4.** Although quite different in detail these initiatives are clearly relate to the idea of *providing alternatives* to dominant institutions (or maybe just *providing alternatives*) they can be associated with new technology making new practices possible and exploration of therefore what novel practices or institutions are possible. Here we

come to the first more nuanced distinction that we should make in the data however, clearly some aspects of these initiatives are providing wholly new practices, they represent new DOFK in ways that go beyond merely substituting for 'old' DOFK. So might distinguish between 'providing alternatives' and 'providing new types' of practices and institutions. Furthermore we argue that this is an important distinction to make in the context of TC.

- **INFORSE -VE.** Providing new energy. A more detailed analysis shows how in some ways its providing novelty (sometimes but not always linked to new technologies) while in others cases its 'providing alternatives to' currently dominant institutions.
- **Impact Hub Amsterdam (IH AMS) and Impact Hub Vienna.** provision of work space, new working arrangements: "set out to create spaces that borrow from the best – a prototyping lab, a start-up incubator, an inspiring office, a learning space and a think tank – to create a unique ecosystem for social innovation." (Wittmayer et al. 2015, p8).
- **RIPESS/ APRES-GE.** Promotion of SSE. Its 7 core values are: 1) social well-being, 2) participative governance, 3) respect for the environment, 4) autonomy, 5) solidarity, 6) diversity, 7) coherence.
- **RIPESS/ Ecocitrus.** "The cooperative has developed a process in which the associated farmers have to manage the whole production chain of citrus, keeping the values of fair trade and solidarity economy." Bringing SSE values into the production and supply chain.
- **ICA/COVILPI, ICA/COVILPI, ICA/CCVQ, ICA/MOI.** housing coops/housing provision, but also include community building, e.g. community radio station, provision of new fair trade market place. Also direct interaction with changing laws (rules) on housing.
- **Ecovillage Bergen.** A good example of trying to provide alternatives to dominant institutions. Also illustrates a fundamental point that its easier in many ways to substantiate 'providing alternative to' because they tend happen over a few years. The timeline and CTPs focus on internal social dynamics but also provide a fascinating and clear illustration of the importance of social-material relations and 'resources' in making provision of an alternative possible (so relevant for Sewell types...). In this case it was the need for the land but then later they found a need to re-focus themselves on the social relations of the group and not only on the land. So important data here about the importance of social relations in providing alternatives.... But I suspect that may be covered in detail in cluster A... The CTP "discovering other ecovillages" highlights the importance of cross-network interactions and being inspired or empowered through the 'field', and again this may be addressed more in cluster B.... In some of these examples I feel the need to tease just what is being provided but here fairly clear, but note that's it's not only food, water, shelter etc but also definitely new social relations, values, norms, etc.
- **Ecovillage Findhorn.** Provision of new educational practices. Modelling of new ways of living (new DOFK). Provides leadership for other such initiatives, but not sure what influence on 'dominant' institutions.
- **Ecovillage Schloss Tempelhof & Ecovillage Sieben Linden.** Provide further examples of P
- **Transition Norwich and Transition Bro Gwaun.** Definitely fit with the notion of Providing rather than CAR, in theory at least....In practice seems to provide a way of diffusing existing solutions and then trying them out in a new local
- **Shareable-ShareableAthens; ShareBloomington; ShareMelbourne.** "ShareBloomington exists to connect, promote and catalyse projects that are emergent from the sharing culture and seeks to build networks of commons, gifts, and exchange that are not mediated by financial transactions. These include tools, time, food, seeds, information, etc. The vision of ShareBloomington is to reinvigorate the sense of community, shared values, and the ability to work together for a better Bloomington. (Shareable.net/ Bloomington)". Clearly about new social

relations, and about providing alternatives to dominant forms of exchange (and the values implied by these). Many of the local manifestations work at the city level to inform policy with their vision. So also an example where they are providing a new solution but also need to CAR dominant institutions to achieve the P. Also provide examples of cooperation?

- **Living Labs - Sfax Smart Living Lab.** Tunisia. An open innovation platform. So provides a space that aims to encourage the provision of new technological and social (?) solutions to societal needs (?). Where do normative choices are desirable end states come into this?
- **Participatory Budgeting Belo Horizonte.** “Participatory budgeting is a process of democratic deliberation and decision-making in which citizens decide how to allocate part of the municipal budget.” Is this changing existing institutions or providing new ones?
- **DESIS - ID+ DESIS Lab, Aveiro.** “stimulating design-led sustainable social change initiatives; mapping creative communities by gathering case studies of social innovation in Portugal; promoting social innovations and sustainability among the Portuguese design community.” So again “catalysing” rather than “providing” seems to be a keyword here....
- **Living Knowledge (The International Science Shop Network): i) Science Shop Ireland; ii) Living Knowledge - The Environmental Social Science Research Group (ESSRG); iii) Living Knowledge - Science Shop DTU; iv) Living Knowledge - Wissenschaftsladen Bonn.** “The Science Shops support community organisations in developing research projects which can be carried out by students as part of their degree programme.”
- **Volunteer Labour Bank/Network.** “The Volunteer Labour Bank, Osaka, is the world’s first known time bank. It became the hub of a national network of time banks, which was later named the Volunteer Labour Network. The network also expanded across to the USA in the early 1980s, making it the world’s first international timebanking organisation.”
- **Fair Shares (Timebanks).** “FairShares was the first time bank in England. It was established in Gloucester in 1998. It operates today as a group of local time banks.” A new ‘solution’ is being provided but in attempting to promote this they are trying to challenge, alter and replace dominant institutions. The story of working with NEF to establish the legal basis of timebanking, can be interpreted as CAR of dominant institutions in order to provide an ‘institutional home’ for the “new P”.

Keyword search: Challenging dominant institutions (62 results; of which 16 initiatives)

First thing I note then is its surprising only 16 initiatives are tagged, can this be right I wonder? But let’s look at the kinds of ‘challenging’ covered here:

- **FEBEA/Fiare, FEBEA/Banca Popolare Etica, and FEBEA/Merkur Cooperative Bank.** So the CUs provides alternatives but they also work to challenge values and legal frameworks of mainstream banking. So they do both and these cases provide substantiation of that.
- **FEBEA/Credal.** Belgium case.
- **DESIS - DESIS Lab Florianópolis.** To be honest it’s a bit hard to figure out exactly what dominant institutions are being challenged here. There is a CTP about “Methodological change: participatory design” which deals with barriers to participatory methods...
- **FL2 (Southern England).** Strategy aims towards “overcoming the conventional barriers between research, education, innovation, public engagement, and collaboration” but hard to identify whether they are best viewed as challenging dominant institutions versus providing refinements to existing arrangements in light of new technologies.
- **Via Campesina/MNCI.** Both provide and challenge. But also try to maintain traditional values and ways of farming, etc. Is not ‘resistance’ a keyword here?

- **Via Campesina/ANAMURI.** Mostly about providing. Did they as a network also challenge dominant institutions?
- **BIEN-SUISSE (BIEN-Switzerland).** Proposes to provide (?) or replace (?) existing dominant institutions with a very specific solution, in doing so it develops a history of challenging those dominant institutions. This case and the associated CTPs provide a great illustration of how to build a narrative and mobilise change in a dominant institution.
- **Living Labs -iMinds Living Labs.** Again, not clear to me exactly what they are challenging?
- **Shareable- ShareBloomington; ShareMelbourne.** Seems to me they are more about cooperating than challenging, at least a friendly sort of challenging. Does the CARP need a “working together” category?
- **Participatory Budgeting Fortaleza.** Challenging by advancing participatory budgeting...
- **ICA/MOI.** “The MOI (Movement of Occupants and Tenants) is a social, territorial and political organization born in 1991 with the aim to promote the housing access and the right to the city. Its primary organizational tool is the self-managed cooperative.”
- **ICA/Fucvam.** “coordinates & promotes cooperative-housing in Uruguay & Latin America.”
- **Slow Food/Slow Food USA.** With the Slow Food movement there is something very strongly about “renewing” or “maintaining” traditional food practices and the formal and informal institutions associated with these. You get a sort of repackaging of traditional practices so that they can be viable for the modern context. So this is somewhat missing in the way that proposition 7 was currently construed....

Keyword search: Altering dominant institutions (47 results; of which 5 initiatives)

Basically the initiatives tagged here are three from the DESIS network and two of the Participatory Budgeting (PB) initiatives. PB provides good examples of “altering”. Through the use of innovative design approaches DESIS alters existing arrangements, not sure if that can be extended to institutions? So can it really be true that only these case are engaged in “altering dominant institutions”? Most of the 42 CTPs tagged here address either internal developments or how the initiative has responded to a specific external development of chance event/happening.

Keyword search: Replacing dominant institutions (16 results; of which 1 initiatives)

BIEN/Vereniging Basisinkomen makes it here: clearly a paradigmatic example of replacing dominant institutions. What about the tagged CTPs, do they point to interesting “replacings”?

- **CTP of ProSpecieRara on “Creating a label”** about the creation of a new food label, which I would understand more as a good example of the “provision” of a new institution.
- **CTP “Buying Sieben Linden land and permission to build a new village”** is about the securing of a necessary resource in order to provide alternatives....(it’s also tagged as that)
- **CTP “Period of development and the launch of major projects” RIPESS/ APRES-GE.** Helped to create new businesses, again this seems to be more about providing alternatives.
- **CTP “Results of the Municipal Election of 1988” Participatory Budgeting Porto Alegre** is perhaps a good example of “replacing” and also at is was the mayor who seems to have instigated the change, it’s an example of how such a change can sometimes be instigated by actors who you might otherwise expect to be supporting the dominant institutions. This example highlights how altering versus replacing is a matter of distinction. Also: “Building up the participatory budget was less of a linear and more of an experimental process”.
- **CTP on “Publication on Basic Income by Dutch Scientific Advisory Council”** highlights the many steps along the way that there may in building the basis/platform for replacing a

dominant institution. This leads nicely then onto the next list of terms which should get at the different kinds of “stepping stone” strategies....

- **CTP “Foundation of village school” of the Ecovillage Schloss Tempelhof** also represents more of what I would call the provision of an alternative to...

### Analysis of implications of a first set of searches

Next we address the implications for our distinctions around the “challenging, altering or replacing” of dominant institutions, or “providing alternatives to” dominant institutions. Searches showed that the current tags associated with these keywords only partially represent the actual examples of “CARP” in the data. In summary this initial exploration of the cases led to the following conclusions:

1) One of the things that SI initiatives do is to try to maintain traditional institutions in the face of pressure from currently dominant institutions that try to erode, replace, or substitute them. Here Slow Food is a paradigmatic example of this type resistance of dominant institutions. Dominant institutions are perceived to be eroding traditional values and practices and Slow Food resists that. To fully explain Slow Food we need to frame TSI as having the function not only to contest dominant institutions but also to resist them. TSI engages with processes of transformative social change, and properly understood this can be both initiate such processes, to support/promote with them but also to resist them. Hence actions aimed towards maintaining traditional institutions and resisting the influence of dominant institutions should be included in how we conceive of the function of TSI. Similarly in the campaign: “The Seeds, Patrimony of Peoples in the Service of Humanity” of Via Campesina/ANAMURI we are shown “how the seeds allow us to resist, produce and defend their identity”, so the relation to dominant institutions is in part one of resistance and defence.

2) It is the exception for an initiative to have a direct strategy for replacement (and here Basic Income is perhaps the paradigmatic example): the data illustrates how most often initiatives rather develop in a step by step fashion their alternative practices and in doing so they “replace”—in a defined space—the function that was previously served by a dominant institution. If successful, their innovation may spread and become established as an alternative. So the mechanism by which replacement is achieved is most often through the provision of alternatives. Re-placing can be used as a spatial metaphor rather than simply implying a direct substitution. In providing an alternative practice, an initiative takes a step towards the eventual replacement of dominant institutions, along the way many things can happen, and responding to developments in the context and *bricolage* are the norm. But the point is that from the viewpoint of an overall TSI process the provision of alternatives and the processes by which a dominant institution is eventually replaced, are not separate processes or separate choices, rather the first is often a stepping stone to the second. So the proposal is to not separate the “provision of alternatives” from “replacing” but rather broaden the “replace” category to include the sorts of thing that happen as part of an institutional change process.

So we can collate these distinctions using just three terms then **Resist, Reform and Replace**.

**Resist** dominant institutions. This can take the form of contesting or challenging, but may also take the form active resistance, e.g. trying to maintain traditional institutions in the face of pressures from currently dominant arrangements. (Slow Food is a good example here).



**Reform** dominant institutions. Cases where the strategy is to reform an existing institution. The word *reform* is defined in the OED as: “make changes in something, especially an institution or practice, in order to improve it”. (a good example is Participatory Budgeting).

**Replace** dominant institutions. Cases where the strategy is to *directly* replace are rare. More commonly the initial aim is to replace locally the “function” of an existing dominant institution. Some ‘alternatives’ make use of existing practices while others innovate of new practices. (And here many of the initiatives work towards ‘replacing’ by providing, initially local, alternatives).

This then was the outcome of the first step in this meta-analysis for proposition 7.

### 6.2.2.2 Concrete forms of complying, irritating, avoiding, resisting, compromising, hijacking, exploiting

Next we come to: Which concrete forms of “complying, irritating, avoiding, resisting, compromising, hijacking, exploiting institutional pressures” are the actions of SI initiatives taking?

Is this a competing or complementary list/typology? Partially both it seems at the start of this analysis (despite earlier comments) we seem to have issues of what is being changed or provided, and then how it is being changed.... What we really need to develop now is a characterisation of the different kinds of strategy we see towards institutional change but also how they build a movement and provide the basis for future institutional change. We need to adapt this list of “strategies” so that it fits better with what we observe. Also do we see evidence of “paradoxical” strategies as suggested in the current version of the proposition? We also have a set of keywords: *Experimenting, Imitating, Lobbying, Connecting, Evangelizing, Adapting, Assimilating, Isolating, and Formalizing*. So let’s start by seeing what these turns up.

- Experimenting (107 results; of which 7 initiatives): Participatory Budgeting, Fair Shares and Living Labs provide good examples here. Not surprisingly CTPs are tagged if they relate at all to experimenting, whereas what I’m interested in here is specifically experimenting with new or alternative institutions...
- Imitating (11 results; of which 3 initiatives): the transition initiatives are the only ones tagged here, not clear exactly what they imitating? Maybe refers to copying ‘solutions’ developed elsewhere...
- Lobbying (38 results; of which 5 initiatives): Via Campesina/MNCI, BIEN/Vereniging Basisinkomen and ProSpecieRara are good examples, surprising there is not more here.
- Connecting (102 results; of which 18 initiatives): often the examples are about making connections between different institutional logics, and should be covered in P9
- Evangelizing (13 results; of which 2 initiatives): examples are Basic Income which put a lot of effort into stimulating a wider debate on the concept and Ecovillage Bergen which needed to build relations with local people. So I think actually quite a few interesting movement building things going on under this “Evangelizing” term but I’d definitely not include it in any list of terms in the propositions as too loaded, rather unpack it into different terms for connecting and movement building.
- Adapting (88 results; of which 4 initiatives): Ecovillage Bergen and their struggles for planning permission provides a good example here.

- Assimilating (16 results; of which 2 initiatives): this term could mean a lot of things in terms of TSI dynamics I guess. The example that came up here that I found useful in visualising was the CTP on “Opening of a village café” of Ecovillage Schloss Tempelhof intended to offer organic products to the local people... nice example of assimilation...
- Isolating (12 results; of which 0 initiatives): The CTP “Clear blue water” of FL4 (East England) “refers to the ongoing decision made by the co-founders to avoid developing further relations with the local university, beyond that of landlord.” Provides a good example of how ‘isolating’ can be used to create financial independence and ‘freedom’.
- Formalizing (72 results; of which 2 initiatives): lots of CTPs with examples of formalizing the organisations and/or formalising links with partners, some of whom can be considered as supporters of dominant institutions.

These keywords and some further text searches, led me to make a distinction between: (1) actual “Strategies for engaging institutional change processes” and the ways in which they build a platform for change or build a movement’ versus (2) the ways in which they ‘respond to threats’ and counter moves from dominant institutions versus. Address (1) next and (2) under question 2.

In order to get closer to the evidence about strategies for institutional change, look more in-depth at some specific examples (at the network level and then digging down into relevant CTPs): I used a variety of searches to dig deeper into some ‘paradigmatic’ examples for various parts of P7.

**Shareable.** exists to connect, promote and catalyse projects that are emergent from the sharing culture and seeks to build networks of commons, gifts, and exchange that are not mediated by financial transactions. These include tools, time, food, seeds, information, etc. (ShareBloomington). The vision of ShareBloomington is to reinvigorate the sense of community, shared values, and the ability to work together for a better Bloomington. (Shareable.net/ Bloomington)”. The CTPs reveal strategies based on extensive collaboration with especially local municipalities. In the Melbourne initiative Darren Sharp was involved in the municipalities future plan team

So not much evidence of it being an “inherently political process”. Same with many other initiatives, so maybe we need a hypothesis that the extent to which the TSI is politicised depends upon a) how much of a (existential) threat its perceived to pose to dominant institutions, and also on the nature of the context (which changes over time). The same applies to the role of violence and coercion, so this idea of “inherently political” should be nuanced and unpacked in revising the proposition.

**Slow Food.** As mentioned provides a paradigmatic example of resisting dominant institutions. So part of the story here is how they do this by having a clear vision, by addressing both production and demand (for Slow Food), and bringing people together, etc. All this can be easily unpacked from the case data, but what I found interesting was the CTP on “Collaboration agreement with the Ford Foundation” of Slow Food Mexico. The CTP states that “According to the respondent, it does not appear that the signing of the agreement with the Ford Foundation has generated contestation within the national Slow Food organization”. But we also we that the resources provided by the ford foundation are associated with processes of “professionalization” and “evaluation”.

There is something to add to the proposition about resources, that in order to gain access to resources (including power) initiatives need to form partnership with established players/actors, maybe even with actors supporting dominant institutions. So a further thing to address in the proposition is the “strategies” that initiatives have to secure resources, and following Sewell

whether there is evidence that they find ways to “use resources differently, use different resources, or create new resources” and whether they are able to exploit opportunities created by institutional pressures or failures in the context increase their resource accumulation (Sewell: Take advantage of chance events and context dependence, in resource accumulation).

### **Strategies for engaging with institutional change**

We can now start to identify the following component strategies for promoting institutional change (whether working to resist, reform or replace existing institutions, or any combination of these).

**Provision of (local) alternatives.** Resist, reform or replace the function of dominant institutions by providing local alternatives. This is what we see a lot of in the data, the initiatives come together to provide an alternative “solution” either mainly for themselves in the first instance (like Ecovillages) or from the beginning with the intention to service wider community (like shareable).

- Slow Food works to provide alternative food practices and in so doing pushes back the “reach” of dominant institutions. Similarly in Transition Norwich the members created a Community Supported Agriculture scheme (Norwich Farmshare) which for around 100 people in a city of over a 100,000 provides healthy and delicious locally grown organic food, shielding those few from dominant institutions. So its tiny but for this group of people, for a period of time, and in part of their lives, the dominant institutional arrangements are replaced.
- Can include an element of “experimenting”: e.g. demonstrating alternatives at local scale
- Sometimes in response to perceived failure of dominant institutions but in other cases especially our hackerspaces and FabLabs examples its ‘drive’ by other motives such as the promise of applying a new technology or new approach.
- Oftentimes can involve “Enacting an (existing) institution in a different way” or “making choices about which intersecting institutions to enact”.

**Strategies for building the ‘platform’ or ‘movement’ for institutional change** (and here we leave this less developed for now, anticipating it will be addressed in other propositions, but later it might provide a nice way of showing how the propositions are linked together).

- Includes building the narrative, especially in terms of *connecting across different institutional logics*. building new cross-SI-network relations e.g. building a narrative for change that cuts across different institutional logics. A good example is the CTP on “Publication on Basic Income by Dutch Scientific Advisory Council”
- building the brand: developing a brand, building trust and credibility, etc
- Finding ways to secure resources, using resources differently or creating new resources: This strategy then relates to Sewell and idea of supporting social transformation by “using resources differently, using different resources, or creating new resources”. And also exploiting opportunities in the context (Sewell: taking advantage of chance events and context dependence, in resource accumulation). Examples of creating new resources include the local currency projects in the transition towns, or workspaces created by the fablabs. Examples of using resources differently include the value-based and ethics-based approaches to lending provides by the Credit Unions, and forming partnerships with established actors is one strategy to secure more resources (financial or otherwise), with an example being that of Slow Food Mexico developing a partnership with Ford Foundation...

### **lobbying, irritating, and assimilating.**

- Via Campesina/MNCI, BIEN/Vereniging Basisinkomen and ProSpecieRara are good examples of lobbying. Basic Income with its proposal for state implemented TSI has specific focus on lobbying.
- Clearly overlap here with idea of building a platform for change. Lobbying, irritating, and assimilating may often be associated with the 'resistance' of dominant institutions and/or may be more tactical in the sense of supporting alternatives (time banks lobbies for change in legal frameworks around tax and employment) that may eventually reform or replace existing institutions.
- Not had a chance to explore irritating or assimilating yet.

### **Isolating and ignoring.** Isolating – especially in context of preserving autonomy.

- The CTP “Clear blue water” of FL4 (East England) “refers to the ongoing decision made by the co-founders to avoid developing further relations with the local university, beyond that of landlord.” Provides a good example of how ‘isolating’ can be used to create financial independence and ‘freedom’. This strategy also relates to “making choices about which intersecting institutions to enact”.
- Some of the eco-villages also seem to exhibit this strategy of isolating...

### **Question 2: How and to what extent do dominant institutions affect the SI-initiative (and how has this changed over time)?**

- *What formal and informal institutions are the SI initiatives interacting with?*
- *Does a ‘two-way’ interplay or dialectical relationship occur often? And in what concrete forms?*
- *Which concrete forms of institutionalization, mainstreaming, formalisation, and normalization are the interactions (of initiatives with institutions) taking (how has this changed over time)?*

So we could gather evidence here of the many ways that dominant institutions enable and constrain the initiatives, but given that both space and time are limited, I want to jump straight and look for evidence of a ‘two-way’ interplay or dialectical relationship. So I used a range of searches to find out what I could about where this was/is occurring. It has to be said that when you really go into the CTPs many of them have to do with the largely internal dynamics of how the organisation develop over time, and the story of the interplay with dominant institutions does not exactly jump out at one. Having used up the theme 3 keywords, I now explored most of the theme 4 and 5 keywords and developed related text searches. Here is a summary of what I found, using relevant cases.

- **Basic Income.** Perhaps has one of the best fits with the idea of a dialectic, but it’s sort of a special case because it’s a movement that proposes a state-sponsored TSI (the Participatory Budgeting is similar in some respects). So maybe there are some useful distinctions to be made here, some of the initiatives just appear to want to be left alone to get on with things most of the time, and find themselves having to cope somehow with the incursions of dominant institutions.
- **Participatory Budgeting Amsterdam (PB Amsterdam).** Provides an example, where because of the need to have the municipality involved they have had a two-way, back and forth interaction over time with them.

- **Participatory Budgeting Fortaleza has a CTP “Participatory Budgeting Emptied”** that tells of how the PB processes was discredited at a certain point, causing widespread withdrawal of the social movements from the process.
- **Ecovillage Bergen.** Their struggles illustrate all too well, the sorts of pickles that a SI initiative can get into, especially in e.g. the CTP “Asbestos conflict with municipality and closing of the gates”. What’s paradigmatic about this case is that it shows how dominant institutions can pose a threat to new TSI initiatives not in the sense of a ‘dialectic’ but rather in a sort of blind non-seeing mode, where it is simply the apparatus of dominant institutions that makes it difficult to do things differently.
- **Shareable Melbourne.** Seems to be an example trying to the ideas and vision of shareable into the municipal vision and planning. In general the shareable examples illustrate how cooperation, and even invitations to cooperation can be part of the interaction. This and many of the other cases raise questions about how to maintain ‘integrity’ and ‘autonomy’ in interactions, which I don’t have time to probe further at this stage in the meta-analysis.
- **Via Campesina/MNCI.** CTP “Lockout of agricultural associations” of Via Campesina/MNCI details an active protest in response to a new law from national government: “This measure was resisted by the entities that group the producers of this type of crops associated with international trade, and generated a conflict that lasted 129 days. The agricultural entities began several weeks of lockout with cuts of routes and causing the food shortage of the main cities.” This was most definitely a highly political and physical struggle. In general some of the LA examples remind us that TSI struggles with dominant institutions can have huge amounts at stake, be highly political and confrontational.
- **The FairShares case (first time bank in England)** provides a very well-evidenced example of how the social innovation was introduced into the UK and its key proponents managed to connect this specific innovation up to wider government agendas at the time, and create the legal basis for it operate viably in all parts of the UK: “The national government of the day (New Labour, Prime Minister Tony Blair) was seeking ways to implement its ‘Third Way’ and was favourably disposed toward timebanking, owing to the close fit with its own policy framework.” So it’s a case where the leadership of well-placed individuals and the aligning with interests of government created a basis for the innovation to spread. Later however it found that the systems it was trying introduce the innovation to were “resistant to reform and their top-down, bureaucratic nature is inconsistent with the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) approach to community building on which FairShares and its successes are based.” So the insight is maybe about the need to unpack what we mean by “dominant institutions”, support can come from one quarter (level) while intransigence and blocking is encountered in others. The threats/suppression from dominant institutions is not always intentional it can also just be simply a case of them not being set up to accommodate difference or novelty.
- The CTPs for **RIPESS/ APRES-GE** illustrate how an initiative can run into difficulties in its relationship to existing institutions, “which eventually resulted in a significant loss of public financing from the city of Geneva” the network then led “a participative discussion about a potential repositioning around the concept of “transition”. At the same time, they decided to launch a new platform called “Demain Genève” with other regional organizations involved”, so a loss of resources led to an internal re-imagining.... In order to make the initiative more viable/relevant (?).... Was ‘transitions’ chosen because it was seen to fit with what was currently fashionable in the context? Did this create compromise with original core intentions? As the CTP “Repositioning and the launch of “Demain Genève””

states “what remains unclear though is to know if the transition concept, which is very inclusive at the moment, will stand the test of time and manage to federate a great number of actors from different sectors of the economy.”

- **Slow Food.** There is so much good material in these Slow Food examples. In Italy the movement seems to combine a pragmatic approach, focusing on actual “Slow Food” provision with an emphasis of ‘food cultures’ and more political dimensions. Although the CTPs point to tensions over these two aspects, it seems that many of the Slow Food activities and manifestations combine them well. And Slow Food provides a paradigmatic examples of how interactions with dominant institutions involves “deep scaling” as well as “scaling out” and “scaling up” (apologies for use of banned simplistic scaling metaphors, but it makes the point well enough for now). The CTP “Collaboration agreement with the Ford Foundation” of Slow Food Mexico provides a fascinating example of interacting with (what might be considered as supporters of) dominant institutions....
- The **Findhorn community and CTP on the “Start of Findhorn community”** provides an interesting example for reflecting on motivations and intentions for TSI in its relations with dominant institutions. The founding motivation here was some form of divine inspiration, reinforced perhaps by lots of networking with like-minded people around the world, and supported in parts by the zeitgeist of that time. Amazingly this all led to a local manifestation that is still going strong today; don’t want to get into an analysis here of whether Findhorn “sold out” or not, rather the point is that if you define a vision in terms of say responding to climate change, and the dominant institutions have ‘captured’ the framing of climate change, then it can be hard to avoid getting caught up in that.

The interim conclusion here is that in terms of the current formulation of the proposition as: “SI initiatives and networks exist in a dialectical relationship with existing institutions” The theoretical notion of a “dialectical relationship” may actually a bit too idealised, what we see is more messy and dependant on contingency, and the intersection of actual TSI processes with all sorts of other ‘stuff’ going on in the context. The interplay between initiatives and dominant institutions does not always develop over time as a move followed by counter-move, followed by next move interplay (that’s the exception rather than the rule), in practice ‘game changing developments’ and ‘moves’ by other players mean that interactions can be truncated, become disjointed, morph into new forms, etc. Because Basic Income proposes a quite specific state-sponsored TSI, it lends itself to interpretation as a ‘dialectical’ exchange with (supporters of) dominant institutions, but we should be careful to confuse this as being ‘typical’ of TSI, its rather indicated by the database as an exception.

Of course it’s true that the initiatives both transform and reproduce dominant institutions, it’s the basic idea of structuration which we adhere to, but what we need to get at in this proposition is what *implications* this has for the practice of TSI. It seems that the observed interplay, might fit better with the idea of ‘bricolage’ in explaining the messy contingent nature of the relationships we see exemplified in the database. The initiatives try to use whatever comes to hand, to further their aims and vision. Sometimes the (supporters of) dominant institutions ignore them, sometimes they try to control them, and sometimes they try to shut them down. A next stage will be to map the factors (internal context, game changing of developments, moves from supporters of dominant institutions, move from other actors) that affect the choice of which types of strategy the initiatives implement to address which types of threat, and how these then in turn affect their chances of future success.

Similarly in the current formulation of the proposition we do not make use of the concept of social innovation field, as the meso-level of social order through which institutional change must play out (we included it as a sort of separate thing in cluster b, but the actual point of a 'field' concept is to help explain the topic of this proposition). The point is that once an initiative really gets started it links up with and form relations with all sorts of actors and forms of DOFK, and in so doing it both transforms the relations and institutional arrangements in the field and is also transformed itself.

The challenge faced by many initiatives of forming partnerships or other types of relationships with the supporters of dominant institutions and needing to do so while holding on to original core intentions (integrity, autonomy, motivation) is observed, and whether in a development of this proposition or one of the other cluster C propositions, it needs to be characterised and the pitfalls identified. The CTP on the "Expansion of Merkur across Danish territory" of FEBEA/Merkur Cooperative Bank provides a good example of an initiative that according the interviewee was able to expand very rapidly without losing its core values: "Despite the expansion and enlargement – in number of clients and employees- of the bank, Merkur associates and shareholder were always cautious and careful about not losing the core values of the bank, firmly maintaining their initial vision and principles. Thus, becoming bigger and powerful reinforced their values, without compromising the principles and goals that motivated the creation of the initiative." So chose not to go further into this at this stage as may be covered in the analysis for other propositions, but this preserving of "original core intentions" is a key thing we need to include in this proposition, or make the link with other propositions clear. But we need to aim towards explaining the factors that allow some initiatives to do this, while others compromise. What we can start to do now is develop a list of strategies for this question two, and develop them in line with the more open, messy, and contingent notion of 'bricolage'....

### **Strategies employed in responding to the threat of "being institutionalised"**

Whether an initiative is engaged in Resisting, Reforming or Replacing, or any combination of these types of engagement, they may encounter threats and counters from actors supporting dominant institutions. It seems the list in the current short formulation of P7 relates to this type of interaction. Here's then a revised list that covers the sorts of threat and response pairings observed. The examples are not meant this time as "paradigmatic" examples but just examples I found that fit with the term, providing a starting point for further substantiation.

- **complying** (Ecovillage Bergen needing to comply with planning laws, asbestos clearing)
- **cooperating** (with dominant institutions; shareable seem to have good examples of this, with invitations form municipalities to cooperate)
- avoiding; irritating; adapting (still to be further developed)
- **resisting** (resisting can be both a primary form of engagement of TSI and/or a strategy in response to some threat or intervention from dominant institutions. The CTP "Lockout of agricultural associations" of Via Campesina/MNCI)
- **compromising** (many examples, the CTP "Strategic partnership between Crédal and Dexia Foundation" on FEBEA/Credal which reports on situation where participants were very concerned about compromise being an issue in the partnership)
- **withdrawing** from discredited process (CTP PBE of Participatory Budgeting Fortaleza)
- **exploiting institutional pressures** (and still to unpack what exactly is meant here....)
- **hijacking** (didn't find an example of this....yet...)
- **forming coalitions and 'calling for aid'** (connecting with other networks)

A next step then will be refine and further substantiate and unpack this list of different kinds of strategy/response and make use of it in an eventual reformulation of the proposition number 7.

### 6.2.2.3 Concrete forms of institutionalization, mainstreaming, formalisation, and normalization

#### **Question 2.3: Which concrete forms of institutionalization, mainstreaming, formalisation, and normalization are the interactions (of initiatives with institutions) taking?**

Initiatives then employ strategy both to promote favoured processes of *institutionalization, mainstreaming, formalisation, and normalization*, and to respond to the threats posed by such processes. We should make a distinction between institutionalisation processes that follow from an intentional strategy on the part of the initiative versus situations where they just sort of happen to the initiative as part of wider developments in the social innovation field and social-material context.

- ***institutionalization***, as the process by which changes in institutional structures emerge and become more widely embedded. It refers to the process of embedding some aspect of social life (which can be e.g. norms, rules, conventions and values, or a mode of behaviour) within an organisation, a wider field of social relations, or within the context as a whole. There can be differing ‘degrees’ of institutionalisation at different times and in different parts of the context – or in other words, transformations can occur at different speeds in different places. Due to expected overlap with the analysis in P8, we did not go into depth here, but can note that we see different types of institutionalisation observed in the CTP database including:
  - *provision of alternative arrangements* with some viable resourcing model. Leads to further institutional change if new supporters can be recruited and sustained, while also managing to coexist with existing arrangements. Becomes more politicised as soon as it poses any sort of threat to dominant arrangements. Varying degrees of intentional/strategic ‘isolation’ as a strategy can be observed in different initiatives.
  - *Lobbying directly for change in existing rules*. Basic Income proposes a direct change in the rules, but along the way lots of smaller changes are required to build a platform for such a change. TimeBanks UK was able to lobby for a favourable legal framework, which allowed it to better engage in the provision of an alternative arrangement.
  - *Embedding in existing arrangements*. The CTPs on Shareable Melbourne (as discussed above) provide a good example of trying to get the ideas and vision of shareable into the municipal vision and planning. In general the shareable examples illustrate how cooperation, and even invitations to cooperation can be part of the interaction. This and many of the other cases raise questions about how to maintain ‘integrity’ and ‘autonomy’ in interactions. It’s clear in this example that the initiative does indeed find itself “between transformation and capture”: it is trying to embed the vision of the sharing economy into the mainstream institutions but in doing so risks being captured in many ways. In this example we can make a distinction between compromise and capture, where capture may not actually be a negative thing, but compromise may involve not only being captured, but being



captured in a way where the original innovation has been diluted or compromised by the values and logic/s of dominant institutions. As in the example of Merkur Cooperative Bank this may involve making use of a particular 'dominant' institution (European banking harmonisation directive) to bring change to dominant institutional arrangements.

- *Engaging with “deep” cultural change* (“deep scaling”). Challenges and resists dominant norms and values, and proposes either new alternative ones, or emphasises importance of traditional ones. Engages with institutionalisation directly at the level of norms and values, and then links this to choices, lifestyles, practices, etc. Here again Slow Food is a paradigmatic example with its emphasis on being first and foremost a 'cultural movement' and the way in which both its narrative and practices are carefully designed to emphasize the importance of preserving traditional values in connection with food. Further analysis of the database could clarify the strategies used in other initiatives aimed at such 'deep scaling' of dominant institutions.
- **mainstreaming**, The relevant question here is; when is mainstreaming transformational for the societal context versus when is it the SI initiative that is mainstreamed (institutionalised). Clearly many of the initiatives in the database have the idea not just to go mainstream in the sense of a disruptive innovation such as AirBnB 'going to scale', but rather their vision is to transform the 'logics' of dominant institutions as they go mainstream. Hence we should be careful how we use the metaphor of mainstreaming in subsequent analysis.
- **formalisation**, A search of the database for keyword “Formalizing” (72 results; of which 2 initiatives) shows up lots of CTPs about examples of formalizing the organisations and/or formalising links with partners, some of whom can be considered as supporters of dominant institutions. These processes involve, in maybe quite subtle ways, the spread of rules, values, norms into the organisation and culture of the initiative, did not look into further here as maybe covered in analysis for some of the other propositions. Following the Multi-Actor Perspective on TSI, we might also look in further analysis for evidence of “formalisation” as Bureaucratisation/ legalisation versus Marketisation/ commercialisation; and also of Communitisation (“normalising’ in the sense of it becoming more normal for more people).
- **normalization**. Still to be explored. Following the Multi-Actor Perspective on TSI, we might also look for evidence of “Communitisation” as ‘normalising’ in the sense of it becoming more normal for more people.

### 6.2.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

P7 does now require some conceptual clarifications, refinements and simplifications. In particular we need to focus on what we are now in a position to say based on the empirics, versus what was actually more “neat theoretical ideas...”. We may need to distinguish two or more propositions here. Five main observations that should inform the further development of this proposition are:

1) There is a need to clarify the overall types of engagement of TSI with dominant institutions. Firstly, in the data we note that part of what some initiatives engage in can be understood as acts of resistance against dominant institutions. It is the exception for an initiative to have a direct

strategy for replacement (and here Basic Income is an exceptional example): the data illustrates how most often initiatives rather develop in a 'step-by-step fashion' alternative practices and in doing so they "replace"—in a defined space—the function that was previously served by a dominant institution. If successful, their innovation may spread and become established as an alternative. So the mechanism by which replacement is achieved is most often through the provision of alternatives. The term "Re-placing" should be used to imply also the localised provision of an alternative institution that serves the same function or purpose as a dominant institution, rather than only implying the direct substitution of a dominant institution. In providing alternatives, an initiative takes a step towards the eventual replacement of a related dominant institution, but along the way many things can happen. From the viewpoint of an overall TSI process the provision of alternatives and the processes by which a dominant institution is eventually replaced, are not separate processes, but rather the first is often a stepping stone to the second. The proposal then is to not separate the "provision of alternatives" from "replacing" but rather clarify that the "replace" category should include the sorts of strategy that are implemented as part of an institutional change process that *may* eventually lead to replacement. The data illustrates how most often initiatives do provide or innovate certain alternative practices and in doing so manage to *replace* the function that was previously being served by a dominant institution. If successful, their innovation may spread and become more established. So the mechanism by which replacement is achieved is most often through the initial provision of alternatives. Such a 'top-level' three-fold distinction must however be seen only as a starting point in explaining institutional change, it serves the same structuring task as the 'four clusters', i.e. as an orientating, organising, and presentational device. TSI 'strategies' should be characterised at a more empirically realistic level, hence point 2 below. **The learning from the analysis then is that the distinction of Challenge, Alter, Replace, and Provide can be more accurately formulated as Resist, Reform, or Replace** and this should be included in the next version of this proposition.

**2) We should clarify our use of the term 'strategy' to encompass the actions of TSI initiatives as they: i) engage directly in promoting (processes of) institutionalisation, ii) respond to being institutionalised (cf. threats or counter moves from dominant institutions) or iii) build a platform or movement for institutional change.** The empirically-grounded unpacking of observed strategies begun here, can be further developed and used in reformulating this proposition. Regarding the suggestion of "sometimes paradoxical" strategies, it depends on who is observing and with what criteria, maybe we can make the point that strategies are not always coherent across an initiative or network, developing a description of the empirics that fits with the notion of 'bricolage' noted in point 3 below. The three-fold distinction of the "three Rs" is only a starting point, what is crucial for a TSI theory 'final prototype', and what has been started here, is an articulation of the different types of strategy observed, linking them to the processes of institutionalisation (and transformative change) that they initiate or engage with.

**3) Rather than a "dialectical relationship" what we see in the empirics is quite messy and diverse interactions, highly subject to contingency and intertwining with other developments and change processes. The proposal is that the observed relations might fit better with the notion of "bricolage" and that the proposition should be reformulated in these terms,** and in doing so link our theoretical formulations more with recent theorising of social innovation along the lines of bricolage (Olsson et al. article in GCs special issue for example and references cited therein). Similarly there is also evidence that does not support the assertion of institutionalization of SI as an 'inherently political process', I used the example of the Transition

movement, and specifically the setting up of a community supported agriculture scheme in Norwich, where things were only 'political' in the sense that local politicians might support it and say how good it is. The proposal here is that our hypothesis should be that TSI becomes an inherently political process as soon as something 'important' is at stake for dominant institutions. I think this idea would explain a lot of what we see in the data, but it does not have to be an existential threat to a dominant institution (although that would certainly do it), it can take a range of forms (which we can further unpack from the data): In the struggles of Ecovillage Bergen to realise their vision (as described most eloquently in the CTPs for this initiative) we see how simply not fitting in sufficiently with the regulations, laws and conventions of the dominant way of doing things can provoke an existential threat directed towards the TSI initiative. We now need to bring out this more nuanced understanding in how we formulate the next version of this proposition. The current text also refers to 'opportunity contexts': the empirics confirm the importance of developments in the context, but the way in which the cases were developed, means its quite hard to extract insights on the influence of the context. This is an important dimension to be elaborated in further stages of TSI theory development, especially in explaining how and why strategies change/evolve/develop over time.

**4) The idea that the initiatives need to hold on to original core intentions while continuously adapting strategies should be further unpacked and specified in reformulating this proposition.** But avoiding to much overlap with other propositions. The nuance is that it is not just about 'holding onto' but rather allowing to develop in certain ways and not others....". Again these sorts of nuances are in line with an emphasis on bricolage in the further development on this proposition. The analysis sheds light on processes of formalizing, normalisation, mainstreaming, institutionalising. And a parsimonious characterisation of how to frame these processes should be included in P7. An observation here is that what's missing in the proposition is any notion of the social innovation field, as the mesolevel of social order through which institutional change (beyond the scale of local experiment) must play out (we included it as a sort of separate thing in cluster b, but the actual point of a 'field' concept is to help explain the topic of this proposition). The point is that once an initiative really gets started it links up with and form relations with all sorts of actors and forms of DOFK, and in so doing it both transforms the relations and institutional arrangements in the field and is also transformed itself. Terms such as mainstreaming, institutionalisation, bureaucratisation, and formalisation can be used to describe the processes and outcomes of these interactions, but we now need to develop these terms so as to be consistent with the TSI framework.

**5) Should this proposition be divided into two or more propositions?** Properly considered P7 covers a lot of 'territory' that is relevant to the TSI theory development. So could leave as one proposition with several strands, or maybe divide up....There is certainly one proposition here that is focused on 'bricolage', and the actions and counter-actions that initiatives experience as they develop and engage in formalizing, normalisation, mainstreaming, and institutionalising. At this stage it all seems so interconnected—and maintaining coherence in our formulations is important—so the proposal is to leave as one proposition but with several distinct parts (and elaborations).

## 6.3 Proposition 8: On finding or creating an institutional home

### 6.3.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**P8.** *SI initiatives with transformative ambitions lack an institutional home and a significant part of the TSI journey is about finding or creating it. The lack of an institutional home can be both empowering and disempowering<sup>2</sup> in terms of achieving transformative impacts. It is empowering so long as SI initiatives are still able to negotiate and 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<sup>3</sup>. It is disempowering when it leaves SI initiatives without continuity in activities or drives them towards wholesale conforming to existing institutions<sup>4</sup>. A number of possible states of accommodation-tension with established institutions are possible: 1) finding the appropriate hybrid arrangement 2) falling into institutional isomorphism or 3) homelessness.*

#### **Analytical strategy:**

The proposition on finding or creating an institutional home arguably addresses an important element of TSI (and the relation of SI initiatives to institutional change processes in particular). P8 seems quite firm and it is unlikely to be entirely *falsified*: we know from WP4 research that SI initiatives tend to lack (solidly established) institutional homes, and theoretically we understand how this has much to do with the aims of these initiatives to challenge, alter, replace rather than reproduce dominant institutions (which is bound to occur once one operates from a solidly established institutional home). No *major* elaborations of this proposition seem necessary, in these respects. On the other hand, there is – in combination with P7 (interplay with institutions) and P9 (merging institutional logics) – still some ascribed teleology, some assumptions about which ‘states of institutional housing’ are empowering and which not, that merit empirical scrutiny and some falsification spirit: Is it really so important for SI initiatives to find institutional homes? Do they really have to be hybrid arrangements? How many *counter-examples* are there amongst the initiatives studied, in which this was not at all the striving? How many *deliberately* stayed ‘homeless’, choosing a nomadic existence for certain reasons of empowerment?

As for cluster C more generally, it merits empirical clarification what ‘institution’ and therewith ‘institutional home’ is taken to refer to. If we acknowledge both informal and formal institutions, then ‘homelessness’ and ‘institutional voids’ are accordingly rare occurrences. If we only take ‘institutions’ to refer to formal organisations/institutions, then we will detect more ‘homelessness’. This theoretical point reminds that P8 and its basic typology of *1) finding the appropriate hybrid arrangement; 2) falling into institutional isomorphism; or 3) homelessness* merits *substantiation*, and possibly further *unpacking or repacking* into more fine-grained and precise categories. Which/how many examples can we find of each? Is the category of institutional isomorphism an adequate term,

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<sup>2</sup> This is closely related to cluster A and P2, where much of the “sustaining initiatives” is exemplified with “degree of formalisation”.

<sup>3</sup> “Capture & transformation” is not really a dichotomy, but rather a continuous navigation between both extremes. P8 expresses how these dialectics materializes in some form of institutional design and associated capacity for institutional adaptation/opportunism.

<sup>4</sup> This becoming, being, or staying non-transformative implies that they do nothing of the CARP.

considering its normative (dismissive) contents? Which other states of institutionalization do we find? For example, experiments and pilots indicate the possibility of 'temporary half-way homes', we may distinguish formal institutional homes from informal institutional homes, and what shades of homelessness exist? Similarly, it seems worthwhile unpacking and substantiating the distinction between 'creating' and 'finding' an institutional home. Maybe only active creation of institutional homes complies with being transformative? Are there intermediate shades to distinguish, such as squatting?

Finally, P8 expresses a *time-sensitivity* that could be increased. The proposition distinguishes states of institutionalization that SI initiatives tend to move into. But which kind of transition processes between these states can be distinguished? Are there typically oscillations between states, is there a teleology towards a certain state, are there typical relapses in this teleology, are there striking counter-intuitive alternative sequences (e.g. de-institutionalization)?

### **Empirical research questions:**

#### **This leads to the following questions for meta-analysis:**

*How and to what extent are TSI-initiatives aiming to create or find an institutional home, which problematic states (e.g. isomorphism, homelessness or others) are they trying to avoid, and which patterns (e.g. oscillations, sequences) can be distinguished in their processes of searching for an empowering institutional form?*

#### **Three sub-questions:**

1. *Which states of institutionalization are TSI-initiatives seeking/avoiding, and for they doing so?*
2. *What is the evidence of institutionally hybrid arrangements or other institutional states (e.g. isomorphism, homelessness, or variations thereof) being pursued and which kinds of dis/empowerment are at issue?*
3. *Which patterns (e.g. oscillations, sequences) can be distinguished in the processes of searching for an empowering institutional home? Which are the main internal/external pressures that co-determine them?*

### **Search strategy and key words used:**

This analysis rests on a search through the key word *Formalizing* (Theme 3), which arguably is a key indicator for the search for an institutional home. This yielded 73 search results, which is roughly 20% of the available files. This subset of files features at least one file for all of the 19 networks in the database, thus allowing to complete the overview of 'states of institutionalization', answering empirical question 1. The analysis of this subset has also allowed to generate and substantiate basic distinctions of kinds of institutional states and patterns in the search for an institutional home.

The meta-analysis results presented can of course be deepened, and the subset of files considered in detail can be enlarged. The following additional searches seem to be particularly pertinent:

- 1) Theme 1: Hybrid/3rd sector organisations, Institutional voids (corresponding with categories of 'institutional states' distinguished here).

- 2) Theme 4: Legal status, Business models, Legitimacy, Internal decision-making, Monitoring (as kinds of resources and empowerment through which institutional homes are constructed).
- 3) Theme 5: Radicalization, Compromise, Standstill, Barriers & setback, Breakthrough (as ways to gain understanding of changes over time)
- 4) Theme 2: New Organizing (considering that ‘creating institutional home’ involves some of that).

Furthermore, the identified shades and specifics of ‘institutional states’ can be investigated through full-text searches (on projects and pilots as examples of temporary institutional homes for example).

## 6.3.2 Presenting the evidence

The empirical evidence is structured along the three auxiliary research questions. The first question is answered in the form of an overview table. Providing a general characterisation of institutionalization states of the 20 transnational networks/kinds of SI in the database, it also indicates relevant differences between local manifestations of these networks (6.3.2.1). Next, exemplary CTPs are gathered to substantiate, unpack and repack the tripartite typology of institutionalization states (6.3.2.2) and to distinguish process patterns in searching for an institutional home (6.3.2.3).

### 6.3.2.1 States of institutionalization, an overview

*Which states of institutionalization are TSI-initiatives seeking/avoiding, and for they doing so?*

<i>SI network</i>	
<b>RIPESS</b>	RIPESS members are united in their resistance against the neo-liberal political economy. They consider that institutional constructions like the cooperatives and social enterprises Social Economy have been important achievements in finding institutional homes for solidarity-based social relations – yet these are considered to have fallen victim to institutional isomorphism pressures, such as commercialization, bureaucratization, and various forms of formalization that exclude and drive out solidarity-based social relations. RIPESS members can be seen to design, create and experiment with hybrid organizations like social enterprises (APRES-GE, Ecocitrus, Groupe Terre), but also to resort to semi-institutionalized, community-based networks of exchange (CRIES).
<b>Seed exchange</b>	Light network structures; semi-institutions (with some institutional shelter in universities and to a certain extent by governments).
<b>BIEN</b>	BIEN consider that government is the only possible institutional home to secure the Basic Income as an unconditional and universal income entitlement. They are aware of the risk of BI getting shelter in current social security systems in ways that are in line with ‘income through wage’ ideologies and perverting the transformative contents of the BI. The

	BI has thus far existed mostly in the form of a utopian discourse however, only occasionally finding shelter in governmental structures. The BI is not entirely homeless however, as it has found semi-permanent institutional shelter in academia (and in a hybrid discourse, on the interstices of government and science). Experiments (NL) and civic petitions (SUI) are indications of moves towards hybrid arrangements.
<b>Time Banks</b>	Typical examples of self-constructed hybrid arrangements, exposed to both marketizing and bureaucratizing isomorphism pressures. Exemplifying how semi-institutional existence is quite possible and empowering for voluntary exchange – yet homelessness would rob the initiating collectives of crucial resources and continuity.
<b>Impact Hub</b>	As social enterprises a typical example of trying to create the institutionally hybrid home, balancing institutional isomorphism pressures (professionalization, efficiency) with commitments to doing things differently.
<b>OIDP</b>	Government is the natural institutional home sought for participatory budgeting. The PB is a hybrid arrangement between civil society and governmental institutional logics.
<b>GEN/ECOVILLAGES</b>	Driven by a degree of principled institutional homelessness/nomadism, yet also presupposing a physical place, and therewith a degree of institutional anchorage (e.g. planning regulations – Ecovillage Bergen), and an institutional home regarding the license to run a school (Schloss Tempelhof).
<b>Via Campesina</b>	The food sovereignty and emancipation struggle waged by VC mainly seeks hybrid arrangements of small-scale entrepreneurship – thus protecting against the dominant institutions of agro-business. Education institutions (on agroecology) are found as ‘academic shelters’, i.e. as institutions through which to disseminate alternative approaches to agriculture.
<b>Living labs</b>	Seeking an institutional home to acquire resources. Accreditation was important empowerment-through-isomorphism for Tunisian initiative. The Eindhoven case shows how the LL drive towards hybrid arrangements of experimentation, in which governance is renewed and taken up through joint experimentation.
<b>INFORSE</b>	INFORSE members have developed hybrid institutional arrangements (consultancy in the triple helix of market-state-academia). The isomorphism processes have drawn it somewhat away from its rather homeless grassroots origins.
<b>DESI</b>	Seeking its institutional home in academic/polytechnic curricula, finding shelter in academia - but often in the form of short-lived projects.
<b>Living Knowledge</b>	Creating hybrid arrangements, largely within the home of academic institutions, to open up science to society (and civil society in particular). On the other hand, the Hungarian ESSRG rather fled or distanced itself from the university it used to belong to, frustrated by the politicized and altogether unfavourable institutional home it provided for the kind of research they pursued.

<b>Ashoka<sup>5</sup></b>	Enlightened, social entrepreneurship. Hybrid organisations, but also consciously isomorphic in the acknowledgement that (individual) entrepreneurship is an institutional form that has proven suitable to serve individual desires and collective outcomes (if slightly hybridized).
<b>FEBEA</b>	Creation of hybrid institutional arrangements, namely banks with a social mission. The initiative needed formalization, and the license to operate as banks. Complete institutional homelessness would have left them without key resources. The Banco Popolare (Italy) underwent very rapid growth, requiring careful reorganization so as not to break the social relations (of cooperative banking) out of which it emerged.
<b>ICA</b>	Phases of illegality (under conditions of heavily consolidated property rights in Argentina), but also, later on, finding an institutional home in the form of legal regulations securing 'rights to shelter'. Exemplary for the desire to escape institutional homelessness, which in this case is highly disempowering. The MOI initiative 'builds without bricks', i.e. builds institutional home in the sense of legal status.
<b>Slow Food</b>	There is no natural institutional home for Slow Food; it is a set of values, practices, methodologies and a discourse, that can be carried by either state, market and civil society (and strengthened through science). Multiple institutional homes are sought, generally aiming for hybrid arrangements. SF also exists in a multitude of temporary institutional homes (projects). A degree of isomorphism is needed in the form of legal constitution, so as to be eligible for sponsoring and partnerships.
<b>Shareable</b>	A principled search for hybrid, institutionally 'light' institutional structures, detached from and providing an alternative to dominant institutions. Experimenting with ways to govern the commons in Italy, Timebank-constructions in Greece and in the USA.
<b>Fablabs</b>	To a degree a conscious choice for institutional homelessness/nomadism, but also seeking shelter in academic institutions, and strategically reframing themselves to secure that shelter.
<b>Hackerspaces</b>	As small-scale workplaces not in need of an extensive institutional home, the Hackerspaces are inclined institutional nomadism. They do try to find and create hybrid arrangements to suit their commitments to light institutional structures and non-hierarchical form of organization. They seem to have a pragmatic approach to institutional isomorphism, involving a degree of institutional 'mimicry', which speaks from their awareness that greater 'legibility' towards others helps them to secure resources.
<b>Transition Towns</b>	Seeking institutional home or at least shelter to secure continuity. These homes need to be hybrid arrangements.

<sup>5</sup> No CTP files available; filled-in based on earlier acquaintance with the network through WP4 analysis.



### 6.3.2.2 States of institutionalization and the teleology of hybrid institutions

***What is the evidence of institutionally hybrid arrangements or other institutional states (e.g. isomorphism, homelessness, or variations thereof) being pursued and which kinds of dis/empowerment are at issue?***

Evidence has been gathered and structured along the tripartite distinction between hybrid arrangements, institutional isomorphism and institutional homelessness as articulated in P8. The analysis has brought a broader variety, the evidence of which has been structured through 3 different kinds of institutional hybrids, as well as through binary subdivisions (empowering and disempowering) of isomorphism and of institutional homelessness.

#### **Hybrid arrangements**

##### **Social entrepreneurship**

As transpired already through the above answer on research question 1, a significant part of initiatives aim for institutionally hybrid arrangements. A major group are the social entrepreneurs, and the various third sector organizations:

The Italian Banco Popolare (FEBEA) is a classical example of the active creation of a hybrid institutional home. Importantly, a certain movement had started to emerge in which various progressive forces converged on the need for new ways of action and creation of new institutional structures that made a difference– such as alternative banking.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/constitution-of-the-credit-cooperative-banca-popolare-etica> *“In Italy the 80’s and 90’s were very important. There was a very strong climate of social transformation. It was not like now. The classical places for social aggregation were somehow in crisis. The unions, the parties and the Church were in crisis, but there was movement of people who wanted to transform society. We used to speak of the third sector, the new societal actor, right?”*

The following CTP from Hackspace-1 tellingly indicates how the UK governmental introduction in 2005 of the CIC’s was an institutional home that the initiative found suitable as a light structure – a company structure, but also a hybrid structure designed for social enterprises. *“As CICs were founded to specifically encourage organisations to achieve ‘public good’ through business activities, the co-founders felt that the CIC model was particularly well-suited to the ‘messy’ nature of hackspaces, where activities were not cleanly defined and often evolved over time:”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp5-company-structure>

The following Shareable Athens CTP illustrates well how hybrid arrangements were sought to provide an institutional home for transformative practices that the initiators sought to keep quite independent and free from isomorphism tendencies. They agreed that they needed a light institutional structure, a network-like structure, and through a consideration of several options they arrived at the conclusion that a Timebanking initiative fit best with their transformative ambitions and preferred institutional arrangement: *“...it should be an autonomous, self-financed network, functioning under the main principle of solidarity. It would not be affiliated to any political party, but would be focused on promoting social and economic, practical solutions to real problems of everyday life. After these main principles had been established, the next step was to decide which tool*

was the one that they would use.” <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp1-the-creation-of-rtime-exchange-athens-syntagma-squarer>

The following Slow Food Mexico CTP shows how Slow Food principles and methodologies are connected and tied in with programs of both market and state actors to address ‘food issues’ of different kinds.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/collaboration-agreement-with-the-ford-foundation>

### **Participative governance**

Government-civil society hybridization is a second prominent subcategory of hybrid institutional arrangements as institutional homes for SI initiatives.

The following CTP of participatory Budgeting Amsterdam (NL) indicates how this form of TSI can only exist as a hybrid arrangement of civil society participation anchored (and finding an institutional home) in governmental decision-making. The CTP clarifies that this finding an institutional home requires formal political support, so that the involved public servants consider the PB as a core task (with a mandate) rather than a secondary activity.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/partial-budget-authority-to-citizens>

The BIEN Suisse CTP <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/joining-forces-to-start-a-citiven-initiative-for-a-popular-vote> indicates how some Basic Income initiatives seek to create hybrid arrangements of participative government (civic petitions). Even if the Basic Income has government as its natural institutional home, this and other initiatives consider a need for hybrid arrangements to correct for the rigidities and limitations of representative democracy.

The Transition Town Tooting CTP below indicates how members of this Transition Town found out that they thrived and could make good convening contributions to the process of developing a local neighbourhood plan – through spatial planning they found a hybrid arrangement of participative governance as a (temporary) institutional home.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/beginning-work-on-the-tooting-neighbourhood-plan>

The following CTP of a Living Lab initiative in Eindhoven (NL) shows how a Living Lab approach, involving an experimenting attitude, and design thinking, was made into a policy by a bold local administration. This indicates how the SI concept found an institutional home in a governmental commitment to actively support hybrid arrangements.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp4-a-brave-coalition-agreement-for-eindhoven>

### **Academic shelter**

A third prominent subcategory of hybrid institutional arrangements are the institutional homes found or created in, or at the borders of, academic institutions. The overview table already brought out this ‘academic sheltering’ seems to be a state of institutionalization that occurs more often. It is prominent in empirics from Living Knowledge, DESIS, Fablabs, Hackerspaces, INFORSE,

DESIS, Shareable, but actually there seem few initiatives NOT in some way finding academic shelter or support.

All BIEN empirics are relevant as their natural institutional home, the state, is not very receptive to their aims towards large-scale Replacing of institutions. The Dutch VBI is therefore largely homeless institutionally – except that an **academic field** has been created around the Basic Income as a **shelter and stepping stone** towards the desired institutional home. **CTP nr 11**, on a report of the scientific advisory council of the Dutch government, shows how the academic home brings the desired institutionalization into governmental policy closer.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/publication-basic-income-report-dutch-scientific-advisory-council>

The Portuguese ID+DESIS Lab Aveiro shows similar sheltering, having the design-related SI activities embedded in university curricula (master's theses). Continuity is big challenge however, so the CTP also exemplifies how the shelter is temporary.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/internal-recognition-in-the-university-opened-up-new-projects>

The later CTP of the initiative <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/desis-lab-founded-as-local-manifestation-of-desis-network> shows a more firm anchorage in the university structure, crucially legitimizing the design-for-social-innovation. This gain in reputation/legitimacy was initially contested/mistrusted by university colleagues – indicating how the activity was considered too hybrid or not sufficiently valuable in terms of academic institutional logic. This also speaks from the <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/group-foundation> CTP of the DESIS Lab in Florianopolis (BRA). In FABLABS-2, by contrast, the academic shelter was provided eagerly as the initiative served what the dean considered a 'new face' of the Engineering department. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp2-headhunted>

The following ANAMURI/Via Campesina CTP shows academic shelter of food sovereignty principles against dominant ideas and practices of agro-business. Importantly, the first National School of Agroecology was set up as a critical alternative to the knowings of culture generally taught at Chilean education centres. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/national-school-of-agroecology>

*"The realization of the national school of agroecology emerged in contrast to the dominant agricultural production model."*

Next to academic shelter, there is also the hybrid of consulting, between science, market and civil society, as in Ecoserveis/INFORSE. *"Ecoserveis positions itself halfway between research and marketing. The founders were two engineers who wanted to work this field outside the university, where they were doing research. The main objectives was to offer training, information and education to normal citizens."* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/httpwwwecoserveisnet>

The following CTP from the Italian Shareable Co-Bologna and LabGov 'Laboratory for the Governance of the Commons' initiative shows how the development of hybrid arrangements itself was taken up as a topic for scientific research and education – which can be considered as a form of 'academic shelter' but also as an indication of the commons-oriented SI that typically aims for hybrid institutional arrangements.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-establishment-of-labgov-and-its-evolution-from-single-faculty-to-multiple-faculties-of-the-luiss-guido-carli-university-of-rome>

The German Science Shop Bonn constructed a certain state-academia collaboration in which unemployed academics were made available to work in the professionalizing Science Shops.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/first-paid-staff>

## **Isomorphism**

Isomorphism, mission drift, capture, watering down, normalization, de-hybridization: SI literature and adjacent fields of study have many possible terms to describe the difficulties of finding a balance in hybrid arrangements, and to avoid becoming too comfortable or imprisoned in an institutional home to the point that the transformative CARP activities are somewhat neglected. Isomorphism tends to be framed negatively<sup>6</sup>, and perhaps more than is empirically warranted. We therefore present evidence of both empowering and disempowering isomorphism, and in the end some traces of ‘institutional mimicry’ i.e. strategic suggestion/pretense of isomorphism.

## **Empowering isomorphism**

There is substantial evidence of this, a side of isomorphism that seems somewhat neglected in the current P8 formulation.

The ethical banking of FEBEA/FIARE can be considered an exemplar for the isomorphism, i.e. conformity to in this case banking regulations, needed to operate and exist as a transformative activity. The example shows that a license to operate was an absolute requirement, and meeting it was highly empowering.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/fiare-obtains-the-inscription-in-the-spanish-register-of-financial-entities>

On the other hand, the Crédal/FEBEA quasi-bank in Belgium also experienced that the operation as a credit cooperative was still difficult and imprisoning: the requirements for public offerings (developing a prospectus) were highly unfavourable them, and for a long time effectively had them refrain from public offering. *“The main lesson that the interviewee highlights from this critical turning point is the key role that public institutions, concretely, financial regulators, have played in the development of Crédal and, can play for any social innovation. Public authorities often have approved laws focusing on large-scale companies, but which have negative-side effects on medium-size or small initiatives.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/legal-restrictions-to-public-fundraising-of-non-banking-institutions>

Similarly, the MOI “Movement of Occupants and Tenants” initiative (ICA) has been engaged in the telling activity of ‘building without bricks’, i.e. the acquisition of legal status for occupying of buildings. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-moi>

This example of literal institutional homelessness indicates 1) how disempowering homelessness and lack of legal status can be, but also 2) how finding an institutional home can be transformative in an isomorphic way: what used to be deviant, is turned into regular activity. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/portfolio-of-land> indicates land occupation as a

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<sup>6</sup> Pel, B. and Bauler, T. (2014) The institutionalization of social innovation : between transformation and capture (TRANSIT working paper 2)

means to enforce this. The <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/co-operative-housing-law-in-buenos-aires-city> CTP from MOI clarifies how the legal anchoring emerged as a hybrid, in the sense that various civil society, academic and governmental organizations have together developed the Law 341 on Housing, Policy Instrumentation and Mortgage Guarantee.

On the other hand, the following CTP from the ICA/CCVQ initiative indicates how the state-supported sheltering of people was serving party-political motives (co-option). The hybrid construction of and quest for independence through cooperatives was a response to this imprisoning kind of institutional home. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/legal-capacity-and-buying-of-land>

The necessary isomorphism for Ecovillage Bergen was meeting with requirements of local spatial planning, in order to be able to acquire a plot of land and exist as an Ecovillage.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/purchasing-the-land-receiving-the-key>

This reminds of the institutional isomorphism, or reproduction of dominant institutions, that is underlying many activities: The members could imagine complete institutional homelessness, but they could not realize such transcendence.

The Hackerspace-1 found itself a suitable hybrid arrangement, the CIC – but also found that the casting of their initiative (originally starting from a Facebook-group) into a form that was legible to authorities was empowering. One concrete effect was the access to lower insurance premiums, which other Hackerspaces struggled to obtain. The isomorphism – to a specifically created alternative institutional form that is – also forced the members to reflect on their socially innovative states, their political independence, and their significance to the community, as this followed from the CIC status.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp5-company-structure>

The Mexican Slow Food initiative similarly needed a legal status that allowed to receive donations and become eligible for joint projects with governments, private sector organisations and foundations. *“As a consequence of the critical turning point, Slow Food has signed a number of agreements, in the last two years, with several private Foundations and public institutions to conduct Slow Food projects”.* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/constitution-of-the-non-profit-association-rcomida-lentar>

An important dimension of empowerment-through-isomorphism seems to reside in mechanisms of accreditation and labelling, which in turn can be used to gain acknowledgement as innovative, desirable, relevant activity to be granted an institutional home (and associated resources) by governments. The following CTP of a Tunisian Living Lab Sfax described a hard-won accreditation by “IEEE, the world's largest technical professional organization dedicated to advancing technology for the benefit of humanity”, for the Smart Mobility-focused Living Lab activities. *“Moreover, the CTP’s impact extends to Sfax city as a whole. The affiliation of Sfax as a ‘Smart City’ proves that Sfax has numerous Smart City initiatives and projects, and has a potential for becoming a Smart City in the future. Further on, the international label gave Sfax an edge to attract more international funding and projects, as well as more tourists, according to Adel Alimi.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp6-application-process-and-certification-of-ieee>  
See also <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp5-application-of-a-quality-management-system-to-acquire-iso-certification>

The Ecovillage Schloss Tempelhof provides another example of empowering (or just necessary) isomorphism. The Ecovillage emphasizes the importance of schooling and upbringing for transformation of individuals and society. But for their innovative concept of 'reform village school' to be realized, they did need considerable perseverance to obtain the crucial permission to run a school by the Education ministry.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/foundation-of-village-school>

## Disempowering Isomorphism

Isomorphism, as expressed in P8, can indeed be disempowering as the alternative social relations relapse into the regular ones that one sought to change or provide an alternative to. The evidence below shows it has various faces and nuances.

A paradigmatic example can be considered the Timebanks – which are quasi-market exchanges that are meant to be based on reciprocity rather than utilitarian-instrumental reasoning only. The following fragment of Shareable Bloomington shows in a nutshell how isomorphism can be 'practical' but no less undermining of transformative ambitions.

*“According to Andrea it is important to be exact about what you need from the person you are going to do an exchange with. Andrea also emphasizes that they ask people not to exchange goods in the form of money: “The moment that you are doing that conversion from time to money, you are kind of breaking the system that we want, which is completely parallel from the capitalist market.””*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp4-the-formalization-of-timebank-in-sharebloomington>

The Impact Hub Amsterdam CTP indicates how 'professionalization' empowered the individual social entrepreneurs involved to become more organized and efficient. The introduction of a hired manager did make the initiative into more of a regular enterprise.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/professionalising-from-volunteers-to-hired-management>

See also <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/hiring-new-manager> for roughly similar struggles to balance the operational pros of professionalization with staying true to the hybrid constitution of the Impact Hubs.

For Slow Food to gain ground in the USA, a degree of isomorphism and attenuation of institution-challenging was important. The following CTP shows the European transformative discourses were uncoupled from the Slow Food concept to make it more appetizing for the restaurant sector (yet this entailed disempowerment in the form of watering down of transformative ambitions)

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/constitution-of-the-slow-food-usa-national-association>

*“However, as the movement get in mature in the USA, it became less a sort of “looking towards Europe” to focuses more on American food traditions, agriculture heritage and supporting to green producers. Thus, the North American activists adapted the European leftist discourse to American society, (e.g. removing anticapitalist positions) due to the fact that first convivium leaders were connected to restaurant industry.”*

A prominent form of disempowering isomorphism, displayed in multiple initiatives, is related to the many requirements for conformity to standards that tend to be set by the larger subsidy schemes. It had Transition Town Bro Gwaun choose instead for less demanding and smaller-scale

grant applications – patching their funding together .“Before registering with EW, the group had begun the process of applying to the Big Lottery, but this proved very time consuming. Registering with EW manifested itself as a viable alternative through contact with their networks. This experience also informed a philosophy of avoiding larger grants which would create a burden and potentially constrain the group’s activities.”  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/registration-with-environment-wales>

## Mimicry

Institutional isomorphism holds opportunities and is in many ways a precondition for transformative SI. It can also stifle and can turn institutional homes into prisons. Many SI initiatives and individuals prove very aware of that. This strategic awareness speaks from various acts of balancing, reconsidering, reflecting upon the appropriateness of their institutional homes, and their continuous activity of designing, creating and looking for (new, adapted) institutional homes. It speaks especially strongly from the ways in which initiatives were seeking to be legible to authorities, conforming to requirements to acquire resources, and to take on desirable institutional forms in quite opportunistic ways. Labelling and branding are key examples of such institutional mimicry – helping amongst others to be successful in the subsidy jungle.

One example of such mimicry is provided by the following Fablab-2 CTP:

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp1-naming-strategies>

*“In order to make it both legible and desirable to higher education institutes, the co-founders decided to call it an Institute, rather than a hackspace, makerspace, or Fablab. “We’re in the university space, they [universities] understand the word ‘Institute’, but we can play with it”. The co-founders then set up a website with the new name in early 2010.”*

The Fablab-4 provides a similar example:

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp2-no-red-flags>

*“Through this work and their own prior experience, they were extremely aware of the prevalent negative cultural connotations around the terms ‘hack’ and ‘hacker’. As described in [CTP3], the search for a space to host the organization was difficult and complicated, involving navigating complex social and professional networks across Cambridge University and the wider business and local government ecosystem. To ease these difficulties, the co-founders decided to avoid “raising any red flags” in their interactions. This included being mindful of their presentation:”*

Likewise, there is the example of ‘Basic Income experiments’ (VBI/BIEN) that were sometimes labelled as such to gain interest, but sometimes rather couched in more innocuous, institutionally isomorphic terms – to ensure that they could find a home in the Dutch regulatory framework for social security .

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-network-of-experimenting-municipalities>

The strategic institutional isomorphism does require a certain set of skills, but also a willingness and the confidence, to engage in the game of branding oneself as a regular, reliable organisation of a certain kind. The following CTP of Transition Town Tooting shows how the initiative turned to some institutional mimicry through a visual communication strategy  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/development-of-a-visual-strategy-organisational->

[diagram](#) *“It is also relevant because it reminds them of the things that they haven’t done: ‘They haven’t really looked at their own capacity or developed facilitation skills. Nor have they managed to establish the community panel.’ Because it shows the wide variety of things they do, some external partners have recently asked why they aren’t a constituted body, saying ‘Why not? Look at all the things you do! You should be’. This is a step towards understanding what they would need to do if they were to become incorporated. (They are currently an unincorporated community organization).”*

## **Homelessness & nomadism**

Institutional ‘homelessness’ sounds very disempowering. Indeed, many SI initiatives have various kinds of experiences with such state that they try to get away from for various reasons. The evidence does indicate that the term can be taken to refer to a broad range of disempowering situations. Just like isomorphism however, also institutional homelessness may have been portrayed a bit too negatively in P8. The following collection of evidence also contains significant indications of *empowering* homelessness, which has been theorized (see conclusions) as nomadism.

### **Disempowering institutional homelessness**

The following Dutch VBI/BIEN CTP shows how radical, transformative SI proposals such as the Basic Income can be dramatically homeless, facing an institutional void: The merits of their proposal are just not articulated well in the economic models of the planning bureau, which consistently dismiss the Basic Income as an unrealistic policy option. BIEN members have therefore put much effort in creating academic shelter for the idea (see above), from which to gain access to government and the dominant economic expertise that informs it.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/bienvbi-ctp-6>

The following MNCI/Via Campesina CTP shows another face of institutional homelessness and the disempowerment it can imply: The disregard of native inhabitants’ rights.

*“...in 1994 a reform of the Argentine National Constitution materialized. One of the changes that were introduced was the recognition of the rights of the native inhabitants of the national territory before the organization of the state. Among the recognized rights was that of community tenure of land. Since the mid-1990s, different conflicts have emerged as a result of attempts by large producers to evict peasant populations.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-mnci>

The Chilean ANAMURI (Via Campesina) displays similar institutional homelessness of indigenous communities, and in particular the subjugation of women alongside and combined with other forms of domination. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-anamuri> Before and after the dictatorship, institutional homes have been found and created: governmental recognition of the rights of indigenous people and their common property arrangements for example, and therewith also more possibility to develop small-scale, sustainable, and empowering practices.

Institutional homelessness, as suggested by P8, is disempowering as it tends to imply a lack of resources and consecutively the evaporation of an initiative due to exhaustion of its carriers and to fading enthusiasm. An example of such process is the following CTP from Danish Transition Town



Omstilling Ry: <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-of-a-new-organisational-structure-and-meeting-process>

Another face of institutional homelessness is failing to cast one's transformative ambitions in a way that appeals to wider society (i.e. finds a home in public discourses). In the case of Transition Town Bro Gwaun (Wales), initiative members addressed this disempowerment by seeking advice on community outreach and communication:

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/training-courses-in-community-engagement-and-outreach>

The TT Norwich 'unleashing event' CTP describes similar outreach efforts – also showing disappointing media coverage as one of the disempowering faces or aspects of institutional homelessness. *"The one important learning point was that they developed their previously underdeveloped understanding of media and launch campaigns – especially in terms of realizing that they didn't really engage the press or the council enough."*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/great-unleashing-of-transition-norwich>

### **Empowering institutional homelessness (nomadism)**

FABLABS-3 exemplifies how institutional homelessness can be empowering (independence), especially as resources can be self-created or obtained through light forms of collaboration.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/fablabs-3>

The following CTP from the same initiative <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp6-committing-to-dedicated-workshop-space> underlines further how they first existed nomadically, in the form of meet-ups around the Arduino open-source hardware platform, and then considered whether there was sufficient interest in creating an organization. Next issues for the still light organization were the availability of resources (equipment, a working space), for which they first relied on whichever incidental opportunity and later found academic shelter (which was partly disempowering as it decreased independence).

The Transition Towns can also be seen to consciously develop and design very light institutional structures - providing no more institutional housing than needed.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/reorganisation-of-transition-norwich-core-group>

The institutional nomadism manifests for example in TT Norwich. Starting as a rather informal network and carefully considering how they could formalize, there were inclinations within the collective to keep it ideologically independent from the Green Party.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/formation-of-transition-norwich-group>

As this nomadic, deliberate homelessness seems to occur more often (Hackerspaces, Ecovillages, Transition Towns, Seed exchange), it seems to be a more than incidental nuance to the institutional home-seeking as articulated in P8.

### **6.3.2.3 The search for an institutional home; process patterns**

***Which patterns (e.g. oscillations, sequences) can be distinguished in their processes of searching for an empowering institutional form? Which are the main internal/external pressures that co-determine them?***

The searching for an institutional home is – as already articulated in P8 – indeed a continuous activity rather than a one-off choice to settle. This becomes apparent already through an analysis of a subset of separate files (an obvious next-step analysis would be to consider the timelines that they form part of). The evidence below singles out some striking examples of 1) the kinds of temporary shelters that SI initiatives find/create, and 2) of their moves to other institutional homes. Regarding the pressures that co-determine these process dynamics, it becomes at least apparent that there are indeed several internal and several external pressures that drive towards transient institutional arrangements and needs for ongoing institutional re-design for initiatives.

### **Temporary shelter**

The following BIEN (SUI) CTP indicates how an initiative was founded (and acquiring subsidies for it) to organize the international congress on Basic Income. It was established, at least at first, as a locally-embedded, project-based, temporary institutional home.  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-founding-of-bien-suisse-in-geneva>

This Danish Science Shop CTP shows similarly how some institutional homes (in this case a university) are found or granted only after a pilot.  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/science-shop-becomes-permanent>

The ESSRG created its temporary institutional shelter in the form of a limited company – after being/feeling forced to leave its institutional home at university due to reorganization and unfavourable policies. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishing-essrg>

The Living Lab Eindhoven CTP details how an experimenting attitude was laid down in policy. As a policy it provided a quite permanent institutional home, but as a policy of experimentation it is also an institutional home in the form of several temporary shelters (experiments, projects).  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp4-a-brave-coalition-agreement-for-eindhoven>

Slow Food (Italy) displays how an institutional home can be constructed in the form of discourse that resonates with various governmental, market, science and civil society – yet also how the discourse is strengthened through a sustained series of Slow Food projects that testify to its values and its acclaimed status as a utopia that can be realized.  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-slow-food-foundation-for-biodiversity-in-2003>

### **Moving to another institutional home:**

Growth, and the need to find a new institutional home that is still a hybrid arrangement but also better equipped vis-a-vis organizational complexity: Ethical banking FEBEA/Italy  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-of-a-new-organizational-structure-within-banca-popolare-etica>  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/celebration-of-fiares-general-assembly-in-madrid>  
indicates how the establishment of a transnational Italian-Spanish ethical banking cooperative required similar moving to another institutional home.

The following Impact Hub (London King's Cross) CTP shows the global diffusion and standardization of the franchise model evoked considerable contestation and confusion about how the Impact Hubs should exist as hybrid arrangements. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-hub-goes-global>

*"The conversation shifted from being part of a movement to a kind of bargaining (...) It felt like we were lost between the economics of being a movement, a business, and a network"* (Bachmann 2014) The following MOI/ICA CTP shows how a more elaborate, encompassing institutional home was constructed around the housing cooperative, including initiatives elsewhere but also a labour cooperative to support the housing cooperative. This apparent diversification of mutually reinforcing SI activities in a federation indicates a certain next-order creation of an institutional home. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/co-housing-federation>

The following Transition Town (Bro Gwaun, Wales) CTP shows a Transition Town starting institutionally nearly homeless, with some light support in acquiring resources from governmental organisations and NGOs, and subsequently taking various institutional forms. *"...thereafter they constituted themselves into a formal unincorporated community group [later, in 2011, they would register as a company, and in 2014 as a charity]."* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-of-transition-bro-gwaun>

Seed exchange/Red de Semillas: Secession as a way to gain independence from a broader rural development platform <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/red-de-semillas-ctp2>

The FEBEA/Banco popolare CTP <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-of-a-new-organizational-structure-within-banca-popolare-etica> indicates how a rapidly growing and therewith 'increasingly complex' ethical bank was reorganized. This was on the one hand a self-empowering move to be able to maintain the principles of the cooperative, yet on the other hand it was also reflecting isomorphism pressures: The Bank of Italy required a transparent structure of the various local branches.

### 6.3.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

This conclusion presents the five main observations on proposition 8. These have been developed through the analysis of 73 CTP database files bearing the 'formalization' tag. The analysis has addressed the following main question:

***How and to what extent are TSI-initiatives aiming to create or find an institutional home, which problematic states (e.g. isomorphism, homelessness or others) are they trying to avoid, and which patterns (e.g. oscillations, sequences) can be distinguished in their processes of searching for an empowering institutional form?***

1. The search of an institutional home is indeed an important challenge for the vast majority SI initiatives. The homelessness can be problematic in various ways, it has become more clearly. Different kinds of lacking resources can be seen to undermine the very existence as a SI

initiative. Telling examples of institutional homelessness are Basic Income, Participatory Budgeting and Credit Unions, which can only exist if they are anchored in governmental structures or having gained a license-to-operate as a bank. The co-housing and Via Campesina empirics also indicate how homelessness can also manifest in the form of rights neglected. By contrast, several other initiatives demonstrate that informal institutions (norms, values, discourses) or very light 'proto-institutions' can provide significant – even if not fully sufficient – institutional housing.

2. Institutional homelessness is not necessarily disempowering (as somewhat suggested by P8). There is significant evidence of deliberate homelessness, or what has been described as institutional nomadism. Aversions to institutional isomorphism, commitments to 'light' institutional structures, the ability to rely on self-owned and self-produced resources are amongst the reasons for deliberate institutional homelessness.
3. Institutional isomorphism is not necessarily so dis-empowering or corrosive to transformative impacts (as it somewhat suggested by P8) - even if there is indeed evidence of various ways in which institutional homes indeed end up as imprisonment. Isomorphism can empower by 1) providing initiatives with their 'natural homes' in well-established institutions (Basic Income, Participatory Budgeting), but also by 2) the tactical, chameleonic repertoires of mimicry that initiatives develop to appear normal, play the game, and assume regular institutional shapes that helps them to reach for resources.
4. Hybrid arrangements are indeed the 'institutional state' pursued by the majority of initiatives – even if many hybrid arrangements display strong traits of isomorphism and homelessness as well. Social entrepreneurship, participative governance and various kinds of 'academic shelter' can be distinguished as kinds of hybrid arrangements that provide empowering institutional homes in different ways to different kinds of SI. The latter category is very prominent – possibly through selection effects in our dataset -, and seems to merit further articulation in P8.
5. The 'search' for an institutional home is indeed a matter of rather continuous consideration, rather than one-off choices of settlement. The search tends to involve institutional 'relocation' and 'temporary institutional shelters' such as pilots and experiments. Especially the latter category seems to merit further articulation in P8, so as to express the intermediate phases and stepping stones between institutional states.

Finally, some reflections of a rather theoretical nature. Along the empirical analysis, some conceptual challenges and resources have asserted themselves that are worthwhile considering in further theorization of proposition 8 (and cluster C more generally). In random order:

- The "search for an institutional home" comes quite close to the 'new organizational forms & governmentalities in TSI' transversal paper by Pel et al., presented at IPA conference 2016. In that paper Foucauldian 'governmentalities' and transitions-theoretical literature on (social) 'niches' were used as two complementary lenses on the search for empowering organisational form. That (as yet rough draft) paper could inform and be informed by further theorization and empirical deepening of P8 outcomes.
- It merits to be specified what we mean by 'hybrid arrangements' (mixing what and what?). Hybridity has been confirmed to be a key defining characteristic of empowering 'institutionalization state', but there are marked differences between the three subcategories distinguished here. The Avelino & Wittmayer (2015) article on Multi-Actor Perspective is an obvious resource. The literature on triple helix constructions and science-society co-production seems relevant as well, especially considering the observed relevance of what has been called 'academic shelter'. (See Pel, B. & Backhaus, J. (under review), Realizing the Basic Income; the

promotion of transformative knowings through competing claims to expertise, Science & Technology Studies, on amongst others real-world experiments that reflect simultaneous institutionalization in science and in policy).

- ‘Institutional homelessness’ might be reformulated as ‘facing an institutional void’; the latter term has some currency in political science and seems to be very appropriate to describe TSI realities. (Even if the database ‘tag’ for it has hardly been used by researchers, suggesting that the term is not of evident analytical purchase).
- Institutional homelessness may be voluntary, and these empirical phenomena have been described with ‘nomadism’ – in line with postmodern thinkers like de Certeau. The ‘rhizomic’ rather than ‘arborescent’ forms of organization that Transitions Towns are seen to pursue by Scott-Cato & Hillier (2010) seem to hint at a similar purposive homelessness. More generally, the home-seeking metaphor of P8 has already been explored and exploited by others, and seems worthwhile to give some more theoretical depth.
- Institutional isomorphism is as yet to be defined – with DiMaggio & Powell as the seminal reference. It has a somewhat negative connotation however that – also in light of the analysis presented – does not help our understanding. More generally, it seems desirable to reconsider the tripartite (or expanded) typology of institutional states, and choose a typology 1) in line with overall co-production framework and 2) devoid of teleology and assumptions of ideal institutional forms.
- Last but not least: Throughout the empirical analysis, the interpretive dimension of P8/cluster C has become evident. There remains the theoretical challenge to deal with the multiple meanings of ‘institution’ – especially in relation to derivative concepts like institutional voids, institutional homelessness/nomadism, institutional change, institutional isomorphism, etc. Arguably, this issue cannot be ironed out easily by stipulating certain definitions and carving out propositions. The planned Pel et al. IPA 2017 contribution will discuss these conceptual challenges, making use of Lowndes, V., & Roberts, M. (2013). *Why institutions matter: The new institutionalism in political science*. Palgrave Macmillan.

## 6.4 Proposition 9: On the remaking of institutional logics

### 6.4.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**Proposition 9.** *SI initiatives may originate in the context of any one particular institutional logic (e.g. state-, market-, community-, non-profit- or science-logic). However, SI initiatives only start to significantly challenge, alter and replace dominant institutions when they are first able to merge different institutional logics and (re-)negotiate new/adapted ones: challenging, altering, or replacing dominant institutions cannot occur within the boundaries of existing dominant institutional logics.*

#### **Analytical strategy:**

The empirical focus is not so much about ‘remaking’ institution, but rather about identifying the institutional logics in the contexts in which initiatives emerged, and how and to what extent initiatives ‘transcend’ (or reproduce) those institutional logics. The concept of ‘transcending’

versus 'staying within the boundaries' of institutional logics seems to be a conceptual complication to resolve upfront. In a co-productionist view, the distinguished institutional logics are pervading social life and they are intertwined. Situated actors and SI initiatives can deal with them creatively (and indeed, recombine), but they cannot choose to be inside or outside of the institutional logics mentioned or transcend them. As such, it is not so much a matter of measuring initiatives being 'inside' or 'outside' 'boundaries' in absolute terms, but more a matter of exploring how and to what extent an initiative is aware of/ critical of/ taking distance from/ reconsidering, the institutional logic(s) in which it originated.

We have only *some* evidence on success, i.e. on (attributable) transformative impacts. So it seems hard to investigate the suggestion that transcendence of institutional logics is a (necessary but insufficient) condition for transformative impact. ("*SI initiatives only start to significantly challenge, alter and replace...*" in proposition text). On the other hand, it does seem possible to extract insights and lessons on how initiatives under study in TRANSIT relate to institutional logics over time, and how this may affect their transformative ambitions, potential and impact. For instance, many initiatives in the Transition Towns and Ecovillage networks seem to have a tendency to stick to the informality of the community logic they originated in, without critically questioning the limits of informality in itself. As they develop over time however, and as network organisations start to form, they might start to question that informality, and as a result, be more open to other more formalised institutional logics (e.g. marketization, bureaucratisation). Our proposition argues that such 'transcendence' is a 'necessary condition'. While it is impossible to verify or falsify such 'necessity' in absolute terms based on our data set, we can explore what empirical evidence we find of how initiatives related to their original institutional logic and how this affects their interaction.

### **Empirical research questions:**

Based on these reflections, we formulate the following empirical research question:

**How does the SI-initiative originate from which (combinations of) institutional logics, how and to what extent does the SI-initiative (seek to) CARP and/or reproduce these and other institutional logics, and how does this effect the way in which the initiative interacts with (CARP/reproduce) dominant institutions within and across those institutional logics?**

We distinguish the following **three sub-questions:**

1. *How does the SI-initiative originate from which (combinations of) institutional logics?*
2. *How and to what extent does the SI-initiative (seek to) transcend, CARP and/or reproduce its original institutional logic and other institutional logics?*
3. *How does the positioning of the SI-initiatives in institutional logics effect its interaction with dominant institutions within and across various institutional logics?*

## 6.4.2 Presenting the evidence

The comparative evidence presented here is based on a combination of (1) keyword searches, (2) full-text searches, and (3) secondary analysis of full CTP descriptions. The Excel tables in appendix provides a detailed overview of each search, of each initiative/ CTP that was fully read, and which of the propositions and empirical questions the CTP provided relevant information for. The Excel also provides an overview of all the numbers and abbreviations used to refer to the initiatives and CTPs.

### 6.4.2.1 Institutional Origin

The empirical material (implicitly or explicitly) refers to at least four different contextual delineations of ‘institutional logics’:

1. **Organisational:** a particular legal/organisational context (e.g. government, business, non-profit, informal community, or partnerships / hybrids, between any of those).
2. **Place-based:** a particular geographic context (e.g. Japan, Brazil, Netherlands etc.).
3. **Domain-based:** a particular functional context (e.g. agriculture, science, education, housing, health care etc.)
4. **Temporal:** a particular period in history (e.g. before/during/after a war, crisis, election, legislation, etc.)

Each of these contextual delineations comes with its own cultural, legal and physical structures and institutions. Often, these different dimensions overlap. For instance, “how-the-informal-community-in-Japan-was-expected-to-deal-with-caring-for-the-elderly-after-WWII” can be seen as a particular institutional logic in which the **Timebanks initiative in Japan (TB IN19)** emerged, which contains a place-based, organisational, domain-based as well as historical logic.

**Institutional logics are messy configurations** of various specific and contextual phenomena that are (de/re-)institutionalised over time. While the CTP database does not provide sufficient contextual and historical empirical detail for fully specifying and unpacking the exact institutional logic(s) in which an initiative has developed, it does provide some useful insights to answer our first empirical question:

#### *How does the SI-initiative originate from which (combinations of) institutional logics?*

The question and the respective proposition #9 focus on SI-initiatives as the entities that are originating. This suggests a focus on the 80 specific initiatives under study in the CTP database, and how these 80 initiatives originated in which institutional logics. However, it is relevant to point out that the database often also provides information on **underlying social innovations (i.e. socially innovative ideas, objects, activities, people)** and where those originated. For instance, how the concept and practice of time-sharing emerged in Japan (TB IN19), or how the decision-making method of sociocracy was originally developed in the context of business, and only later on appropriated and adopted to community contexts such as in Ecodorp Bergen (GEN IN94, CTP55). As such, the answers to the questions on proposition 9, should not only be based on

observations on how the 80 initiatives emerged as initiatives, but also how some underlying ‘socially innovative ideas, objects, activities and people’ (hereafter referred to as ‘social innovations’), (seem to) have originated in different institutional logics.

First, the SI-initiatives under study emerge from an immense diversity of geographic places, sectors and domains. The **geographic diversity of the initiatives spans a total of 28 countries** (18 in Europe and 10 in other continents). While many of the initiatives and underlying social innovations under study seem to have emerged in Europe, there are clearly examples of social innovations that originated elsewhere, such as **timebanking in Japan (TB IN19)** or **participatory budgeting in Brazil (PB IN45)**.

Searching the keywords of theme 1 also clearly demonstrates the **diversity of the “kinds of actors, organizations and institutional logics interacted with”** across the CTPs (see table 1 below). A clear majority is found in **civil society (245)**, **governments (177)** and **academic organisations (86)**, followed by **business (75)** and **international networks (58)**. A total of 44 CTPs were tagged as ‘hybrid/3<sup>rd</sup> sector organisations’.

**Table 1. Keywords searches theme 1 (CTPs & Initiatives)**

<b>Theme 1: Kinds of actors, organizations and institutional logics interacted with</b>	<b>#</b>
Local/regional government	108
National government	37
Political parties	25
Supranational government	7
<i>Government total</i>	<i>177</i>
Civil society organisations	128
Social movements	63
NGOs	48
Unions	6
<i>Civil society total</i>	<i>245</i>
Social enterprises	47
For-profit enterprises	28
<i>Business total</i>	<i>75</i>
Academic organisations	86
International networks	58
Hybrid/3 <sup>rd</sup> sector organisations	44
Other initiatives	31
Platforms	30
Media	23
Regional organisations	23
Institutional void	10
Religious organisations	2



While the keyword searches supposedly indicate what kinds of actors, organizations and institutional logics are ‘interacted with’ during CTPs, they do not indicate how, where or by whom SI-initiatives (or underlying SIs) were initiated. For this, it is necessary to dive into the descriptions of the 80 initiatives. Often, the first out of 6 CTPs naturally provides information on the origin of the initiative, and sometimes, the underlying SI. However, this is not always the case – some initiatives in the database lack their origin story. Based on a reading of a selection of initiatives and their first CTPs, it was striking to notice the diversity of contexts and types of people that founded and developed the initiatives, and the forms in which that they did so. For example:

- **RIPESS Ecocitrus (RIPESS IN12)** started in the 1990s as ‘a partnership between the government of the Brazilian State of RS and GTZ, to stimulate family farming in Brazil’.
- **Hackerspace 4 South-Central England (HS IN40)** was founded in 2009 as a ‘non-profit company limited by guarantee (CLG)’ by two software developers who ‘had initially imagined HS4 to be a more personal space where they - and people like them - would be able to make things themselves’.
- The **Volunteer Labour Bank/Network (TB IN19)**, described as ‘the world’s first formal TimeBank’ was initiated in the 1970s by a Japanese lady who was born in Osaka in 1920, and who founded Timebanking “for improving conditions for women as carers of the elderly”.
- **Living Knowledge ESSRG (LK IN52)** was created by researchers in 2008-9 as an independent limited company in the context of a university.
- **Ecovillage Bergen (GEN IN94)** was initiated by a group of 8 people who purchased a former military terrain in 2013 so as to transform it into an ecovillage.
- **Impact Hub Amsterdam (IH IN21)** was founded by three social entrepreneurs in 2009 as a co-working and incubation space
- **Participatory Budgeting Porte Alegre (PB IN45)** was initiated in 1988 by the ‘newly elected mayor, answering popular demands’.
- **Living Labs Eindhoven (LLb IN35)** was initiated in 2010 by a local government as a policy to cooperate with other partners to facilitate innovation across the city.
- **ShareBloomington (SHA IN70)** started with the ShareFest event, which was organised by a student and ‘a group of friends who he met during the Occupy movement in 2011’.
- **Seed exchange ProSpecieRara (SE IN18)** started as a network of private seed savers (agronomists) supporting free exchange of materials/genetic diversity and knowledge.

(It would be interesting to complete the list of all 80 initiatives according to ‘origin’, incl. by whom, year, legal form, so as to enable a systematic comparison).

Full text searches on specific functional domains (see table 2 below) also suggest diversity, albeit with a clear majority in agro-food, housing, science & education, health care and energy.

Full text searches on specific functional domains	#
Agriculture + food + agro food	95
Housing services	91
Science + education	83
Health + care	57

Energy	44
Water	13
Arts + architecture	12
Mobility + transport	8

### 6.4.2.2 Transcend, CARP and/or Reproduce Institutional Logics

In this section we answer the second empirical question:

***How and to what extent does the SI-initiative (seek to) transcend, CARP and/or reproduce its original institutional logic and other institutional logics?***

Searching the keywords of theme 3 provides a short overview of how the different initiatives and CTPs relate to the socio-material context and the dominant institutions. There seems to be a majority of references to ‘Providing alternatives to institutions’, ‘Experimenting’ and ‘Connecting’. This seems to match the object under study, selected for being socially innovative and part of wider networks.

**Table 3. Keywords searches Theme 3 (CTPs & Initiatives)**

<b>Theme 3: Ways of relating to the social- material context &amp; dominant institutions</b>	<b>#</b>
Providing alternatives to institutions	109
Experimenting	107
Connecting	102
Adapting	88
Formalizing	72
Challenging institutions	62
Altering institutions	47
Lobbying	38
Isolating	28
Replacing institutions	16
Assimilating	16
Evangelizing	13
Imitating	11

(Btw, it is interesting to note that there are only 16 references to ‘replacing institutions’, while at the same time this is one of the main preoccupations about SI, how governments may (mis)use it to replace existing welfare state institutions).

Transcending, CARPing, or reproducing a specific institutional logic is hardly ever the explicit goal with which an initiative starts off. Rather, it seems that initiatives transcend, CARP, or reproduce

institutional logics during the process of achieving their other goals, either willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously. This process often already starts before the initiatives is formally created.

### **CARPing institutional logics**

The timebanking case of the **Volunteer Labour Bank/Network in Japan (TB IN19)**, provided **alternative institutions** for the traditional institutional logic in Japan at that time, characterised by it being the responsibility of women to voluntary (i.e. without being paid) take care of the elderly. The initiative was a vehicle 'for improving conditions for women as carers of the elderly'. The providing of an alternative did not only occur by demonstrating that a different way is possible in a local small-scale experiment, but also by building wider networks that spread these alternative social relations across the wider social context. The **Volunteer Labour Bank/Network (TB IN19)** was a long-term endeavour that enabled women to build a network for future society that they would later on rely on themselves, as such really 'providing an alternative' for the dominant institutions through which care for the elderly is arranged. As described in the CTP description: 'They benefitted directly by the opportunity to connect and organise mutual help within their group and by the possibility that by sustaining their groups over time through continuous recruitment they could also secure help for themselves in their old age by banking time credits and redeeming these in later life' (TB IN19).

However, the Volunteer Labour Bank/Network also clearly demonstrates that **certain institutional logics – or at least certain elements thereof – were also reproduced**, possibly even mirrored within the initiative. In particular, the idea that it is the responsibility of women to take care of the elderly, went unchallenged in an initiative that focused on involving women. The VLB/VLN did not confront or contest the tradition of women as carers, and did not challenge or contest the employment structure (mostly male) or the wage system.

### **Different forms of transcendence/hybridity**

In answer to the previous question, we observed the diversity of legal and organizational contexts and forms in which the initiatives emerged. It is striking to notice that several **initiatives were born out of a partnerships or some sort of cooperation between different sectors/ institutional logics, and/or as a hybrid institutional entity in itself**. Several initiatives have also changed and adapted their legal form over time, as we clearly see in the case of **Ecocitrus (RIPESS IN12)**, which started as a partnership between government and private parties, then changed into an association, and eventually settled as a cooperative (CTP356). Or the case of **Merkur Cooperative Bank in Denmark (FEBEA IN57 CTP31)**, which changed from its original form as an association into a cooperative bank. The cooperative and other legal forms such as a 'non-profit company limited by guarantee (CLG)' (HS IN40) or a limited company within the context of an academic institutions (ESSRG LK IN52) are in themselves inherently 'transcending' different institutional logics and combining elements from different logics into new hybrid entities.

A very different, but relevant, form of transcendence/hybridity refers to the **geographic positioning of initiatives. By embedding themselves in translocal networks**, and by visiting and learning from initiatives in other geographic contexts, the initiatives are (implicitly or explicitly) taking a distance from (some of) the institutional logics in their own local, regional or national context, even if just temporarily and partly, which in turn enables them to become aware of and question the institutional context in which they are geographically located.

Such **legal/organisational and geographic transcendence/hybridity** is not necessarily something that only occurs at the level of the initiatives, but also at the level of the **individuals** who develop these initiatives. Many founders have particular hybrid backgrounds, in terms of having travelled across different geographic locations and multiple organisational contexts (**e.g. HS IN40, TB IN19, GEN IN94, IH IN21, PB IN24**). For instance, the founder of Volunteer Labour Bank/Network in Japan (**TB IN19 CTP450**) is reported to have spent time in the USA, which appears to have ‘influenced her thinking, especially about differences between western society and traditional Japanese society in social roles and relations’. The co-founders of Ecodorp Bergen (**GEN IN94**) had a diverse background, ranging from being part of the squatters movement in Germany to working at the United Nations, and visited several ecovillages abroad before founding their own. The co-founders of the **Hackerspace South-Central England (HS IN40)**, both software developers, had initially imagined the Hackerspace ‘to be a more personal space where they - and people like them - would be able to make things themselves’:

*“We weren’t about outreach, we weren’t about being open - that came later”. Through the early and unintentional networking, the co-founders realised that reaching out to a wider network of people allowed them to keep the organisation interesting, “even to us”; and also to bring in enough people to enable the organisation to afford to stay afloat and be sustainable in the extremely expensive city where it was located (...) From this CTP, the co-founders learnt the importance of reaching out to build the relationships necessary to sustain a small, early stage, social enterprise. As one of the co-founders described: “You see this [what we did] in all the spaces that are successful. You have people who are capable of going out and building the relationships that are necessary, and doing outreach. The ones that fail are the ones that are locked into their existing communities” (HS IN40 CTP247)*

### 6.4.2.3 Institutional Positioning in relation to Dominant Institutions

*We now turn to the third empirical question:*

***How does the positioning of the SI-initiatives in institutional logics effect its interaction with dominant institutions within and across various institutional logics?***

#### **Strategic Transcendence/Hybridity**

In answering the previous empirical question #2, we discussed how initiatives and the people involved display organisational/legal as well as geographic transcendence/hybridity regarding

institutional logics. We also find empirical evidence that **SI-agents (initiatives or individuals) use such transcendent/hybrid positioning strategically to CARP, reproduce or use dominant institutions to their advantage.**

**Transition Towns Tooting (TT IN88)**, for instance set up formal structures so as to be able to get funding (i.e. adapting to another institutional logic to get something from there), but did that in a way that fitted with the logic of the own initiative, introducing a rotating system of co-chairing the association that was aligned with internal values regarding cooperation and shared leadership.

The **Fablab in Southern England (FL IN74)** took its initiatives of a 'materials library' and decided to strategically call it an "institute" (rather than a hackspace, makerspace, or Fablab) so that it would fit within the institutional logic of the university: *"We're in the university space, they [universities] understand the word 'Institute', but we can play with it"* (**FL IN74 CTP214**). It seems that there was not much explicit 'CARPing' intention behind this initiative; it emerged in an academic context as a 'techie' initiative of PhD students, and it essentially remained in the academic institutional logics, now institutionalised as an 'Institute'. However, there was an explicit intention to open the materials library to others: *"Can we turn this into more than just a project we're enjoying? Can we turn it into a springboard for something bigger?"* (ibid). Regardless of the intentions of the founders, it could be argued that such initiatives has the potential to CARP the dominant institutionalised socio-technical relations as exist in mainstream societies, in the sense of challenging centralised production of materials in for-profit R&D departments.

The case of **ESSRG (LK IN52)** indicates how the legal form of a Limited Company within a university (CTP343) provided the initiative to become more independent, and also suggests that this has a positive effect on their transformative potential. 'Forming an independent company shielded them from such political fights. It also enabled them to collaborate more freely or easily with researchers from different universities'.

*"Since we have the independent company in this field, at least for me, it becomes much clearer how you can approach, how you can contribute, to transform the education and academic research, and working together with local communities and students, because we have a special role in that... (...) You know you can hardly really do your work appropriately if you are a part of this establishment (the university), and if you are only building on these traditional forms of higher education and academic research, because they are in change anyway, very often for political reasons, but the same happens with all the science shops"* (**ESSRG (LK IN52 CTP343)**)

The **Merkur Cooperative Bank in Denmark (FEBEA IN57)** developed from a small association into a banking operation:

*"We were established in 82 as a small saving and loans association with a few members, just to organise savings and loans among the members, so it was not a bank as such, only operating with the members and without any legal or supervision implications, which was possible at that time (...) The first European banking harmonisation directive was the first kind of turning point because they wanted to integrate all the credit unions and other associations based on savings and loan operations under the umbrella of the banking legislation. That was implemented in 1985 throughout Europe and because we were already an existence, we were simply given the offer from the Danish financial authorities to become a regulated cooperative bank on the basis*

*of these transformative conditions. We didn't need to have the full capital for a new bank which was a very high amount so we could just start with what we had, which actually was very little and then grow the bank from there. It was a fantastic opportunity to get started with a real banking activity. (...) The main difference, as I have said, is that now we could go to the public, we didn't need to keep going as a members-only thing. It was possible to open an office and to be known to the general public. So, we could grow the small association slowly to a banking operation with deposits and loans etc. (...) The turning point was the offer we were given to become a regulated bank instead of just staying as a saving and loan association and since we were very small and coming from civil society without any big capital behind us, we had to earn our own money so to speak. We could only grow at the pace the income would allow us" (FEBEA IN57, CTP31).*

This quote nicely illustrates a number of things. First, how a small grassroots initiative grew into a larger thing. Second, how government legislation enabled this. Third, how there was an explicit idealistic intention to go beyond "a members-only thing" towards opening to the general public. Fourth, even though the case can be described as 'strategic' in terms of smartly playing into a given opportunity, it is also emphasised how this whole development was not anticipated:

*"We didn't have that in mind from the beginning because although we were inspired from other new social banks that existed in Europe at that time mainly the German GLS bank, we did not have in mind that it might be possible to enhance the operations to a full licensed bank. We thought that we had a small association and we would just keep on with that helping each other with small projects, etc. So when this European regulation came up it was a fantastic opportunity" (FEBEA IN57, CTP31).*

The quotes above indicate not only how government enables a grassroots initiative to grow into a licensed bank, but also how specifically a *supranational* government, namely the European Union, was behind such enablement.

*The case description of **Volunteer Labour Bank/Network in Japan (TB IN19)**, as introduced in the answer to the previous question, also describes how it was 'taken over' by other more innovative variants of Timebanking (e.g. new 'mixed-currency' models) that 'were better aligned to the changing context than 'purist' models of TimeBanking' and had 'greater appeal and effectiveness', which 'enabled them to grow, overtake VLN, and become the dominant forms of TimeBanking in Japan' (CTP450). The superseding Japan Care System Association (JCSA), for instance, made the move of introducing 'paid volunteerism' (CTP451). While there was/is considerable critique of such seeming contradiction, in that particular context it was a way to break through traditional values and the societal stigma of receiving charity. Interestingly, in that particular case, the concept of "reciprocity" was rather a dominant institution, resulting in elderly not wanting to receive charity without giving something back, and since they were too old to volunteer themselves, they felt ashamed. Paid volunteerism was a way to enable the elderly to give something back to the volunteers, even if it was a very small amount (non-market prices).*

Could this be an example of how a hybrid positioning towards institutional logics enables an initiative to better CARP institutional logics than its less-hybrid predecessor?

### **Translocal connections**

The embedment in a global and translocal network seems to confirm the participant's confidence in the face of a critical and sceptical local context. **Ecocitrus (RIPESS IN12)** reports that their organic farming methods and solidarity economy ideas were considered 'crazy' by local and regional community, but they did find themselves aligned with and supported by the translocal networks of RIPESS and FEBEA, as well as the local/regional 'Forum of Rio Grande do Sul'. The co-founders of **Ecodorp Bergen (GEN IN94)** had been longing for a different way of living together in community for a long time, before they discovered the ecovillage movement and participated in the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN) in 2011. It was encouraging to discover that: *"There are many more idiots like me, I am not at all the only one (...) When I saw that it very international, this made me even happier"* (co-founder 1) (**GEN IN94, CTP320**). In the following years, the founders of Ecovillage Bergen have played and continue to play an active role in the ecovillage movement and to further build those translocal relations. Soon after Ecovillage Bergen was founded, it was the first Dutch ecovillage to become a member of GEN. All three co-founders have participated in several GEN conferences in the past years. They also took action to expand the translocal relations towards national relations, as co-founder 1 was directly involved in setting up the Dutch ecovillage network (Ecodorpennetwerk Nederland) and is still one of its board members. The first Dutch ecovillage festival was organised in Ecovillage Bergen in 2013, and has been organised there two more times in the years after.

This case demonstrates how geographic transcendence can be used to develop confidence in deviating from dominant institutions:: starting very locally as a 'crazy' group of individuals, then connecting with an international, translocal level, and then developing a national network so as to connect with other like-minded individuals in the national context and also to normalise their SI-ideas in the national context. **Embedment in a translocal network seems to be instrumental in the interaction with dominant institutions.**

### **Unknotting Dominant Institutions/Government vs. Social Innovation/Civil Society**

It is important that the opposition between 'the SI-initiative' and 'dominant institutions' is not conflated with the relation between 'the SI-initiative' and 'government', or with the opposition between 'civil society' versus 'government'. First, because SI-initiatives can also be initiated by, or at least in the context of, government (e.g. **PB IN45, LLb IN35**). Second, because dominant institutions and dominant institutional logics are not only manifested in government, but also in the institutional logics of civil society. For instance, in the Participatory Budgeting case in Porto Alegre (**PB IN45**), the SI of participatory budgeting was actually resisted by the neighbourhood associations. 'According to the interviewee, there were some representatives in those associations that had political power and proximity to the decision-making people in the city hall':

*"They (the representatives) thought that this new system would make them lose representativeness in the community and their power within the city hall".* (**PB IN45, CTP188**)

So in fact there is an SI initiative initiated from within government, which is resisted by a dominant institution from within civil society (the neighbourhood association). Supposedly, the citizens who

eventually did participate also needed to learn how to participate and to unlearn certain dominant institutional logics around top-down decision-making:

*"In order to participate in the process, people needed to behave well during the assemblies, for example. They needed to wait for their turn to speak, they needed to request permission to speak, to organize their speech. Before this, they did not have any kind of experience in a truly participatory process. The neighbourhood associations were involved in a top-down decision-making process; the president used to be the owner of the association and decided everything"*  
**(PB IN45, CTP188)**

Also, the wish to remain small and informal, and the resistance towards formalisation or professionalization, which is noticeable in several initiatives at different stages of their development (**DESIS IN93, GEN IN94, TT IN88**), can be characterised as a dominant institutional logic in and of itself.

The same unknotting can be argued for the relation between 'dominant institutions' and 'market'. The logic of the cooperative, as chosen by **Ecocitrus (RIPESS IN12)**, does not only challenge the capitalist market logic, but it also explicitly challenges the non-profit logic in which e.g. developing countries or otherwise marginalised groups are dependent on subsidies from richer parties. When Ecocitrus started, Farmers were expecting to receive money from "the Germans" (a company in the project) but the project turned out to be about training. In a way, the whole experience was CARPing expectations about institutionalised relation between market/government-community, and between developing country and rich country (CTP334). Later on, on the one hand, Ecocitrus opened up to market logic in terms of commercialisation (i.e. becoming a cooperative instead of an association), but at the same time it maintained a non-for-profit logic by distrusting capitalism and counting social & environmental gains above financial gains only.

*"Looking back, a private for-profit enterprise associating with a cooperative, which is volatile because it's a company that can change its view, there was no trust between parts. We don't trust capitalism either. You know? So the two parts are together, but both fully mistrust each other. One because it has at its core the financial result at any price, and the other because it can have widespread disruption for decision-making and this can hamper relations. So we had to give up because we couldn't get funding and we couldn't pay for it some other way. We missed it. We came so close and we couldn't finish. We were back to square one. (...) The whole intention was to spread the news, to socialize it. So that's how the cooperative provided a service to society. It's much bigger than what we can figure, because it was able to allow, within its framework, the development of a process that became this. It socialized... Above all, it socialized knowledge, which is the noblest of all. [People say] 'There's no gain.' No. There's a lot of gain. Sometimes it's not just one person that gains something, it's the society. And this, perhaps the purity of the process, to have enabled people to think about this in an economical way, because the environmental and social outcomes are clear. You see? I wouldn't change a thing. I'd do it all over again, even with all the difficulties. (...) The process was remarkable. Well, first you make two completely different entities come together, even with their full mistrust. And it's not mistrust that comes with Ecocitrus or Naturovos but with the capitalist system. They look socialist, but it's not really, they're associativists, that is, people working in an association towards a common good, in search of an objective"* (Technician In Charge of the composting plant and biogas). **(Ecocitrus RIPESS IN12 CTP360)**



### 6.4.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

Based on the main insights from this cross-case comparison around proposition #9 so far, there are three types of conclusions/proposals: (1) conceptual clarification, (2) moderations and specifications within proposition #9, and (3) additional theoretical resources to consider.

#### 6.4.3.1 Conceptual clarification

There is a need to more clearly define and specify what we mean by ‘institutions’ (formal and informal), ‘dominant’ and ‘institutional logics’, and what are the differences and (conceptual) relations between those notions. This is not only for proposition #9, but needs to be consistent across all propositions and respective reformulations. From the empirical material, it seems useful to make a distinction between ‘institutions’ (as institutionalised units of DOFK), and ‘institutional logics’ as specific configurations of multiple institutions in a given context. It can be useful to specify how SI-actors may aim to CARP particular elements (i.e. single institutions) that are part of an institutional logic, while at the same time reproducing other elements. This in turn can be helpful to further specify the dialectic and paradoxical interactions between SI-initiatives and dominant institutions that are configured in institutional logics.

Inspired by the different empirical material, I proposed four different contextual delineations of ‘institutional logics’: (1) organisational (a particular legal/organisational context), (2) place-based (a particular geographic context), (3) domain-based (a particular functional context) and (4) temporal (a particular period in history) (see answer to empirical sub-question 1 in section C4.2 above). Possibly, such typology of institutional logics could help to specify the institutional logics in which initiatives have originated, travelled and ‘transcended’.

The conceptual (and subsequent empirical) challenge that follows is how to distinguish between ‘single’ institutions and ‘institutional logics’, and – related to that – how to distinguish the CARPing of ‘single’ (dominant) institutions, from the CARPing of ‘institutional logics’. For instance, if an initiative claims to (aim to) CARP ‘capitalism’ – does that qualify as a dominant ‘institutions’ or as an ‘institutional logic’? I would propose that both categories imply different institutional manifestations of ‘capitalism’: one at the level of single institutions as specific dominant DOFKs (e.g. privatisation of energy), and another at the level of a geographic/temporal configuration with capitalist traits (e.g. the Thatcherist era in the UK between 1979 to 1990).

Another conceptual clarification that is needed lies in the verb-combination of CARPing. In addition to CARPing there is reproducing, using, transcending and many other verbs as listed under proposition #7. Would it be useful/possible to consistently cluster all those verbs in an abbreviation that can be used across all propositions? One of the questions that emerged during my meta-analysis, was the issue of SI-initiatives strategically positioning themselves vis-à-vis institutions/ institutional logics (see empirical answers to question 3): to what extent does such strategic positioning towards dominant institutions (i.e. to ‘use’ them towards meeting one own goals), to what does this tend more towards CARPing or reproducing those institutions? How, when and to what extent does the ‘strategic use’ of institutions lead to ‘being captured’ by these institutions? For answering these questions, the distinction between ‘single’ institutions and

'institutional logics' might be useful to demonstrate how e.g. an SI-initiative such as the Merkur Cooperative Bank in Denmark (IN57) might make use of a particular institution (e.g. the European banking harmonisation directive) to CARP the overall institutional logic that produced that institution in the first place (a neo-liberal EU integration process). Even if one particular institution might be used and thus reproduced in the process (e.g. the European banking harmonisation directive), other institutions belonging to the overall logic can be CARPed (e.g. a centralised and commercialised banking system).

Another need for conceptual clarification and reformulation, concerns the notion of 'transcending' and 'transcendence'. These are unfortunate terms, given the connotations with superiority and otherworldliness. What would be good alternatives? 'Taking distance' or 'traveling across/ back and forth'? The concept of transcendence relates closely to the concepts of hybridity and institutional nomadism (proposition #8). It would be worthwhile to sharpen such metaphors and then use a consistent language across the propositions so as to clarify the distinction between the propositions in cluster C. In my mind, the distinction between the propositions in cluster C can be characterised around:

- Prop. 7: how SI-initiatives interact with dominant institutions
- Prop. 8: how SI-initiatives are *themselves* institutionalised
- Prop. 9: how SI-initiatives interact with to institutional logics

For both proposition #8 and #9 (and possibly also #7) it would help to specify different types of institutionalisation processes: formalisation, professionalization, commercialisation, bureaucratisation, etc. Institutional logics are not static configurations but can also refer to specific *processes* of institutionalisation. The interesting question being to what extent SI-initiatives 'follow' a particular dominant institutional logic in the institutionalisation of their initiative (i.e. the relation between prop. #8 and #9).

#### 6.4.3.2 Moderating proposition #9?

The original proposition #9 is a combination of three different propositions:

1. SI initiatives may originate in the context of any one particular institutional logic (e.g. state-, market-, community-, non-profit- or science-logic).
2. SI initiatives only start to significantly challenge, alter and replace dominant institutions when they are first able to merge different institutional logics and (re-)negotiate new/adapted ones.
3. Challenging, altering, or replacing dominant institutions cannot occur within the boundaries of existing dominant institutional logics.

Currently, proposition #9 is both a proposition about institutional logics, as well as a 'meta-proposition' on how the relation between SI - dominant institutions (proposition #7 and #8) relates to the relation between SI - institutional logics (proposition #9 part A). I propose to reformulate proposition #9 in terms of *one* focused proposition on **how actors travel through institutional logics over time while developing their SI-initiatives**. Rather than making linear or conditional claims about SI-initiatives *having* to 'transcend' the institutional logic in which they 'originated', it should be more of a process descriptive proposition about how actors (either as individuals or as collectives) travel through institutional logics: *becoming aware of/ critical of/ taking distance from/ reconsidering, 'transcending', returning to* particular institutional configurations in given organisational, functional, geographic or temporal contexts. Based on the

empirical material reviewed so far (needs to be verified through in-depth checking of all 80 initiatives & 480 CTPs), it seems reasonable to propose that **actors (individuals/collectives) who develop SI-initiatives travel across different institutional logics in a particular way, i.e. not taking them for granted, taking distance, creatively combining elements from different logics and re-combining them into alternative and hybrid institutional logics, etc.**

I specifically propose to focus this proposition on actors rather than initiatives, so as to allow for describing of how specific individuals or collectives (groups/organisations) travelled through institutional logics *before* an initiative was started in the first place (or in parallel activities that are not necessarily referring to the initiative as such). The empirical material suggests that many of the **individuals involved indeed ‘travel’ both literally and figuratively across different organisational/legal, functional, and geographic logics, both before and during the development of the initiatives under study.**

While it could be interesting to then also formulate a proposition on how the travelling through institutional logics affects the CARPing of dominant institutions, I would argue that this should be a separate proposition, and I question to what extent the empirical data allows for generalising causal relations at that ‘meta-level’.

#### 6.4.3.3 Additional theoretical resources

In order to tackle the conceptual challenges above and to reformulate the proposition(s) accordingly, I propose two additional sources for our theory development. First, literature on [‘institutions for collective action’](#) and the [‘commons’](#) (e.g. De Moor 2012, 2013, 2015), which seems to provide interesting notions, definitions and typologies to specify institutional phenomena and collective action. This might also help to (1) place things in a more historical perspective (moving beyond preoccupation of SI-discourses with ‘newness’), and (2) address the question of exclusivity/inclusivity, public/private. The latter is particularly relevant as many people tend to criticise initiatives under study for being elitist or for not being political (e.g. Swyngedouw etc.) The frameworks of the commons might help to specify how and to what extent the initiatives under study relate to public goods/ the commons/ common pool resources, e.g. by systematically indicating who are the users/members, what are the rules/institutions involved, and which resources/services are being used and provided. When reading through the CTPs, it seems as if several display a move from ‘members only’ towards a wish to ‘open it up for others’. Frameworks/typologies of the commons might help to specify that more clearly.

Second, it would be interesting to consider more work on institutional hybridity (e.g. Ruef 2000, Pache & Santos 2012, Brandsen & Karré 2011, Doherty et al. 2014). In our work on applying the multi-actor perspective to TSI (follow up on Avelino & Wittmayer 2016), we are planning to build heavily on this hybridity literature. We also aim to use the multi-actor perspective to specify different types of institutionalisation logics – distinguishing formalisation, ‘communitisation’, commercialisation, marketization and bureaucratisation – and to use such typology to compare how empirical TSI cases are being institutionalised/formalised/mainstreamed in different ways and what the challenges are in terms of shifting roles and shifting power relations. The theoretical literature review required for doing so (in the coming months) might also provide relevant sources for next steps from D5.4 to D3.4.

## 6.5 Conclusions and reflections on cluster C

### 6.5.1 Conclusions

In this section we provide a short summary of the main conclusions from each proposition, while in the next section (C.5.2) we provide some brief reflections on the overall implications for taking cluster C forward to the next theoretical integration step.

#### **For Proposition 7:**

- The learning from this meta-analysis was that the distinction of Challenge, Alter, Replace, and Provide can be better framed as Resist, Reform, or Replace and should be included in the reformulated version proposition. We should not get hung up on this ‘top level’ framing, rather we need to characterise the actual strategies that we observe initiatives using when engaging with institutional change. The analysis for P7 has started to map out these strategies and this should be further developed in a next version of the proposition.
- What we see in the empirics is quite messy and diverse interactions, highly subject to contingency and interactions with other developments in the context. The observed relations might fit better with the notion of “bricolage” than that of “dialectic”: the proposal is that proposition should be reformulated along these lines.
- The idea that the initiatives need to hold on to original core intentions while continuously adapting strategies should be further unpacked and specified in reformulating this proposition. This should be achieved by learning from the analysis in clusters A and B.
- This proposition is central to explaining how social innovation can lead to transformative change, and thus is central to developing explanations and theory about TSI: it covers a lot of ground. The proposal was that it should be developed as a single proposition but with several distinct parts (each with a “sub-proposition”).
- The analysis points to further theoretical resources/concepts that should be utilised for this proposition, especially recent theorising of social innovation along the lines of bricolage (Olsson et al. article in GCs special issue for example). It will be important in further developing P7, and the whole of cluster D, to ensure consistency and coherence in how we make use of and adapt existing concepts and theories.

#### **For Proposition 8:**

- The search of an institutional home is indeed an important challenge for the vast majority SI initiatives, and the analysis uncovered various ways in which “homelessness” can be problematic.
- Institutional homelessness is not necessarily disempowering (as somewhat suggested by P8). There is significant evidence of deliberate homelessness, or what has been described as institutional nomadism.
- Institutional isomorphism is not necessarily so dis-empowering or corrosive to transformative impacts (as it somewhat suggested by P8) - even if there is indeed evidence of various ways in

which institutional homes indeed end up as imprisonment. Isomorphism can empower by 1) providing initiatives with their 'natural homes' in well-established institutions (Basic Income, Participatory Budgeting), but also by 2) the tactical, chameleonic repertoires of mimicry that initiatives develop to appear normal, play the game, and assume regular institutional shapes that helps them to reach for resources.

- Hybrid arrangements are indeed the 'institutional state' pursued by the majority of initiatives – even if many hybrid arrangements display strong traits of isomorphism and homelessness as well. Social entrepreneurship, participative governance and various kinds of 'academic shelter' can be distinguished as kinds of hybrid arrangements that provide empowering institutional homes in different ways to different kinds of SI. The latter category is very prominent – possibly through selection effects in our dataset, and seems to merit further articulation in P8.
- The 'search' for an institutional home is indeed a matter of rather continuous consideration, rather than one-off choices of settlement. The search tends to involve institutional 'relocation' and 'temporary institutional shelters' such as pilots and experiments. Especially the latter category seems to merit further articulation in P8, so as to express the intermediate phases and stepping stones between institutional states.

#### **For Proposition 9:**

Need for conceptual clarifications:

- There is a need to more clearly define and specify what we mean by 'institutions' (formal and informal), 'dominant' and 'institutional logics', and what are the differences and (conceptual) relations between those notions. This is not only for proposition #9, but needs to be consistent across all propositions and respective reformulations.
- From the empirical material, it seems useful to make a distinction between 'institutions' (as institutionalised units of DOFK), and 'institutional logics' as specific configurations of multiple institutions in a given context. It can be useful to specify how SI-actors may aim to CARP particular elements (i.e. single institutions) that are part of an institutional logic, while at the same time reproducing other elements. This in turn can be helpful to further specify the dialectic and paradoxical interactions between SI-initiatives and dominant institutions that are configured in institutional logics.
- P9 conclusions propose four different contextual delineations of 'institutional logics', and propose that such a typology of institutional logics could help to specify the institutional logics in which initiatives have originated, travelled and 'transcended'.
- One question that emerged was: How, when and to what extent does the 'strategic use' of institutions lead to 'being captured' by these institutions? For answering these questions, the distinction between 'single' institutions and 'institutional logics' might be useful to demonstrate how e.g. an SI-initiative such as the Merkur Cooperative Bank in Denmark (IN57) might make use of a particular institution (e.g. the European banking harmonisation directive) to CARP the overall institutional logic that produced that institution in the first place (a neo-liberal EU integration process). Even if one particular institution might be used and thus reproduced in the process (e.g. the European banking harmonisation directive), other institutions belonging to the overall logic can be CARPed (e.g. a centralised and commercialised banking system).

- For both proposition #8 and #9 (and possibly also #7) it would help to specify different types of institutionalisation processes: formalisation, professionalization, commercialisation, bureaucratisation, etc. Institutional logics are not static configurations but can also refer to specific *processes* of institutionalisation. The interesting question being to what extent SI-initiatives ‘follow’ a particular dominant institutional logic in the institutionalisation of their initiative (i.e. the relation between prop. #8 and #9).

#### Moderating proposition #9?

- Currently, proposition #9 is both a proposition about institutional logics, as well as a ‘meta-proposition’ on how the relation between SI - dominant institutions (proposition #7 and #8) relates to the relation between SI - institutional logics (proposition #9 part A).
- the proposal is to reformulate proposition #9 in terms of *one* focused proposition on **how actors travel through institutional logics over time while developing their SI-initiatives**. Rather than making linear or conditional claims about SI-initiatives *having* to ‘transcend’ the institutional logic in which they ‘originated’, it should be more of a process descriptive proposition about how actors (either as individuals or as collectives) travel through institutional logics: *becoming aware of/ critical of/ taking distance from/ reconsidering, ‘transcending’, returning to* particular institutional configurations in given organisational, functional, geographic or temporal contexts. Based on the empirical material reviewed so far (needs to be verified through in-depth checking of all 80 initiatives & 480 CTPs), it seems reasonable to propose that **actors (individuals/collectives) who develop SI-initiatives travel across different institutional logics in a particular way, i.e. not taking them for granted, taking distance, creatively combining elements from different logics and re-combining them into alternative and hybrid institutional logics, etc.**
- While it could be interesting to then also formulate a proposition on how the travelling through institutional logics affects the CARPing of dominant institutions, I would argue that this should be a separate proposition, and I question to what extent the empirical data allows for generalising causal relations at that ‘meta-level’.

#### Additional theoretical resources for proposition 9

- In order to tackle the conceptual challenges above and to reformulate the proposition(s) accordingly, I propose two additional sources for our theory development. First, literature on [‘institutions for collective action’](#) and the [‘commons’](#) (e.g. De Moor 2012, 2013, 2015), which seems to provide interesting notions, definitions and typologies to specify institutional phenomena and collective action.
- Second, it would be interesting to consider more work on institutional hybridity (e.g. Ruef 2000, Pache & Santos 2012, Brandsen & Karré 2011, Doherty et al. 2014). In our work on applying the multi-actor perspective to TSI (follow up on Avelino & Wittmayer 2016), we are planning to build heavily on this hybridity literature. We also aim to use the multi-actor perspective to specify different types of institutionalisation logics – distinguishing formalisation, ‘communitisation’, commercialisation, marketization and bureaucratisation – and to use such typology to compare how empirical TSI cases are being institutionalised/formalised/mainstreamed in different ways and what the challenges are in terms of shifting roles and shifting power relations. The theoretical literature review required for doing so (in the coming months) might also prove relevant for next steps from D5.4 to D3.4.

## 6.5.2 Reflections

### Need for conceptual clarification across the three ‘cluster C’ propositions

The conclusions for P8 in particular note the need to sharpen both the concepts and the metaphors used and to ensure use of a consistent ‘language’ across the propositions. And this should also help to clarify the distinctions between the propositions in cluster C. In most cases this involves making decisions on which existing theoretical resources relating to (processes of) institutional change we are going to make use of, and then adapting them in ways that are consistent with the overall theoretical framing developed for TSI theory (especially regarding our use of a relational ontology). Thus this meta-analysis exercise has helped to clarify what essential further theoretical resources we require in explaining how social innovation interacts with transformative change. One issue that comes across clearly is the need to more clearly define and specify what we mean by ‘institutions’, and also ‘dominant institutions’ and ‘institutional logics’. And, crucially, this involves addressing how exactly these concepts are related (in our eventual TSI theory). Another issue is that for all three propositions it would help to specify different types of institutionalisation processes: formalisation, professionalization, commercialisation, bureaucratisation, etc.

The P8 analysis proposes that institutional logics are not static configurations but can also refer to specific *processes* of institutionalisation. The interesting question (for P9 especially) being to what extent SI-initiatives ‘follow’ a particular dominant institutional logic in the institutionalisation of their initiative (i.e. the relation between prop. #8 and #9). If we do take the step that institutional logics can refer to specific *processes* of institutionalisation, and we conceive of them in dynamic rather than static terms, then we need to define them in a way consistent with our eventual typing of institutionalisation processes. And if we do that then should we not also have a dynamic concept of dominant institutions? And still we need to clarify what we mean by dominant institutions? Can we better define them in terms of the dominant institutional logics in a particular context (at a particular time), thereby allowing us effectively to move from a static notion of dominant institutions to a dynamic notion of several (possibly coexisting or possibly competing) “dominant” institutional logics in a particular context, and that it is this constellation and dynamic that initiatives are actually interacting with. Here is a checklist of conceptual clarifications required:

- clarify how we understand and frame the relations of SI to dominant institutions (draw on recent theorising of social innovation as “bricolage”, e.g. Olsson et al. in GCs special issue).
- clarify our concept of institutions (clarify on which existing literature/s we ground it);
- clarify what we mean by an institutionalisation processes and the different types of institutionalisation processes that we observe (address how ‘institutionalisation’ is both something that happens to the initiatives and a something that they try to create/influence; initiatives find themselves changing one dominant institution while reproducing others...);
- clarify our concept of institutional logic; clarify how it relates our concept of institutionalisation process (is an IL in fact a special case on an IP as P9 analysis suggests?);
- clarify what we mean by dominant institutions (should we have a process and dynamic concept here as well?)
- clarify how we conceptualise “strategy” in relation to (processes of) institutionalisation (the analysis highlights that the initiatives have strategies to both respond to being *themselves* institutionalised and strategies to try to influence ongoing process of institutionalisation).

## Overall reflection on reformulating the three ‘cluster C’ propositions

The conclusions for each proposition largely speak for themselves, and already provide some clear ideas on how to reformulate each proposition. Overall the analysis suggests that the propositions each now require some quite considerable reformulation, with the challenge being to marshal the richness of the evidence and conceptual work that we have on the table. All three have the potential to become ‘quite solid’ both for the presentation as part of a ‘final prototype’ of a TRANSIT theory of TSI, and for further development into related journal articles. The analysis for P7 proposes that transformative social innovation can be understood as resisting, reforming and replacing dominant institutions. The P7 analysis characterised strategies employed by the initiatives, and noted that, in addition to strategies that attempt to resist, reform or replace, much of the observed activity has to do with building a platform or movement that provides the basis for attempts at institutional change.

The P9 analysis suggests the distinctions between cluster C propositions can be characterised as: Prop. 7: how SI-initiatives interact with dominant institutions; Prop. 8: how SI-initiatives are *themselves* institutionalised; Prop. 9: how SI-initiatives interact with institutional logics. Looking at the conclusions from across the three propositions suggests that this is a good starting point but that *the findings of the analysis for each of the three propositions actually points them towards increasing overlaps with each other*. The endpoint of this chapter then is to simply note that we still have more work to do in finalising the “division of labour” between the three propositions.

In essence the task is to: i) Identify what different types of institutionalisation process can be distinguished, and what types of interaction with dominant institutions and institutional logics these involve; ii) specify what institutional states can be distinguished (and what they imply); iii) identify the strategies employed (to play into or take advantage of; to influence institutional change; or to respond to threats and counter-moves); iv) clarify empirically and explain theoretically how different strategies engage with different institutionalisation processes, and how different enabling or constraining conditions affect outcomes (as a basis for further practice-relevant insights). In developing this meta-analysis we have been rightly focused on efforts towards unpacking and substantiation, whereas in the next theory building step we need to focus also on developing *explanations* concerning how TSI initiatives engage with institutionalisation.

What we focus on in this ‘cluster C’ work as ‘institutionalisation process’ is also being addressed by Rene Kemp as ‘generative mechanisms’ and ‘pathways’. Paul Weaver in the paper he prepared for the recent Resource and Monitoring Workshop identified three basic pathways in the TRANSIT cases, which he described as: External Funding Pathway, Autonomous Funding Pathway, and Embedding Pathway. In striving for integration, we also need to clarify how we relate ‘pathway’ and ‘generative mechanism’ to institutionalisation process. In closely related research, the ARTS project has come up with five ‘acceleration mechanisms’ (upscaling, replicating, coupling, instrumentalising and embedding) but note that successful use of these mechanisms does not necessarily imply transformative change (Derk Loorbach pers. comm.). We can and should hypothesize the same for the TRANSIT cases, stating that many (maybe even most) of the institutionalisation processes observed may lead to sustained changes in one part of society but not result in more widespread changes. In building a ‘TSI theory’ we still need to address the question of when and under what conditions an institutionalisation process may lead to more widespread societal transformation. Clearly this question has relevance to the TSI theory development irrespective of whether the data in the CTP database provides insights on relations to larger scale transformation processes.



## 7 Cluster D: Relations of SI initiatives and networks to the broader social-material context

### 7.1 Introduction

#### 7.1.1 Description proposition cluster

Basically this cluster is about the broad societal trends that form the background to the CTPs. In other clusters the social-material-context in which new social relations develop is backgrounded (and our empirics are somewhat neglecting the issue). In this Cluster, we seek to *confirm, solidify* and *substantiate* the influence of the socio-material context on SII.

The propositions contain statements how particular kinds of changes, ruptures, epochal shifts, long waves or other broad developments are of particular importance to the emergence and impact of SI initiatives. Examples are the economic crisis, sustainability effects/demands and ICT revolution. These can be appreciated as attempts to *unpack* the transformations in social-material context, and we can take this further empirically. The **unpacking exercise** is likely to bring forward a more refined and multi-sided account of the changing social-material context through which SI initiatives emerge than any (socio-economic, socio-technical or psycho-social) framework would suggest.

In proposition 10 and text the following trends are mentioned.

- **Marketization:** the use of market principles in public policy and voluntary sector in the form of property rights, tendering, contracting out, fees for services & privileges, performance-based pay, product differentiation, instrumental-rational logic being applied to human and nature (commodification), transactions replacing relations (mentioned in The New Culture of Capitalism of Sennett)
- **Bureaucratisation:** the application of bureaucratic rule
- **Changing governmentalities**
- **The rising influence of humans on the natural environment** (climate change, pollution, waste, ...)
- **Scientization'**: the pervading of social life through scientific logic
- **Cultural change**

To these trends we want to add aging population and welfare reforms as potentially relevant.

Proposition 11 says that SII are subject to a process of ebb and flow, depending on the historical context. Existing institutions and SII with transformative aims are dialectically linked to one another. It draws attention to the re-shaping of SII and possibility of a decline.

Proposition 12 contains several statements about the role of crises for the development of SII. It is proposed that crises will offer windows of opportunity for SII, but also draws attention to other forces using such windows for their own goals.

The processes can be studied through direct search terms and related terms. An example of a related term to marketization is neoliberalism. Another related term is exploitation.

Developments in the socio-material context can be a motivator, an enabler or a constraining factor. The cases of TRANSIT have been selected for having transformative aims. For this reason, we expect problematic trends to be mentioned. A question for investigation is whether the problematic trends allowed the SII to draw people into the initiative for ideational reasons and material reasons.

In our analysis, we seek to determine the influence of problematic trends and facilitating elements/developments of the socio-material context.

Problematic trends are not a tag but can be identified with the help of text searchers such as “transformative aims” and “aims” and “goals” with further analysis honing into the nature of those aims. Social criticism may be picked up through terms such as “non-working rent collectors”, “speculators”, “oppression” and “exploitation”.

Cultural change is very difficult to investigate, because of its generality. Scientization and governmentalities are concepts people in practice are unlikely to use and for which there are no suited search terms. The CTPs will be read with those phenomena in mind, in the hope to discover them in an inductive way.

The most obvious key words to make use of for this cluster are the tags.

- 1) Social-technical relations
- 2) Social-ecological relations
- 3) Social-economical relations
- 4) Social-spiritual relations
- 5) Social-spatial relations
- 6) Interpersonal relations

The CTP category of ‘co-production’ is the most pertinent category for the “*relations of SI initiatives and networks to the broader social-material context.*” addressed by cluster D.

The two lists can be expected to identify the different kinds of ‘transforming socio-material context’ and episodic changes (such as crises and new governments or international conflicts) salient to our set of 80 initiatives. They can be expected to bring out relevant background processes belonging to the above list or additional ones.

This way, we hope to uncover the SII's relations to the broader socio-material context. The analysis complements the analysis of the propositions of Cluster A, B and C about the relations within individual initiatives, relations to institutional change processes and relations across/between initiatives.

## 7.1.2 Preview to chapter

Cluster D propositions are relatively strongly shaped by theoretical reasoning, even if they have been confronted with WP4 case empirics. The CTP material brings out new evidence on the role of crises and partly refutes the assumption that they are a reaction to failing arrangements having to do with marketisation and bureaucratisation.

Marketization is a relevant force for the existence of SI networks (especially the Seed movement and the Slow food movement) where it is a direct motivator. In other networks, less negative attitudes are observed. In the case of Arche Noah, a market approach was adopted in response to the prospect of funding cuts from government. In the Living Lab initiative iMinds, market thinking is fully embraced.

Freedom from the bureaucracy of welfare systems is a key motivation for Basic income for BI advocates. The absence of strong forms of bureaucracy within the SI networks shows that they are not fond of bureaucratic rules. Overall, SII do not appear to be a reaction to bureaucracy as such.

The analysis shows that many more contextual processes than marketization and bureaucratisation play a role (such as an aging population necessitating more elderly care and the availability of retired professionals for SI activities). Forms of democratisation and self-management are practiced in many SIIs fitting in with wider democratisation and emancipation processes. SII appear highly suited for self-determination and participatory decision making.

There is a movement element in many SI networks. The movement element appears most pronounced in the Slow Food movement, the Seed movement, RIPESS, ICA and the Transition Towns Network. The movement element is based on shared identity and shared ideas (for instance about the desirability of certain system changes in relation to food, care, shareholder capitalism that is seen as exploitive, science) and narratives of change. The degree to which they are shared requires further research. Despite those shared elements, there are internal disagreements about negative campaigning, which is disliked by some. There isn't a banner (such as the humanisation of the economy or something like that) that unites the different movements, but the movements share elements such as: co-ownership, cooperation, democracy, self-management. Some are openly opposed to neoliberalism, some seek state reform, others do not.

In Latin America, economic crises are revealed as an important shaper of SIIs, in bringing people into SII (the Seed movement and ICA - an umbrella organisation of cooperatives of occupants (squatters) and tenants).

An important finding about the role of crises is that they operate via economic hardship bringing people into SI networks. This shows that SII with transformative aims have next to relational and ideological motivations also economic motivations (to build a house or occupy empty buildings and vacant land).

In the TRANSIT paper on game changers, the social construction element of crises (in narratives of change) received much attention. In the material this is shown to play less of a role. The main influence of crisis is via material-experiential aspects (operating via reduced income, loss of homes and jobs, and personal experiences of hardship and insecurity).

## 7.2 Proposition 10: On the social-material evolution out of which TSI emerges

### 7.2.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**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.*

#### **Analytical approach:**

The proposition is arguably the most pertinent and the most outspoken proposition of the three propositions in this cluster on “*relations of SI initiatives and networks to the broader social-material context.*” The proposition as currently formulated clearly harbours several statements. The first two sentences of P10 state its core assertion. The assertion of social-material shaping may appear to state the obvious – it has some empirical content and surprise value however as clusters A, B and C (as well as social innovation discourse more generally) somewhat downplay this material dimension. P10 should show and substantiate the adequacy of working with a co-productionist framework (which is profoundly social-material in outlook).

A specific caveat for the unpacking of social-material context: There is also P9 on institutional logics, distinguishing market, state, science logics (aka the ‘triple helix’) as well as ‘community’ and ‘non-profit’ logics as (debatable) other logics. These logics have obviously ‘something to do’ with the developments in social-material context in P10/cluster D.

Finally, P10 contains assertions about dialectics, about negating and affirmative ways of dealing with the changing social-material context. These attempts to specify the ‘shaping’ of SI initiatives by their social-material context seem to be very difficult (and laborious) to investigate through the database – whilst these assertions actually do not seem to add much information value to P10. These assertions from the second part of P10 can thus be left out of the meta-analysis – and in further theoretical elaboration for WP3 it could be considered whether these issues of dialectics are already sufficiently covered elsewhere (in clusters A and C, notably).

It will also be interesting to examine the degree to which TSI people think they are part of a countermovement, and - if so - what this consists of. This question is relevant for the humanisation paper which sees SI with transformative aims as part of a broader movement of localisation and humanization.

### **Empirical research questions:**

*What problematic changes in society (external context) are being referred to by SIIs, through statements of transformative aims and through expressions of criticism?*

*Do they see themselves as part of a broader countermovement, if so, which one?*

### **Key words:**

The first 6 key words from Theme 2 are all relevant. For studying the role of specific aspects (such as the attention given to ecological preservation or degradation) they can be used but the categories are rather general since contextual developments are not identified as such.

Relevant full-text searches are *Transformation, marketisation, bureaucracy, movement, reform and aging population.*

## 7.2.2 Presenting the evidence

The word “transformation” is used in 21 CTPs. In Argentina, the privatisation of public goods and expansion of the capitalist model of agribusiness (based on specialisation and the use of chemicals for the production of agro-foods) brought about a transformation of the agricultural sector and the living conditions of many people, in particular in agricultural areas. It led to the creation of The National Indigenous Peasant Movement (MNCI, in Spanish) as a counter response: *The organizations of the **National Indigenous Peasant Movement** were born to defend us from the fate of hunger and misery to which we are subjected by the neoliberal model applied in the country. But on the way we were getting to know our strength and our voice.*”

The word transformation refers to the process of marketization, which drove out traditional agricultural practices and products and undermined the independence of family based farming.

*‘Neoliberalism formed a **model of agribusiness** driven and dominated by large transnational corporations and the technologies they control. They are the main link in a chain that did not leave space without coopting: from the supermarkets that distribute the food to the large industry that processes them, from the companies producing seeds to those of pesticides. This model impacted the lives of our families because it displaced and subordinated our productions, which are oriented to popular consumption, which are based on family work and community exploitation, which are concerned with the care of the environment in which our families have lived since several generations ago.*

*The new model pushed the expansion of the **agricultural frontier**, which is sometimes referred to as a success, but which meant nothing more than the expansion of monocultures and transgenics over fruit trees, pigs, cows, sheep, Corn, cotton, legumes, that is, over the productive diversity we had and needed, over our mountains and our Yungas, all that allowed to ensure a varied, sufficient and accessible food supply for our towns and cities.*

*All this, all these **transformations** lived in the countryside and the city during these last thirty years pushed us to come together, to discuss our reality, our problems and proposals, to organize ourselves.*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-mnci>

The word transformation is not used in the CTP “International Campaign: "The Seeds, Patrimony of Peoples in the Service of Humanity" of Via Campesina/ANAMURI but the description brings out various transformative elements: food sovereignty and the cultural heritage of indigenous and peasant peoples, especially women. The networks takes a critical stance towards commodification of food and the FAO.

*“This formulation of FAO on Food Security was established in the context of an agriculture imposed by neoliberal capitalism, where food becomes mere commodities, and food becomes a tool of domination, pressure and control over people by guaranteeing food only to those who have the capacity to buy them. This concept says nothing about the quality and provenance of food, or how they are produced, or who are producing them. It is against this conception, that the peasants of the world make their proposal to the humanity and establish that only the Food Sovereignty of the towns will be able to guarantee the production of the foods, diminishing the lack of these, in order to advance in the fight against the poverty.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/international-campaign-the-seeds-patrimony-of-peoples-in-the-service-of-humanity>

The term transformation is also used in the CTP “Creation of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity in 2003”. Here the transformation consist of the organisation’s own transformation from a gastronomic association to an environmental association, something which, interestingly, was said to be “not understood by everyone”: *“Slow Food Congress signified a change in the philosophy of slow food. It is a pivotal moment. It means the change from being a gastronomic association and becoming an environmental association (..) Still now, the topic of environment is important for the association. The access to good, fair, democratic food. We are now moving from a focus on good (food) to put the focus on the environment, in the defense of clean and fair (food), prioritizing environmental conservation. We are living now a period of transformation, and all these changes are not understood by everyone”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-slow-food-foundation-for-biodiversity-in-2003>

### 7.2.2.1 Marketisation

Marketisation is a multivaried phenomenon consisting of a combination of the following elements: competition, managerialism (with an important for external control via line managers and performance measurement) and having an earning model. Marketisation exerts a powerful influence on society in the following ways: as a contributor to job uncertainty, performance stress, unemployment, individualisation, materialism and decline of community life (Kemp et al. 2016). The term “marketization” as such received no hits. The term “markets” is mentioned in 6 CTPs. The first of these (Pro Specie Rara) clearly showed the effects of marketization in the form of production being focussed on “high-performance animals” and monocropping, something that is countered by PSR:

*“In today’s modern farming, successful business results seem to be of prime importance and often there’s no place for rare species such as the Copper-neck goat or Rhaetian-Gey cattle. High-performance animals are in demand. Since 30 years the "Pro Specie Rara" organization supports rare plant and animal species with the aim of maintaining genetic diversity. This seems to be decreasing, at the risk of possible negative effects in the foodstuff production chain in the long term. Thanks to the organization, there’s a future for rare species such as the Blue-Sweden potato and Plum-apple. Coop, the Swiss supermarket chain, markets a large part of such products under the Pro-Specie-Rara-Label”.*

Interestingly, the initiative created an alternative market, with the help of a label and a special (cooperative) distribution chain. This shows not a resistance to markets but to certain types of markets because of associated effects.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/prospecierara>

In the case of Arche Noah, an Austrian initiative for the preservation of biodiversity, a market approach was adopted in response to the prospect of funding cuts from government. This involved fundraising in a professional way, having more markets in spring, extension of the gardening season and cooperation with private sector, flower sellers and SPAR.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/arche-noah-ctp4>

Some cases involve resistance to market principles but there are also cases that show elements of acceptance of it. A case of unequivocal acceptance of market principles can be seen in the iMinds Living labs in Belgium. Living labs are an innovation management tool. It consists of experience-based appraisal of an innovation concept or product by potential users. The lab organises the process for external clients for a fee (first 4,000 euro later this was increased to between 15,000 and 25,000), which signalled to clients that they had something to offer. In this connection it was being said that *“if you do not ask anything there is no real respect and no ownership from the client”*.

The market element of the tool is very clear from the following description: *“With a living lab you can actually stage a market (...). So you can validate your marketing strategy before you are on the market. You then start (...) searching for the needs and wants.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp3-questioning-the-flemish-living-lap-projects>

A case in which an element of marketization was resisted is Eco-citrus, a RIPRESS initiative in Brazil, where the higher salaries being paid to agricultural technicians hired to provide services to the cooperative were the source of conflict.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ecocitrus-5>

### 7.2.2.2 Bureaucracy

The word “bureaucracy” comes up twice in the text search, once in a CTP for Basic Income and once in a CTP of ICA/COVILPI. The sentence in the CTP about Basic Income containing the word “bureaucracy” refers to issues in need of action such as fairness, **reduction of bureaucracy** and efficiency, removal of the 'poverty trap', sustainable development, work-life balance, and offering activities for work.<sup>7</sup> In the CTP, mechanisation is mentioned as a transformation. The text about ICA/COVILPI talked about the circumvention of “bureaucracy and disinterestedness of the city government”.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/inauguration-of-covilpis-first-building>

The stance towards bureaucracy and hierarchy is not always negative. A certain degree of structure is viewed desirable by several initiatives, as shown by the following statement by a former board member of the Association: *“It is hard to keep all these ‘crazy’ entrepreneurs aligned. (...) We want to avoid franchise but [we are] still replicating programs that work from one place to another. [It’s a matter of] finding the right balance. Being together as a network, growing as we’ve done and keeping the relationships, trust and making sure the values are still*

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/httpbasisinkomennl>

*based on making the network happen, I think that's great. We need to find out now how to create this new infrastructure, in terms of protocols that work for 100-200 Hubs envisioned for the future. We are very relationship-based in terms of how people develop trust. We want to keep that and build on that and scale while avoiding misalignment. (...) We are being co-owners and as such take biggest decisions together. (...)*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/change-in-global-governance>

Freedom from the bureaucracy of welfare systems is a key motivation for Basic income for BI advocates. Basic income is motivated by the wish of allowing benefit claimants to make their own choices, in terms of work, free from government interference in the form of eligibility requirements and compulsory tasks. For instance, welfare claimants are no longer required to actively look for paid work, to show evidence of job searches or to work as a “volunteer”.

*“Just like the BIEN network that it forms part of, the VBI has been established to promote societal discussion on the basic income, and to have it implemented. It aims for a drastic replacement of social security institutions by an unconditional income that is provided to all citizens individually, at a level that is sufficient for subsistence. This would allow individuals to participate in and contribute to society according to their own ideals and capacities. It would create new social-economic relations: the divide between unemployed and employed, the relations between breadwinners and other household members, the relation between employers and employed, and the relation between wage-earning jobs and voluntary/caring tasks.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/httpbasisinkomennl>

Interestingly, in earlier times, when the social welfare regime was more lenient and levels of unemployment high (because of economic stagnation), some considered their social welfare benefits as a basic income: *“I simply consider my unemployment allowance as a basic income – and I will do with it as I please”*. *The rules were quite more lenient at the time, so that's something people could in fact do - they've become much more stringent nowadays. So people went to live in squatting houses, or do other things, or became full-time activists...considering their allowance as a basic income.*

Basic income is seen by advocates to serve women emancipation (as shown by the below text about BI's effects for the case of the Netherlands): *“In the various principled approaches, it was often underlined that the basic income was not only a socio-economic arrangement that could work, but also a matter of **changing interpersonal relations**. Left-wing parties highlighted the solidarity principles at stake – similar to the earlier utopian accounts of basic income as a right, stemming from Christian-progressive circles. The understanding of basic income as a matter of changing interpersonal relations become particularly clear through the feminist members of the Workplace. To them, the basic income was an important lever through which to phase out the male breadwinner model – after all, it would introduce income entitlements for individuals, rather than households. The feminist imprints of the Workspace were later expressed in the name of the VBI, named fully ‘male friends and female friends (Dutch has distinct words for both categories) of the basic income’.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-dutch-basic-income-association-vbi>

### 7.2.2.3 Scientization

Several observers (chief among them Jurgen Habermas) point to the 'scientization of politics' as a form of depoliticization (political choices are being cast as “compelled by science”). The term scientization yields no hits. The term science is used in 36 CTPs 28 of which are about Living Knowledge. Further research is needed to ascertain if there is an element of scientization but



this is not expected since SIIs are open about their values. Political stances are not always welcomed by members. In the Slow Food movement in the US, political campaigning was a source of contention, although much of the opposition had to do with money being taken away from much valued activities (a magazine and local biodiversity initiatives). Some resented negative political campaigning. *“Most of us want to make change building bridges, not confronting but educating. And it works. I see it. I see the change. You know, it is better staying in the side lines than put the finger blame. It is better to make friends and make bridges. And that what we do and how we work. There is an expression in the America South that says that “you can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar”. You can make change by being nice, and making friends that pointing the finger blame and shame”.*  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/internal-crisis-in-the-national-association>

The Italian-based University of Gastronomic Sciences cooperates with the Slow Food Movement and the authority thereof is likely to be used, but this does not automatically makes this a case of scientization.

Some initiatives rely more on expert decisions than others. In one interview (with an Impact Hub member), entrepreneurship is said to require expert decisions, but the need for acceptance and support by other members is also being acknowledged as important: *As entrepreneurs, we don't want something that is too much participatory, thus taking too long for quick decisions to be taken. But if it's something we don't build together, it won't happen anyway if people feel strongly about it. When you're searching for it, it's not something that's ready and done. We're constantly evolving. The main point is always how to balance these two. Make sure [that] the people taking decisions are actually qualified for that. Need some kind of technocrats, people with expertise to make decision. We're exploring the latest prototype, and the next board will take that forward: Liquid Democracy”* (Interviewee 17, as quoted in [Wittmayer et al. 2015](#)).  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/change-in-global-governance>

There is no evidence of scientization in the CTPs. It is something that is not practiced. Perhaps they are affected by it but this is not brought out in the descriptions.

#### 7.2.2.4 Aging population

The aging of the population came up in several CTP, which is why we are including it in our discussion. It is a direct motivator for the creation of Voluntary Labour Banks (VLB), the predecessor of the Voluntary Labour Network (VLN) by Teruko Mizushima in Japan. *“Mizushima anticipated the challenges of demographic change and an aging society 30 years before these became widely evident. She also advocated time exchange as a more reliable system than either capitalism or communism, both of which she argued were failing. She advocated mutualism (co-operativism) as an **alternative** system. Her advocacy of time as a community currency foreshadowed the **emergence** of other community currencies in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s as means to revive local economies.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-japan-1>

In Portugal, the aging of the population was found to play a role for the activities of Design school. The topic “aging population” was made into a design issue as part of a national competition for ideas called “Action for Age”, which drew on a UK example (cross-national influence/cultural influence).

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/project-raction-for-ager-national-and-international-recognition>

Aging was mentioned as a motivational factor in the creation of a neighbourhood building in Prinsenjagt in Eindhoven, allowing elderly people to socialise.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp5-citizensr-initiative-in-prinsenjagt-faces-challenges>

Aging population is also mentioned in the CTP “Frustration of health care efforts and ambitions” of Fair Shares, when seeking cooperation with the NHS. Aging population is used in combination with the following changes in the socio-material context: a trend towards single-person households; the tendency to do things alone; an increasing lack of trust between people; modern lifestyles, including changing family models and spatial flexibility, causing diminishing social capital in terms of **interpersonal relationships** and social networks; and the increase in the proportion of socially and financially disadvantaged people, which affects lifestyles in relation to health. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-uk-4>

This CTP is one of the few offering an explicit discussion of relevant changes in the social material context. Analysing the social-material context does not appear to be a well-established practice of SI initiatives.

The aging population also can be expected to play a role through the **availability of professionals in residence**. Retired professionals are involved in Fablabs and in Fair Shares (a Timebank) single parents are helped by retired elderly people on the Stonehouse estate.

#### 7.2.2.5 Welfare reform

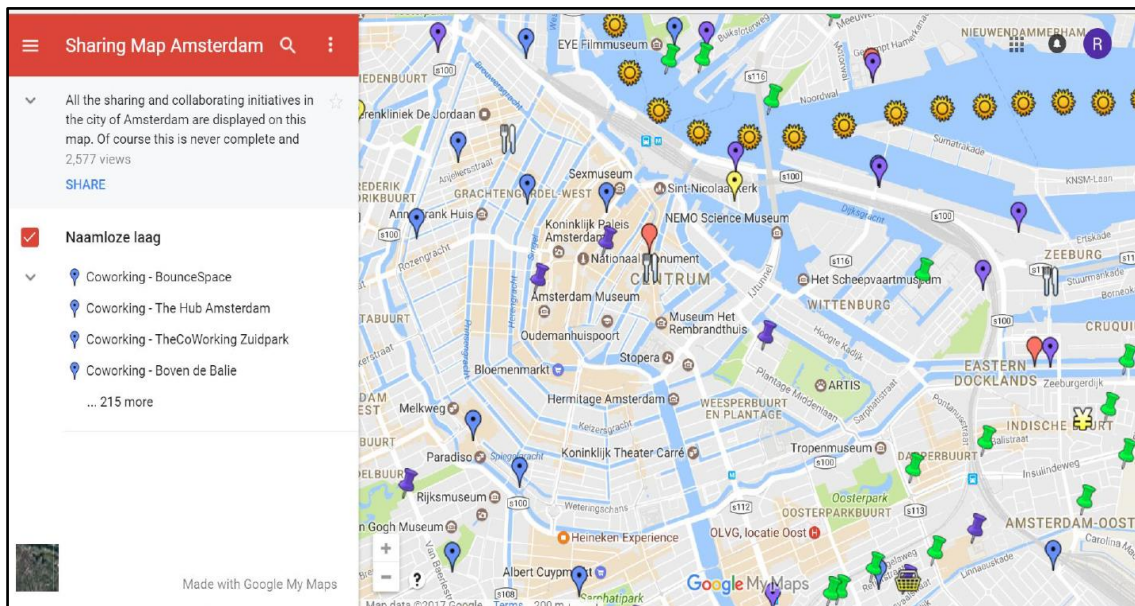
Welfare is mentioned in 17 CTPs. The provision of elderly care via Timebanks in Japan owes a great deal to reforms of the welfare system undertaken to reduce the costs of state-funded elderly care.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-japan-1>

In the analysis of **socio-technical relations** the role of ICT and digitalisation is being revealed.

#### 7.2.2.6 Visualisation technology

All networks have a presence on the internet which is not a coincidence because they were positively selected via internet-based searches. Whereas some local manifestations have a presence on the internet, especially the network organisation are active in showcasing the nature of the SII initiatives of the network, with the help of visualisation technology. In some case, initiatives from multiple networks are being shown as in the case of Sharing City Amsterdam which shows co-maker spaces, urban gardens and product sharing initiatives (for cars, meals, ...).



Another example is the “digital map” (called "With my money") created by Banca Etica allowing members to see the sustainable/social projects funded by BPE.

Socio-technical aspects exist for every case (it is tagged in 16 network initiatives – see Table 1). Next to the presence of technology and infrastructure, the *absence* thereof is mentioned in a few cases. The absence of material-infrastructure elements played a role in initiatives of ICA/CCVQ. Several housing cooperatives in LA encountered problems of the land not having basic services, in the form of connection to the public network of drinking water, to the electric energy network, to the natural gas network and to the drains network. In one case, the paving of the streets of the neighbourhood of the cooperative was done by the cooperative itself.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/infrastructure-problems>

### 7.2.2.7 Socio-spatial relations

Socio-spatial relations are tagged in 80 CTP. Socio-spatial relations often interact with other types of relations, for example, citizen-government relations, as shown by the Living Lab case of Prinsenjagt in Eindhoven, where a group of people of the Prinsenjagt neighbourhood were seeking permission for the building of a community building, to compensate for the loss of a previous building which was broken down by the owner (a housing organization). In this case, the initiative, although welcomed, was not in accordance with the zoning regulations, in particular the principle of ‘open and green spaces policy. A way out of this problem was found by the neighbourhood worker by labelling it as an innovation, something which was explored in a talk with another city official: “When I went to talk with my colleague from the social domain (...) I asked the question: ‘is this now actually something really substantially innovative within the social domain? Or is it just a great initiative of which we already have many, that could still be very good, but that may not justify that we will cast aside all kinds of policies. To cut a long story short, we agreed: No, this really is a fundamental innovation in the social domain. On that basis we advised the aldermen (councillor) to deal flexibly with the zoning and regulation to enable this socially innovative initiative.” <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp5-citizensr-initiative-in-prinsenjagt-faces-challenges>

The analysis on **social-ecological relations** shows that climate change, environmental degradation, loss of agricultural diversity and biodiversity more generally play a role in the initiatives which are actively concerned with environmental preservation (Seed movement, GEN, Transition Town Network, Via Campensina, Slow Food and RIPRESS/Ecocitrus). The word combination “ecological crisis” is not used in any of the CTPs and the ecologically oriented framings beg further analysis.<sup>8</sup> The socio-element involves the well-being of farmers (Slow Food, Via Campesina) and next to the relations between people and relations with nature. Eating healthy food from edible gardens and organic farms is also a consideration.

**Socio-spiritual relations** are mentioned in one case, Findhorn Foundation which started in 1962 as a New Age community and which developed over time into an ecovillage and education centre. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/gen-4>

An overview of the number of hits for the tags of theme 2 is given in Table 1.

Type of relation	# of CTP and initiatives	# of initiatives
Socio-technical	90	16
Socio-ecological	40	12
Socio-economic	87	26
Socio-spiritual	5	1
Socio-spatial	80	17
Interpersonal	109	10

<sup>8</sup> An example narrative from Slow Food is: “The idea is Utopian. But if we analyse the continuous evolution of slow food, if we trace the pathway, we see that our work is grounded on the field. Slow Food is not just a theory, it has a practical basis. This is our big strength, which is the reason for our great impact on the world. We do not share just an idea, a discourse, but we also are capable of demonstrating that revolution is also possible! I do not like to talk about Utopia, if there is not a practical side. The strength of a leader like Carlo Petrini is that, when she says that we must defend small production systems, Slow Food provides examples that demonstrate that our thesis are possible and that we are doing what we say”. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-slow-food-foundation-for-biodiversity-in-2003>

### 7.2.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

1. In terms of problematic trends, marketisation and related phenomenon such as environmental degradation and transactions replacing relationships come out as the most important one. Examples of marketization in SIIs are: fees for services, hiring of specialists, professionalization of the organisation.
2. The CTP material shows that SIIs are co-produced by people and developments. They constitute creative ways of making use of resources that are available, fitting with people's capabilities, availability, personal interests and desires to work with likeminded people in cooperative ways for mutual gain. People involved often share ideas about problematic trends in the world but this does not make the initiatives and local manifestation a response to marketisation and/or perceived gaps and deficiencies in established arrangements and provisions (as was done in earlier version of the paper *The humanisation of the economy through social innovation* – Kemp et al., 2016). One other reason why they are not a response is that practices of working and living in a more socially responsive and autonomous way have been around for a long time. For BIEN and the Seed movement dissatisfaction with state policies (BIEN) and the outcomes of marketization (Seed exchange network) play an important role.
3. Many SIIs have a movement element and transformative mottos showing that they are seeking change in society. The movement element appears most pronounced in the Slow Food movement, the Seed exchange network and the Transition Towns network. It is unclear to what extent they see themselves as elements of a broader counter movement. Interestingly, there is little evidence of people entering SII because of negative experiences as paid workers in commercial firms and government organisations but further research is needed to ascertain this.
4. It proved difficult to find telling evidence of the role of the following background processes in motivating people to do something different or making it more easy or difficult for them to do what they are doing:
  - Acceleration of technological change, social change and pace of life (Rosa, 2009)
  - Changing views of a good life (materialist, self-actualisation, experiencing conviviality)
  - Emancipation
  - Migration and the emergence of a multicultural society
  - Globalisation and localisation (the co-occurrence of these makes this a difficult issue for study)
  - Impermanent social relations
  - Shifting governmentalities/Changes in governance (more horizontal).
  - Shareholder capitalism vs social capitalism
  - Financialisation
  - Flexibilisation of labour market
  - Cultural change (individualisation and cultural values of meritocracy creating winners and loser also in psychological terms)
  - This does not mean that the influence is not there, but simply hard to track down through CTP cases.
5. Analysing the socio-material context does not appear to be a well-established practice among SI initiatives. In the CTP database, we came across only one serious case of analysing the socio-material context, the CTP "Frustration of health care efforts and ambitions" of Fair Shares (a Timebank) in which the following developments were being identified: demographic change and an aging population; a trend towards single-person households; the tendency to do things alone; an increasing lack of trust between people; modern lifestyles, including changing family models and spatial flexibility, causing diminishing social capital in terms of interpersonal

relationships and social networks; and the increase in the proportion of socially and financially disadvantaged people, which affects lifestyles in relation to health.

6. Socio-spiritual relations and socio-ecological relations are less pronounced than socio-economic relations, socio-technical relations and socio-spatial relations. This speaks to the relevance of socio-economic relations, socio-technical relations and socio-spatial relations, which fits with a co-production perspective which holds such aspects to be relevant matters in every case.

The analysis gave rise to the following two reflections.

- The first reflection is that the precise influence of social-material context to SI initiatives begs a deeper (and different kind of) analysis. The role of socio-material context is best ascertained through direct questions about the influence of specific processes and through comparative analysis (by comparing diversity in SI prevalence with diversity in the background processes).
- A second reflection is that it is interesting to what extent the people in SI see themselves as part of a humanisation of the economy process/movement, a localisation and humanisation process/movement, an economy for the common good, a re-embedding process, or something else.

## 7.3 Proposition 11: On the ebb and flow of socially innovative practices

### 7.3.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**Proposition 11.** *Bundles of doings, organisings, framings and knowings (DOFK) 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.*

#### **Analytical strategy:**

The as yet somewhat vague title of the proposition ('on the ebb and flow') and also the more extensive explanation of P11 seem to need refinement in order to make it more obvious what essential element of TSI (and of cluster D in particular) P11 is articulating and how it matters. The basic assertion is that the DOFK promoted by SI initiatives and discourses currently identified and acknowledged (by TRANSIT, by themselves, by policy-makers, by the public) as socially innovative and transformative are only socially innovative and transformative against the background of an evolving social-material background. Their transformative significance and impact are very much contingent upon broader changes in the social-material context– which can elevate them into an apparent 'new frontier' to be supported, a hype to be followed and then abandoned, or make them recede as innovations in the sense of becoming indistinguishable from normal DOFK. One important insight conveyed through the 'ebb-and-flow' is thus that 'social innovativeness' is shown

to be relational and historical. P11 thus acts as a counterweight to the overall preoccupation with SI initiatives, de-centering them from the TSI stage.

This basic topic of relative innovativeness has proven possible to investigate through CTP data – even if CTP timelines tend to span periods of no longer than a few decades. The analysis has been focused through the following considerations:

As a first consideration, the core statement that the DOFK promoted by SI initiatives are not intrinsically (or permanently) socially innovative or transformative is hardly *refutable*. Precisely therefore we should interrogate it critically, however: *Maybe the metaphor of ebb and flow is too simple and schematic? Maybe there is a certain cyclical aspect to social innovation (as suggested), but next to that also a certain absolute novelty, i.e. initiatives in our sample promoting social relations never seen before and specific to a certain era?*

Second, and related to the critical questioning of the proposition, it also needs to be realized that it is as yet a quite abstract and generally formulated theoretical statement – quite easily understandable as an idea but not clearly corresponding with certain empirical states of affairs. An obvious deployment of the CTP database is therefore to try to *solidify* and *substantiate* this core statement: *How many of our SI networks and local initiatives are (just like the Ecovillage example in the extensive P11 text), promoting and practicing DOFK that currently appear to be socially innovative but which have actually been quite regular and normal in earlier periods and elsewhere (i.e. in other social-material contexts)? How many of them can be considered (and consider themselves as) ‘innovations’ or rather as restorations? What other categorizations seem to apply?*

Third, P11 is already formulated in process form, articulating the becoming and fading of entities that are commonly reified and referred to somewhat simplistically as ‘social innovations’. *Time-sensitivity* could be increased by exploring the different temporal patterns through which SI initiatives develop, such as fluctuating dynamics, intermittent re-emergence, era-specific occurrence, or other basic patterns in time. This amounts to a strategy of *unpacking*, trying to break down the stated ‘ebb and flow’ of TSI into more specific categories.

### **Empirical research questions:**

The above considerations on the elaboration of P11 have informed the following questions:

#### **Main question:**

*What is the evidence supporting/challenging the proposed metaphor of an ‘ebb and flow’ of socially innovative practices? And what does this learn us about the relations of SI initiatives and networks to the social-material context?*

#### **Three sub-questions:**

- 1) *How many of the SI initiatives in our sample can be considered (and consider themselves as) ‘innovations’, and which rather as ‘restorations’?*
- 2) *What other shades and categorizations of relative novelty can be distinguished?*
- 3) *Which examples and patterns can be distinguished regarding the ebb-and-flow of relative novelty over time (e.g. becoming, fading and re-emerging as socially innovative or transformative)?*

### **Search strategy and key words used:**

The above questions do not have neatly corresponding key words. They have been answered through a rather piecemeal gathering of evidence and gradual specification of the search, iterating

between relevant evidence and emergent categorizations on the ‘ebb-and-flow’ theme. The first step was to create a basic overview for the SI networks in our sample, on their fit with the ‘ebb and flow’ of socially innovative practices, i.e. their socially innovative or rather restorative nature. This broad-brushed scanning has been informed by the analysis of 73 files with the *Formalization* tag (as considered for P8), and by searching on *Emergence* - typically indicating the starting points of CTP timelines and as such situating the development of initiatives in the broader historical context. These searches sufficed to saturate the overview, i.e. to gain a basic understanding of the innovative or restorative character of the initiatives in our sample.

The second step has been to identify relevant subcategories pertaining to the questions 2 and 3. As more specific categories of the ‘ebb-and-flow’, these have been developed through more specific full-text and key word searches, such as Experimentation and Lobbying. Beyond these rather tentative moves towards unpacking, further elaboration of P11 will have to rely on both empirical analysis as well as theoretical sharpening of the unpacking presented here. Empirically, it is desirable to differentiate further between local initiatives, and especially to further substantiate the relative importance of subcategories. These further unpacking and substantiation will crucially require theoretical specification however, and reflections on whether and how the presented distinctions matter for TSI theory (and cluster D in particular).

### 7.3.2 Presenting the evidence

The presentation of evidence is structured along the three auxiliary questions. After an overview of the innovative/restorative nature of the SI initiatives in our sample (7.3.2.1), relevant other shades of novelty are distinguished (7.3.2.2) and early distinctions of ebb-and-flow related patterns are presented (7.3.2.3).

#### 7.3.2.1 Innovating and restoring SI initiatives – an overview

*How many of the SI initiatives in our sample can be considered (and consider themselves as) ‘innovations’, and which rather as ‘restorations’?*

<i>SI network</i>	
<b>RIPESS</b>	RIPESS is, also in the framing of members, restorative at least as much as it is innovative. The transnational network rather does political advocacy and re-assertion of values and practices that have become marginalized through neo-liberal modes of globalization. RIPESS seeks to re-invigorate and radicalize the Social Economy, which has a much longer history especially in Europe. The Swiss APRES-GE is involved in innovation but also seeks to restore earlier Social Economy. The Brazilian Ecocitrus cooperative has more of an innovative profile – partly because of its agro-technological innovating.
<b>Seed exchange</b>	This SI initiative is quite exemplary for SI with a restoring logic. Restoring, reviving, reasserting the cultivation, use and exchange of domestic seeds, the network is in a way restoring very traditional practices (seed exchanging). The restoration of these practices has acquired a highly transformative significance however by the increased dominance of industrial seeds – and the associated power concentrations and wielding out of cooperative modes of production. As far as the initiative is innovative, lobbying is an important part of it.



<b>BIEN</b>	<p>The Basic Income goes back five centuries, to Thomas More's 'Utopia'. Since then it has been conceptually elaborated and scientifically underpinned (BIEN network being established in 1986), and politically advocated. The persevering evangelization of an already long existing transformative concept is hard to classify as innovative – on the other hand, the concept has hardly been implemented anywhere and as such it remains innovative. The case shows lobbying as an important element of social innovation.</p> <p>The Dutch case VBI shows a certain fluctuation, of dying out and re-emerging as an innovation. Both the Dutch and the Swiss cases show how BI advocacy is recently being re-invented, and connected with broader SI and innovation in governance such as experimentation, co-created governance, reconsidered social security, internet activism, and referenda.</p>
<b>Time Banks</b>	<p>This seems to be a typical middle-ground case. The basic TB principles of service exchange without money has been around for some time, but the element of time credits which can be spend on services of one's own choice is novel. Time credits as a currency can be mobilized as an innovative solution to specific social-material circumstances. The Japanese initiative exemplifies how TB build on normal, traditional ways of exchange, but are also re-invented as innovative and transformative practices under new circumstances (changed social security system, changing gender roles). The current TB are also decidedly innovative in deploying ICT tools as supporting backbones to the exchange system.</p>
<b>Impact Hub</b>	<p>This initiative can be considered one the of the SI initiatives that is decidedly innovative, and driven by an experimental attitude.</p>
<b>OIDP</b>	<p>This initiative shares the innovative, experimental attitude in some contexts, and the dedication to experimenting governance. On the other hand, there is a certain restorative element in it, in the sense of a re-establishment of trust in government and voice of citizens. This restorative character is more evident in the post-dictatorial Brazil case of Porto Alegre than in Amsterdam.</p>
<b>GEN/Ecovillages</b>	<p>This initiative can be considered quite restorative, and also exemplifies the quite continuous existence of some initiatives (rather than response to particular problematic developments in the social-material context). GEN members also display clear innovativeness however in their re-inventing and modernising of straw bale house construction.</p>
<b>Via Campesina</b>	<p>Becoming highly transformative and socially innovative and involved in vehement political struggle due to major technological, institutional and political shifts in social-material context. Restorative in nature, to protect communal peasant agriculture and restore food sovereignty. It is one of the examples in which political lobbying is a major part of the innovation activities.</p>
<b>Living labs</b>	<p>This initiative is one of the examples of decidedly innovative initiatives. The experimenting attitude strongly developed, and experimentation and co-created governance are themselves key elements of the transformative ambitions.</p>
<b>INFORSE</b>	<p>This initiative is innovative in approach, considering the social and technological innovation activities in development of sustainable energy production. INFORSE members are also very active in 'evangelizing' and lobbying however, as activities that rather seek to support and</p>

	consolidate innovation.
<b>DESI</b>	DESI is one of the exemplars of initiatives that are innovative in spirit and experimental in attitude – elevating innovation and experimentation into guiding principles for society more generally.
<b>Living Knowledge</b>	The science shops are innovative in spirit, also displaying an experimenting attitude to society more generally. They have become new against the background of professionalized, autonomized (ivory tower) academic life. The network exemplifies how adoption and dissemination are significant SI activities, next to the experimenting and inventing that are often associated with ‘innovation’.
<b>Ashoka</b>	<u>NB no CTP files available.</u> The actors involved with this initiative seem to have a strong self-understanding of being innovative, and exhibit an entrepreneurial-experimental attitude to social change.
<b>FEBEA</b>	Innovative, as ethical banking was developed beyond social critique and dispersed practices into an institutionalized alternative and transformative concept. It became of greater innovative significance against the background of more conspicuous systemic problems in banking (especially conspicuous through 2008 financial crisis). On the other hand also restorative, in reviving older institutional structures based on reciprocity.
<b>ICA</b>	Restorative, as far as the struggle for the recognition of neglected rights is central. The Argentinian MOI displays a turbulent history in which rights to shelter and cooperative housing first rose as SI, then became illegal and subject to political struggle, and eventually were legalized and to a certain degree normalized. The initiative shows lobbying as an important element of SI.
<b>Slow Food</b>	Restorative (of culture/heritage), which creates some tensions with more innovative moves within the network towards sustainable, animal-friendly food practices. The initiative also shows significant lobbying and evangelizing as parts of SI activities.
<b>Shareable</b>	Innovative in attitude, and actively developing new modes of sharing. Also restorative, similar to Timebanks, in its re-invention and reviving of otherwise well-known principles of reciprocity through ‘new communitarianism’.
<b>Fablabs</b>	Innovative (in spirit), though to a certain extent also re-asserting a maker movement with earlier craftsmanship antecedents. Exemplar for the wave of pragmatic, innovation-oriented and experimenting-minded initiatives, for whom experimenting and relatively unorganized tinkering are transformative goals in themselves.
<b>Hackerspaces</b>	Innovative (in spirit), though to a certain extent also re-asserting and restoring a maker movement with earlier antecedents. Exemplar for the wave of pragmatic, innovation-oriented and experimenting-minded initiatives, for whom experimenting and relatively unorganized tinkering are transformative goals in themselves.
<b>Transition Towns</b>	Innovative, and in many ways acting as initiatives that recombine various sustainable development-oriented innovations. Also to a certain extent restorative, in the sense of ecological protection and reinvigoration of collectivist, communal values and modes of living.

### 7.3.2.2 Shades of relative novelty

The general picture arising from the above overview is one of various shades of novelty. Some initiatives are emphatically innovative, some are actually quite restorative in nature, but most initiatives displays mixtures of innovative and restorative traits. In the following an attempt is made to further unpack these shades of relative novelty, answering question 2:

*What other shades and categorizations of relative novelty can be distinguished?*

The following four categories are distinguished: ‘Experimenting attitude & innovation society’, ‘Reasserting practices and values’, ‘Evangelizing, transmitting and advocating innovation’, and ‘Adopting, importing, recombining innovation’.

#### **Experimenting attitude and innovation society**

Amidst the typical mixes of ‘restoring’ and ‘innovating’ SI initiatives, there are several initiatives that stand out for their emphatically innovative character. Members of these initiatives seem to consider themselves as, or aspire to be, innovators. The initiatives are also generally acknowledged to be innovative, or even seen as frontrunners of the ‘new frontier’. Moreover, there is a certain innovative spirit, pragmatism and experimenting attitude that is common to the otherwise different initiatives of Living labs, Hackerspaces, Fablabs, DESIS, Shareable, OIDP, Impact Hubs. Apart from being quite apparent in the aforementioned SI initiatives, the relevance of this first category of emphatically innovative initiatives also speaks from the fact that the keyword ‘experimenting’ yields 109 hits in the database.

The following CTP from a Belgian Living Lab initiative brings out how this network of initiatives is strongly embedded in an innovation paradigm of open, co-produced innovation processes – valued intrinsically as itself a transformation in governance, innovation and joint development. The Living Labs are indeed paradigmatic examples of the emphatically innovating SI initiatives, i.e. of ‘the experimenting attitude and innovation society’.  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp2-consolidation-of-3-flemish-living-lab-projects>  
*“The EU funded (the funding stream was the Competitiveness and Innovation Programme, ICT Policy Support Programme - CIP ICT PSP programme; that made large scale pilots possible) APOLLON project and this project was important at the level of knowledge creation and also more strategically, for positioning, network development and for creating a credible image. During the closing event of APOLLON in May 2012 there was a minor impact study presented and it showed Mario Campo Largo (who joined the event as the principal scientific officer with the European Commission DG INFSO - Information Society), that the Living Labs approach can be taken seriously as an innovation paradigm.”* See also the CTP on a Dutch Living lab, showing how local authorities endorsed the LL concept, elevated it into policy, and took it up as a shift in governance.  
<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp4-a-brave-coalition-agreement-for-eindhoven>

The Participatory Budgeting (Amsterdam) shows that the introduction of PB was not only about the management of budgets, but also formed part of a broader development towards experimenting government.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/partial-budget-authority-to-citizens>

*“The ongoing developments towards more citizens-oriented practices of the municipality fits well in the current zeitgeist of a changing welfare state and a more facilitative government: “we expect much more from citizens. That is something contributing to this. It is the zeitgeist that plays a role here.” [...]“Welcoming the unknown, dealing with it and having the courage to persevere is what the area coordinator identifies as a lesson:” [...] “Even though the district board committee now acknowledges*

*all the hard work that has been done in the Indische Buurt (such as supporting budget monitoring and engaging with citizens in the neighbourhood), the area coordinator still feels that what she was doing at that time – experimenting – should have political backing earlier in the process: “In the understanding that we are going for something like this, it can succeed and fail, and that you do not hold someone accountable”.*

The following DESIS Lab Florianopolis CTP indicates how participative design, as a novel design methodology, was developed in which the public is consulted for data gathering or input for the designer’s activity, but rather – in more experimental fashion – is drawn into a co-creation process. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/methodological-change-participatory-design>

The following Hackspace 1 CTP further reveals the motive of freedom-to-experiment as a transformative goal itself – their ‘do-ocracy’ organizes a freedom-to-experiment that has gained transformative significance against a background of pervasive control-oriented management:

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp6-operating-as-docracy>

*“I think people do take some time to get used to this hacker trust, this do-ocracy. They’ve never had that type of freedom before. They maybe work in a job with low levels of trust and high levels of micromanagement. They think if they would like to do something differently, they’ve almost got used to the idea of abandoning that improvement – it’s too hard to ask their manager to do something. ‘That’s just how we do things around here’. But then you come here and you want to do something and – if it sounds like a good idea, and it probably is a good idea, and there are no objections, then it’s perfectly sensible to get on and do it. But it’s perfectly sensible for people to be nervous about that because they’re scared of making a mistake, that they’ll screw up in the face of their line manager. And these are all reflections of their working lives that they’ve picked up and have to get over when they come to a hackspace. Just say yes”.*

The following CTP from VBI/BIEN shows how some Basic Income initiatives are diverging from the lobbying and evangelizing that is typical for the basic income advocacy of BIEN and its members, and rather seek to experiment, learn, and ‘just do things’. Their pragmatist attitude sets them apart from the principled lobbying: they pursue the BI emphatically as an *innovation*.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishment-network-of-experimenting-municipalities>

*“Importantly, there was an overall consensus on the pragmatist experimental attitude. The people in the experimenting wanted to just start doing things with the basic income, and considered that sticking to the principles of a full-fledged and universally rolled out basic income would not be helpful. This was one reason why the VBI basic income association stayed in the background – their principled stamp and signature would have made it very hard to persuade the Secretary of State.”*

The following example of science shops (Living Knowledge), “Partnership with the management school”, indicates how the science shops fit in with curricula being geared towards real-world-problems.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/partnership-with-the-management-school>

### **Reasserting practices and values**

A second shade of relative novelty are the initiatives that are, especially when contrasted with the ‘Experimenting attitude & innovation society’ described above, somewhat restorative in nature. This is not to be confused with being conservative, defensive, reactionary or anti-transformative, or with persisting in the reproduction of dominant institutions and the social-material context. Instead, the ‘reasserting of practices and values’ is reasserting the importance of certain things that have become backgrounded, colonized by tendencies of marketization, bureaucratization and

scientization, or forgotten to be re-invented again in new social-material contexts. Some of the members of these initiatives consider themselves (and are considered by others) as innovators, or as re-inventers. But next to or even instead of appearing as innovators in the social-material context, the members of these initiatives tend to have identities as promoters, activists, protectors, militants – or even as just members of a certain collective, who do what they do irrespective of whether it is innovative/transformational or not. A quite large subset of the studied SI initiatives bears more or less strong traces of this ‘reasserting’: Slow Food, Seed exchange, Ecovillages, Slow Food, Via Campesina, Co-housing/ICA, Timebanks, Shareable, FEBEA.

The following CTP from Slow Food Italy exemplifies how some SI initiatives have started out from motivations to protect, reassert practices and values that are perceived to have become neglected in a decreasingly favorable social-material context. In this case, it was considered that the Italian gastronomic heritage was to be protected and reasserted - and to a certain extent also *revived*, in socially innovative fashion. *“However, in those days the initiative had only the acknowledgement of certain gastronomic sectors, expert people and passionate associates interested on the defense of traditional food and wine. According to Slow Food Italy, as a result of the prolonged economic boom that followed the Second World War, the vast culinary heritage of many Italian rural areas, taken for granted for so long, was in jeopardy.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/early-taste-education-courses-rslow-food-taste-workshopsr>

The seed exchange network restores, revives, reasserts, the cultivation, use and exchange of domestic seeds – which is threatened by the increased dominance of industrial seeds. The following CTP from the Spanish red de Semillas “Approval of the European directive regarding conservation varieties” indicates how the politically inconspicuous seed exchange practices became visible to the ministry as SI through the networks reference to a European directive on the topic: *“Ministry of Agriculture was requested by RdS to register 15 local varieties in the proposed catalogue. “You can trade with the seeds of local varieties if they are registered in a national catalogue so we started to negotiate with the Ministry of Agriculture in order to open this catalogue for local varieties. We referred to this directive. The Ministry were very surprised because we were completely unknown as an organization at that time.” In 1999 there was no official discussion about local varieties in Spain. On the other hand the national legislation entered into force in 1971 under the Franco regime related to the green revolution so local varieties were not recognised as different than the industrial ones.” (...)* *“This CTP was also understood as a turning point at the time when it happened as that was the first time when local seed issues appeared on the political agenda. Until that point “nobody talked about local varieties.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/red-de-semillas>

The following CTP from Ecovillage Bergen describes how founders shared a longstanding search for an alternative way of living together. It is one indication of initiatives seeking to cultivate, uphold certain values – not necessarily driven by a will to innovate or transform. The discovery that there was an ecovillage movement had affirmed and strengthened them to pursue their desire for such way of living. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/discovering-other-ecovillages>

*“For many years, long before Ecovillage Bergen was founded, or even before being acquainted with the very notion of an ‘ecovillage’, they were already looking for alternative ways of living together with other people. Co-founder 3 recalls: “When I was 20, I already wanted to live on a farm with a lot of other people (...) That wish to live in community, albeit big or small, has always been there (...) I did live in squatted buildings for 10 years, but the ecological and spiritual aspect of ecovillages was new”. The discovery of the ecovillage movement was experienced as critical in the sense that it confirmed a search for alternatives and a desire to live in community”*

The following CTP of Ecovillage Sieben Linden shows the reassertion of practices and values (house construction through straw bales), but it is especially exemplaric for the ways in which such apparent restoration can be undertaken with a decidedly innovative spirit and ambition. The construction through straw bales may well have been known well earlier –but was re-invented under changing circumstances (such as the rise of a house construction industry that has come to deploy environmentally more demanding practices) and with the intention to also set new, environmentally modernized and future-oriented, standards for construction.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/successful-completion-of-first-two-straw-bale-houses>

Also the Timebanks can be seen to reassert practices with a longer history. In this case it is also an innovating activity though; the following CTP fragment of Fair Shares/Timebanks in the UK indicates rather a certain re-inventing activity. *“The idea of time as an **alternative** currency which is independent from economic fluctuations (such as in- or deflation) dates back to the 19th century. However, only since the **emergence** of timebanking in the 1970s in Japan and the formalization and professionalization in the 1990s in the United States by Edgar Cahn has the timebanking mechanism gained international attention and spread all over the world.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-uk-1>

A strong example of practices that have long been fairly normal but have become the stakes of TSI and vehement political struggle is provided by MNCI/Via Campesina, CTP “Creation of the MNCI”.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-mnci>

The emergence of this movement of indigenous peasant farmers started by making it visible how they had disappeared from political consideration. *“At the beginning it was proposed as the main objective to make known the reality and the peasant struggles, to leave the invisibilization and to break in from the place of the excluded to be included in a new political system.”* Since the 1970s the small-scale agrarian practices of families and communities have been crowded out by changes in the social-material context such as the introduction of genetically modified crops, political shift towards neo-liberal policies, and unequal power relations in production chains. Their struggle is clearly of a restorative nature. *“We love the earth and nature, we feel part of it. Our commitment is for a social change that contemplates the recovery of lands from displaced families, the return to the countryside of excluded families, and access to land and water by those who want to work it. Where there are no more evictions, transgenic crops, or exploitative entrepreneurs.”*

### **Evangelizing, transmitting and advocating innovation**

A third shade of relative novelty can be considered the SI initiatives that are evangelizing, transmitting and advocating innovation. Whether emphatically innovative or rather more inclined towards restoration, these initiatives are putting much efforts in persuading others to adopt or implement certain social innovation. The members of these initiatives are not considering themselves as innovators, but rather as activists, advocates, militants, promoters, or experts. Often considering themselves members of political movements, they are very progressive and transformation oriented, building up legitimacy and political support – contributing to transformative social innovation yet not as inventing innovators but as principled inciters and persevering policy entrepreneurs. This shade of innovativeness can be found across initiatives, and it is typically what transnational networks add to local initiatives. Still there are several initiatives that are decidedly more occupied with the evangelizing, transmitting and advocating of innovation than with innovation and invention: It features prominently in BIEN, ICA, Via Campesina, INFORSE, Seed exchange Movement, RIPESS, ODP.

A paradigmatic example for this shade of relative novelty are the members of BIEN. The highly innovative and transformative concept of a basic income is not something they can realize by themselves – it crucially needs to be implemented by government, and therefore it has to become evangelized and advocated as a welfare state reform that is scientifically underpinned, morally fair, and more generally politically acceptable. Important aspects of this evangelizing of SI are therefore the development of scientific credibility and work on the science-policy interfaces of governmental advisory councils <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/publication-basic-income-report-dutch-scientific-advisory-council> (the Dutch VBI), but also the much broadcasted political campaign for a national referendum on the basic income in Switzerland (BIEN SUISSE) *“The initiative ended after a campaigning period of 18 month with the official handing in of the collected signatures to the Federal Chancellery in Bern. The handing in of 146,000 collected signatures on the 4th of October 2013 was accompanied by the so-called performance ‘Head or Tail’ by the Generation Grundeinkommen on the federal square in Bern. A trucked dumped 8 million “fünferlis” (five cent coins) outside the Swiss parliament building, representing the 8 million inhabitants of Switzerland. For one day, the square was covered in golden coins, creating pictures that travelled through the national and international media. Even though the performance was not largely announced by the campaigners, who had only informed some media representatives, media from all over the world reported about it and Russian television broadcasted live.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/126000-valid-signatures-are-submitted-at-the-palais-federal-in-bern-a-popular-vote-will-come>

The French INFORSE initiative CLER provides a clear example of innovation as lobbying, described in the CTP “2007: Changing the course in Energy Policy”: *The intense debate about the future energy policy of France taking place in 2007 was a critical turning point for CLER, making the organisation directly involved as an advocacy on national level. The main aim was to empower the citizens in relation to their own energy situation, changing them from just being subjects to be important actors in the energy transition. CLER advocates for a decentralization of the French energy system, establishing the idea of energy independent regions as an important part of future energy policy. CLER employs two persons to play an active role in the debate and the organisation becomes an important political player.”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/2007-changing-the-course-in-energy-policy>

The Samsøe Energy initiative (INFORSE) fits well with the first group of emphatically innovative initiatives, but on the other hand it is also very active in evangelizing, transmitting and advocating the kinds of innovations realized earlier on the Samsøe Island. The Energy Academy reinforces the use of the 100% self-sufficient ‘energy island’ as a model to be followed. *“The Energy Academy opened in 2007. The academy arranges workshops, conferences and courses for scientists, companies, politicians, journalists, school children and energy tourists. It has 5000 visitors a year in average. The academy is working locally for the continuous transition of the island towards sustainability, including being fossil-free in 2030.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/inforse-2>

The Participatory budgeting is sometimes positioned as a form of experimenting governance (as in Amsterdam, see above). On the other hand, the following CTP from the PB Porto Alegre initiative shows how it was rather a matter of political advocacy there – in a Brazilian context in which years of dictatorship had made participation and voice more generally an urgent political demand. *“The participatory budgeting itself, as a way of managing the municipal budget, is a contestation towards the system. Even though the party that took over the city hall was a leftist one and had interest in changing the political logic, some people from within the party were not supportive regarding the participatory budgeting.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/results-of-the-municipal-election-of-1988>

Also the following CTPs from seed exchange movement initiatives show evangelizing and lobbying as key activity. The Pro Specie Rara CTP pertains to a public campaign that eventually was affirmatively responded to by Swiss authorities.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/political-campaign-vielfalt-fur-allediversity-for-all>

The Red de Semillas CTP indicates how lobbying and provision of information is an important for them – to ensure favourable legislation. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/red-de-semillas-ctp5> *“The CTP created important learning opportunities for RdS: it is important to have regulation on the topic; however a “softer” law with farmer’s rights and the local, small scale and artisanal production of seeds of local varieties would be desirable. Communication is indispensable, thus Red de Semillas is in continuous contact with the Government and politicians in terms of plant genetic resources, intellectual property rights, GMO etc. Red de Semillas organizes and delivers many training activities, seminars to provide information to the political stakeholders. Each year they hold a fair and a biannual seminar aimed at – including others - politicians.”*

See also the following learning point taken from a CTP, by CCVQ/ICA. The acquisition of public acknowledgement was crucial support to the innovative activities.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/public-acknowledgments>

*“The main learning that developed the CCVQ during this CTP was to generate negotiation capacities and mechanisms to obtain benefits of the state without losing autonomy. The members of the cooperative recognize as capacities the main generated capacities the identification of suitable interlocutors in different state institutions and the correct reading of the political conjuncture in each case.”*

The following CTP from the Argentinean Via Campesina member MNCI shows how the political lobbying and policy entrepreneurship was a phase, after earlier action in the form of protest. This difference from earlier protesting clarifies how lobbying can be considered a form of social innovation, of constructing something new. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/family-farming-law> *“In December 2014, the national congress passed the law 27,118 of “Historical repair of family agriculture for the construction of a new rurality in Argentina”. The MNCI considers this law as the result of the joint work of the entire peasant movement during the last decade. The MNCI participated actively with other peasant organizations in the elaboration of the law. In 2012, Emilio Pérsico, a referent of social movements in Argentina, assumed the position of undersecretary of family agriculture. With him, a member of the MNCI (Ramiro Fresneda) was appointed in the Directorate of support to family agriculture organizations. Thus, for the first time in its history, the Argentine peasant movement went from protest and reclamation to the management and generation of solutions to its own problems.”*

Finally, it is also relevant for the category of evangelizing that some initiatives move away from this activity, and instead decide to become more emphatically innovative in the sense of constructing and experimenting with new institutions. An example of this is ethical banking, which in the account of the Italian Banca Popolare Etica (FEBEA) existed earlier only in the form of social critique. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/constitution-of-the-credit-cooperative-banca-popolare-etica> *“It was a very important critical moment because, for the first time, we saw the possibility of changing, of developing a different, alternative business culture. I do not know if ... before, in Italy, as you can say ... there was a cultural problem you would only talk of alternatives, without doing anything. Then we saw the possibility of developing an ethical banking tool to build an alternative economy model that needed a financial tool ...”*



## **Adopting, importing, recombining innovation**

A fourth shade of relative novelty can be considered the SI initiatives that can be seen to adopt, import and recombine innovation, more than being at the innovating frontline themselves. This category refers to new doing, organizing, framing and knowing that in the context of an initiative are quite innovative – whilst elsewhere, in other social-material contexts, it is considered fairly normal. This category refers to members of initiatives considering themselves and being considered as conscientious or critical followers, as people who seek to import and embed in local contexts, or as people who seek to collect, combine and cross-fertilize. It is difficult to associate specific SI initiatives to this category however, as transnational SI networks typically mediate between frontrunners and followers. In other words, our sample of 20 transnational SI networks is bound to comprise a significant amount of evidence of adopting, importing and recombining, next to and alongside with the other three distinguished shades of innovativeness. In the following, this tentative category is therefore illustrated with just a few examples.

Particularly telling examples of the adopting and importing of innovation are provided by the various Science shop initiatives. Apparently this innovation was already somewhat established in the Netherlands, and went on to normalize further. The Living Knowledge crucially mediated and facilitated the further adoption beyond the frontrunner countries, acting as an innovation brokerage and innovation support network. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-living-knowledge-network>. Apparently originating in NL, the Science Shops had considerable following. Amongst the followers that tried to apply and embed the concept locally was ESSRG – the following shows how the acknowledgement as a somehow established and identifiable SI by important institutions and actors was an important to this accreditation process. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/establishing-activities-at-corvinus-university> The active exportation and policy entrepreneurship of LK network members from elsewhere also indicates how DOFK can be imported that are innovative, but also quite normal elsewhere.

The sometimes tense negotiations on the social franchise of the ‘Hub’ concept and way of working shows attempts towards the broader adoption and dissemination of a set of DOFK. It involves a degree of replication of what has to a considerable degree has been elaborated in an innovative concept to follow – on the other hand there are needs for customization, and for further development of what some consider a jointly owned innovation. *“It is hard to keep all these ‘crazy’ entrepreneurs aligned. (...) We want to avoid franchise but [we are] still replicating programs that work from one place to another. [It’s a matter of] finding the right balance. Being together as a network, growing as we’ve done and keeping the relationships, trust and making sure the values are still based on making the network happen, I think that’s great. We need to find out now how to create this new infrastructure, in terms of protocols that work for 100-200 Hubs envisioned for the future. We are very relationship-based in terms of how people develop trust. We want to keep that and build on that and scale while avoiding misalignment. (...) We are being co-owners and as such take biggest decisions together. We are balancing this with becoming a bureaucratic system: finding ideal balance between participation and agility.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/change-in-global-governance>

The following Shareable Athens CTP shows how a collective of people carefully considered what kind of sharing economy, solidarity-based kind of structures would be valuable to develop, considering the challenges of the Greek social-material context and the kinds of institutional structures they preferred. Having carefully considered what they needed, they considered several options of socially innovative activities and arrived at the conclusion that a Timebanking initiative would fit best with their transformative ambitions and preferred institutional arrangement: *“...it should be an autonomous, self-financed network, functioning under the main principle of solidarity. It*

would not be affiliated to any political party, but would be focused on promoting social and economic, practical solutions to real problems of everyday life. After these main principles had been established, the next step was to decide which tool was the one that they would use.” <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp1-the-creation-of-rtime-exchange-athens-syntagma-squarer>. This thus shows following and adoption of innovation – choosing between options that already have been placed ‘on the menu’ by others elsewhere. The example of careful considerations of requirements also indicates how this following is not to be confused with uncreative following – it is another face of SI.

### 7.3.2.3 Patterns in ebb and flow

*Which examples and patterns can be distinguished regarding the ebb-and-flow of relative novelty over time (e.g. becoming, fading and re-emerging as socially innovative or transformative)?*

Empirical analysis of this temporal aspect is as yet rather rudimentary. As a first step in unpacking, three categories are distinguished that in their combination give further depth and detail to the understanding of an ‘ebb and flow’ of innovation. These are ‘fluctuations and re-emergences’, ‘era-specific innovation’, and ‘hype’.

#### **Fluctuations and re-emergences:**

A key example of fluctuation and re-emergence is the basic income. It is in an ‘eternal’ innovation that exists as an idea for about five centuries, pursued as a utopia for centuries but hardly implemented. As a Dutch Basic Income advocate comments on a dramatic decade of near complete silence on the BI in the Netherlands, the concept had made its way up on the political agenda, fallen from grace, only to re-emerge again from about 2015 onwards. Some explain this by the cycles of unemployment, feeding the relevance of this radical alternative to full-employment policies. The interviewee telling describes the Basic Income as a a ‘peat fire’ - never turning into a transformative blaze, sometimes apparently faded away, but never extinct. *“The 2006 CPB publication is a negative, ‘false’ CTP in the sense that it marks not a breakthrough but rather a setback and standstill in the Dutch basic income discussion. The interviewee eagerly theorizes about the significance of the event for the overall timeline of the VBI. As a longstanding member but especially as a basic income researcher he is inclined to consider it as a phase in a development process that looks like a peat fire. Yes, it could have been a critical turning point [the CPB publication] – however, that is just not what it turned out like. And then you see, suddenly, that two-three years ago, the discussion about basic income suddenly flared up again. I used to have this expression, when describing BIEN in my publications, that, ‘in the Netherlands, it’s always a peat fire that we’re having...for a long time there is nothing, then you a little plume of smoke, and suddenly, wham, it flares up again...’ And that is what we’re [recently] seeing, really...”* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/bienvbi-ctp-6>

The following Timebanks Japan CTP shows how Timebanks have tended to emerge and re-emerge in various social-material contexts, responding to various needs. The Japanese example shows how it could fill the gap in elderly care that had emerged as it was considered less a responsibility for families (and women in particular). *“The change brought about has been the shift from selective application of care benefits for a poverty-stricken minority to universal application for all older Japanese needing care. This has involved overcoming the stigma and dishonour formerly associated with asking for help outside the family. There has been a shift in how Japanese people view the respective responsibilities of families and communities toward the aged. The LTCI scheme establishes the right to obtain services and the fact that benefits can be seen as coming*

from one's own past contributions means that recipients can feel entitled to them within a cycle of reciprocity." But most importantly, the account of the Japanese Timebanks distinguishes three waves of Timebanking – each time in different variations that fit with societal-demographic as well as policy changes. *"This was the first 'wave' of TimeBanking in Japan. This model paved the way for at least two further waves of TimeBanking, based on variants of this model. The second wave of TimeBanking (represented most notably by the JCSA) emerged in the 1980s. Third-wave' 'variants', such as SWF, TJN and NALC were facilitated by the NPO and LTCI laws. Each of these TimeBanking networks was able to offer a variant on the purist TimeBanking model of VLB/VLN."* Similarly rich examples of becoming and fading innovativeness are described in "Mizushima and her Creation of TimeBanking" from Timebanks Japan. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-japan-1>

Another example of emerging, receding and re-emerging SI is the "Creation of the MOI" (ICA/MOI), the movement of occupants and tenants in Buenos Aires (ARG), <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/creation-of-the-moi> . The movement emerged partly in reaction to the liberalizing approach to spatial development of the Menem administration, but also saw the space for its activities decreasing under this administration – which typically was tough on squatting and the associated rights to shelter. Crucially, squatting became subject to severe penalization. "One of the most important events related to the MOI's trajectory is the liberal policies implemented by the National Government of Carlos Menem in 1989. This government eliminated all the the cooperativism promotion policies and the social policies." Later on, the SI re-emerged again, even achieving institutionalization and legal backing and to a certain extent becoming normalized. "These struggles, debates, meetings and precedents were foundations for the recognition in the Constitution of the City of Buenos Aires of the right to the establishment, the support to the self-management processes and the recovery of idle buildings, concepts all expressed in article 31 of Constitution of the City of Buenos Aires. "

Finally, a further shade of fluctuation is contained in the following fluctuating friction with normal practices. The CTP "Low interest rates in lending business" of the Belgian FEBEA member Credal indicates how the 2008 financial crisis made it difficult to keep operating in the lending 'niche'. The initiative had to shift to other activities, next to their core activity of social credit.

[http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp06\\_michel](http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp06_michel) .The example of the changing gap (between the interest rates of social banks/credit unions and those of regular capital providers) shows quite concretely how innovativeness and normalcy change along with social-material contexts. The alternative banks can be expected to continue developing in this pattern of becoming normal at times, and then re-emerging as quite innovative and transformative again.

### **Era-specific innovation**

This category is as yet a theoretical construct. It is meant to articulate the category of SI initiatives that seems to have been spawned by the particular era (or technological paradigm) of ICT.

An exemplar is the following CTP from a Fablab, mentioning the Arduino platform as a crucial co-producer of their innovation: *"This CTP was shaped by the introduction of the Arduino platform to the UK. Arduino is an open source hardware platform, borne out of the student program at the Interaction Design Institute in Ivrea, Italy in 2005. Using a variety of microprocessors and controllers, the platform was created as a low-cost and easily accessible way to create interactive sensory devices. These qualities made it a good fit with (and drove much of) the emerging 'maker' scene, which encouraged learning through doing around physical and material technologies, through low barriers to entry."* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp6-committing-to-dedicated-workshop-space>

Other similar examples are the Facebook-groups through which some initiatives have developed, the crowd-funding through which Basic Income is currently experimented with, the internet activism inciting 'hype', creating exposure and achieving advocacy on SI initiatives, and the software and associated technological skills that facilitate Timebanks software and Credit Unions.

### **Hype:**

There are initiatives that become much more strongly recognized as transformative social innovation through developments in the social-material context. The 2008 financial/banking crises highlighted the transformative significance of FIARE/FEBEA and made the alternative banking into icons of transformation. See for example the CTP "Agreement with the Italian credit cooperative Banca Popolare Etica". <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/change-in-the-communication-strategy-of-fiare-oriented-to-gain-more-public-support>

*"Despite the years of economic boom in the early 2000s, there was a shared perception across the Basque society that banking activity was not conducive to equity, social cohesion or sustainability. The founding entities identified the risks of commercial banking practices that the economic crisis of 2008 would afterwards highlight."*

The following CTP from the Dutch VBI shows how a series of smart media interventions created a media dynamics or 'hype' around the Basic Income that stands in stark contrast to the near-complete silence on the BI that preceded it. It contains valuable lessons on the communication resources currently available for the creation of 'hype'. The publication of an utopian-fresh article on a newly established online journalism platform was just the starting point of a broader media storm, in which alternative/transformation oriented media played an important part by organizing meet-ups around their Basic Income television documentaries. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/publication-influential-basic-income-article>

*"The main lessons the interviewee draws from this CTP, is that even such a publication can make that much of a difference. "The thing that I learnt...is that something like that is just possible...and that, if somebody has that idea whose time has come apparently, for which there turns out to be much interest, that only little things [like this article publication] can set this avalanching process in motion. Well, it's not that simple, there always need to be people who pick it up, and pick it up once more, etcetera. But still, the apparent fact that something little like that publication can have such a large impact on the longer term...that is to me the big lesson here". "*

Another side of 'hype' is that a public discourse about the SI activities of initiatives is developing that makes them try to avoid or downplay a certain identity or banner – in the following CTP of a Fablab, the respondent indicates how they avoided the 'Hackerspace' term, as it would act as a 'red flag' for potential supporters (like the university). *"These events also occurred at a time where the hackerspaces and associated technologies and processes (eg digital fabrication) were not in the public consciousness, and the notion of 'hacking' was associated more with dangerous, illegal, and underground activities than with grassroots innovation, education, and liberation: "People had no idea what 'hack' is. If you say hackerspace, hackerspace, hacking, it's just utterly alien...We didn't learn this anywhere, we just knew that hacking had positive and negative connotations. Newspaper headlines in that era were wholly negative, so we were pretty sure that anyone who wasn't in maker culture would have a negative connotation with it."* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp2-no-red-flags>

### 7.3.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

This conclusion presents the five main observations on proposition 11. The analysis has addressed the following main question: *What is the evidence supporting/challenging the proposed metaphor of an 'ebb and flow' of socially innovative practices? And what does this learn us about the relations of SI initiatives and networks to the social-material context?*

1. The core statement that the DOFK promoted by SI initiatives are not intrinsically (or permanently) socially innovative or transformative was confirmed. The initiatives in our sample promote ways of doing, organizing, framing and knowing that seldom are entirely new to the social-material context in which they are promoted and quite often they can be considered both innovative and restorative. The restorative nature of much activity described as (T)SI is analytically striking. Amongst the possible broader implications of this observation for TSI theory is the idea that current TSI can be considered as re-invention of an archive of doing, organizing and knowing – and that there is a risk of bias towards the present **(7.3.2.1)**.
2. With regard to this general mixture of 'innovative' and 'restorative' significance that the SI initiatives in our sample have in their social-material contexts, there is a distinct subset that can be considered emphatically innovative. These initiatives have been clustered under the heading 'Experimenting attitude & innovation society'. Members of these initiatives seem to consider themselves as, or aspire to be, innovators. The initiatives are also generally acknowledged to be innovative, or even seen as frontrunners of the 'new frontier'. Moreover, there is a certain innovative spirit, pragmatism and experimenting attitude that is common to the otherwise different initiatives of Living labs, Hackerspaces, Fablabs, DESIS, Shareable, OI DP, Impact Hubs. Apart from being quite apparent in the aforementioned SI initiatives, the relevance of this first category of emphatically innovative initiatives is also illustrated in that the keyword 'experimenting' – as indicator for innovative attitude - yields 109 hits **(7.3.2.2)**.
3. Next to the aforementioned category of 'Experimenting attitude & innovation society', three other 'shades of relative novelty' can be distinguished: 'Reasserting practices and values', 'Evangelizing, transmitting and advocating innovation', and 'Adopting, importing, recombining innovation'. Importantly, the initiatives associated with these groups are not considered innovators (by themselves, and by others), but rather as activists, promoters, or advocates. Their activities support the dissemination and anchorage of new doing, organizing, framing and knowing in various ways, but their position in the social-material context is not one of innovating i.e the activities are not generally associated with what innovation is about. By implication, a large share of social innovation is rather inconspicuous as such, compared to the first category of rather conspicuous innovativeness **(7.3.2.2)**.
4. The evidence roughly confirms the idea conveyed by the metaphor of 'ebb and flood', and also substantiates it. The 'four shades of relative novelty' show how a considerable part of SI processes involves lobbying, protection, maintenance, embedding, whilst the invention, experimenting and prototyping appear to be rather short phases. The promotion of sets of DOFK can temporarily acquire acknowledgement as innovation. Particularly relevant evidence are the indications of waves of re-emergence and re-invention, such as the waves distinguishable in Japanese time-banking. More generally, the gathered evidence brings out how the existence as innovation, and the acknowledgement as progressive force in society with certain potentials to confront contemporary challenges, is relational: innovativeness is constructed in a social-material context **(7.3.2.2)**.
5. The empirical analysis has brought forward rather preliminary ideas on patterns in the ebb-and-flow of innovation: 'Fluctuations and re-emergences', 'era-specific innovation' and 'hype'. This rough unpacking merits further elaboration. It could clarify further how SI concepts and initiatives rise along with the Zeitgeist, are abandoned as they are out of tune with it, and can re-emerge in other social-material contexts. **(7.3.2.3)**

## 7.4 Proposition 12: On the construction of crises and problematic trends

### 7.4.1 Proposition and strategy for empirical investigation

**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 innovations can be brought out with greater persuasiveness and visibility. The occurrence of crisis alone is insufficient 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 context manifest.*

#### **Analytical approach:**

This proposition addresses a key element of TSI theorization thus far: the occurrence of, and construction of narratives on, crises (or game-changing developments) in the social-material context. The proposition is as yet quite long, and displays a lack of focus: several ideas about the significance of 'crisis' framings are brought forward, without really converging on a particular point. The core statement of P12 is captured in the first two sentences of P12. This usefully addresses how SI initiatives can actively use elements of the changing social-material context as a source of legitimization. An important question in this regard is: to what extent have initiatives actively used crisis-based framings and did such framings help them to build support? This question helps to build evidence for the core statement that SI should play into sudden and temporary crisis events by drawing attention to deeply problematic trends. In the following a further elaboration of studying the core statements of the proposition is provided.

First of all, the statement is in need of a *substantiation* of the assertion that crisis afford opportunity structures to SI through cases that demonstrate this. A first exercise to do is to take stock of the various constructions of 'crisis' across the initiatives and to examine attempts at making use of crises through SI-based solution framings and through other means.

Second, a related strategy is to *unpack* the as yet rather abstract notion of 'crisis' framings: what kinds of them can be distinguished?

Third, it is worthwhile to pursue the *falsification* strategy. As already expressed in the extensive proposition text: there are some indications of initiatives that consider the notion of 'crisis' to be a misleading framing of the changes in the social-material context (Spanish Credit Union considers that 'banking crisis' or 'economic crisis' downplays more structural systemic problems), and of initiatives (like Ecovillages) that do not seem to be interested much in the construction of (societal) crisis. Maybe the construction of societal crisis is just not so important to TSI as our

(current) P12 suggests? Maybe 'crisis' is just one of the possible framings of the changing social-material context next to others? What other types of narratives can be distinguished?

Fourth, the crisis is not just a labelling issue but also operates in a material sense: through high levels of unemployment (which encouraged and supported the self-building of houses by members of an occupants and tenants cooperative and the creation of special infrastructure around houses in Argentina and Brazil), free publicity for credit unions, lower interest rates as a result of ECB policies, creating difficulties of competition for credit unions, next to advantages for being socially responsible and resilient). The proposition may need to be adjusted to reflect that.

Fifth, the proposition – especially the extensive proposition text – indicates a certain *time-sensitivity*. Constructions of 'crises' and 'problematic trends' are framings that express readings of history. P12 also expresses the idea that temporary openings of 'windows of opportunity' are needed. Maybe there are initiatives that are very keen on seizing and forging such temporary windows of opportunity, constantly adapting their new DOFK to recent developments, whilst others – by contrast -are somewhat stubbornly and indifferently pursuing their new DOFK? Indeed, strategies of utilising opportunities by leadership may cause an internal crisis. When the new leadership of Slow Food in the US) decided to no longer support biodiversity projects (such as The Ark of Taste<sup>9</sup> and Presidia), to concentrate its resources on concerted political action, grassroots people were unhappy about this. In reaction to this there was a leadership change and a reversal to the original policies of supporting local biodiversity projects.

### **Empirical research questions:**

The above considerations lead us to formulate two questions for specific analysis:

*What kinds of framings/narratives of societal crisis are mentioned in CTPs of SI initiatives? In which ways are they helping to increase transformative impact? (legitimization, visibility, credibility, material effects)*

*How important are crises for SI initiatives to seize or forge windows of opportunity? To what extent do such attempts cause controversy and internal crisis?*

### **Key words:**

'Crisis' has been the main search term, with the analysis focusing on crises in the context, not internal crises. 'Societal Crisis' has been an obvious key words. 'New framings' is not used because these are studied in the proposition about narratives of change.

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<sup>9</sup> The Ark of Taste is an initiative in which school gardens grow traditional food, in an attempt to eat more healthily and develop a greater appreciation for food. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/slow-food-usa-closed-biodiversity-projects>

## 7.4.2 Presenting the evidence

### 7.4.2.1. What framings of societal crisis are observed?

The most often mentioned crisis is economic/financial crisis. An economic crisis refers to a situation of negative economic growth and high levels of unemployment. Mentioned economic crises are: the global economic/financial crisis of 2007/2008, the economic crisis of Argentina at the end of the 1980s and the “peso crisis” between 1998-2002. All economic crises are related to financial crises.

The mechanism through which that happens is described in the CTP for Merkur: *After the financial crisis in 2008, the economic crisis came and lots of businesses went down, people got afraid that they didn't keep their work, people saved that money instead of spending it so lots of bad things happened in the economic situation and of course that influenced Merkur, a lot as well, so we had many clients who closed their businesses, we also had private clients who lost their work, or didn't earn so much as they did before or...had to sell their houses and suddenly, the value of the houses fell*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/danish-financialeconomic-crisis>

According to the CEO of Crédal the financial crisis of 2007/2008 generated a social crisis and put public finance into a crisis: *“The opacity of bank management and the search for maximum profit have created chaos in the financial world. This crisis has caused others, a deep social crisis first and a crisis in public finances afterwards. The crisis undermines public authority, the financial world and social cohesion, with each of its pillars likely to drag others further into disarray”* (Horenbeek, 2011[2]). <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/change-on-the-business-model-of-credal-from-marginality-to-becoming-an-alternative>

We did not across articulations of a moral crisis, a spiritual crisis, an ecological crisis, a crisis of the welfare system and the health system being in crisis. In the time line of ICA, a housing crisis is being mentioned as a relevant background factor: *COVILPI emerged in the neighborhood of La Boca in the south of the city of Buenos Aires at the end of the late 1990s in the context of a deep housing crisis that experienced in the city.*

Crises are chiefly understood as events. Apart from the economic crises, the public revolt that occurred in Tunisia in Jan 2011 when citizen uprisings led to a change of government is also tagged as a societal crisis (which affected the Living Lab because of university staff changes).

In the Transition Town movement the notion of an imminent crisis plays an important role. But the notion of a crisis being imminent was not shared: *There was a contestation on how imminent the collapse of society was. People had different views on that and that alienated people.* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/disbanding-of-the-transition-norwich-core-group>

### 7.4.2.2. Material effects of crises

In Argentina, high levels of unemployment related to the economic crisis at the end of the 1980s, are being said to have stimulated self-building initiatives. *“At the end of the 1980s, Argentina was immersed in a big economic crisis characterized as a serious inflationary process that provoked a social outbreak in the suburban neighborhoods of Buenos Aires with looting of shops and*



*supermarkets. The serious economic and social crisis caused that the radical government of Raúl Alfonsín advanced the delivery of the command to the elect president Menem in July of 1989. The new government managed to curb inflation through the Convertibility law that fixed the price of the dollar in relation to the Argentine peso. However, this economic policy caused a sustained increase in unemployment in the medium term. In this way, the self-building model and the specialized working groups offered opportunities for employment and income for part of the cooperative's associates."*

A spin-off effect was that people learned a craft which they could use outside the Cooperative (consequence of crisis).

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/specialized-working-groups>

The economic crisis of Argentina in the beginning of the 2000s, when many of the members of ICA/CVCQ lost their jobs or began to have subsistence problems, led the housing cooperative ICA/CVCQ to engage in all kinds of activities. The projects included an artisan bakery, a textile workshop, a nursery kindergarten, a community library and a small factory for the production of concrete slabs for road paving. Five families participated in the execution and support of this project, including the paving of the roads. Road paving with the help of slabs was extended to other areas through services-sharing agreements. Other projects that were promoted by the cooperative were a community farm and a waste recycling project. The farm sought to ensure self-sufficiency of food, while the recycling project emerged as an economic alternative for many of the unemployed associates. The projects offered services and a source of income to the members of the cooperative.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/new-productive-and-services-projects>

Economic crises not only gave rise to the creation of SI projects of work but also to **social protests** from social innovation organisations. In Uruguay, in 1983, in a context of inflation and indexation of mortgage fees, FUCVAM decided to organize a mortgage rent payment strike. After numerous meetings and discussions about on the strategy to follow, the cooperative movement suspended payment of mortgage rents to the state bank. This policy was the main strategy to fight against the newly installed military government seeking and the economic crisis. Opposition was aimed at the military government that responded with a policy to convert commonly owned buildings into private owned one. Individual ownership would allow the government and banks to identify cases of non-payment and make eviction judgments faster.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/pay-strike>

The economic crisis of 2008 and the financial crisis in Europe that occurred in its afterwake played a role in discussions between shareholders and other members of Banca Popolare Etica in Italy on the role of BPE in the desired transition towards a civil economy or an economy for the common good. It resulted in the decision of not only servicing organisations of the third sector, but also to support companies in the business sector who are working towards the common good (**strategy change**). This CTP involves a change in this operational framework. The bank will address new types of civil society-oriented economic projects, such as for-profit organizations focused on organic food, green energy and employee buy-outs. The respondent also mentions the influence of the "Economy of Communion" Catholic movement, as advocates for an "alternative economic culture", less utilitarian and more aimed at the integral development of people and society for instance by sharing and redistributing profits: *"We have the economy of communion movement that is a movement of the Catholic Church, which in turn is a huge movement in Italy... in Italy and Latin America and among this movement of many entrepreneurs. And they have developed what they call*

*the economy of communion. And they say that if you are a Catholic, and also an entrepreneur you must respect some values, involving mainly sharing profits ...”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/change-on-the-business-model-of-the-bank-towards-to-a-civic-economy>

In Europe, the economic crisis of 2008 affected cooperative banks in several ways. The crisis contributed to an enlargement of their customer base and to increases in their liquidity position. During the global financial crisis, Merkur client numbers increased from 10.000 in 2008 to more than 25.000 in 2015 as a consequence of increased social awareness about the negative aspects of the financial system, in particular the speculative activities. But the crisis negatively affected Merkur's profits, because of a decline in the loan activity. The influx of money could only be used at later times.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/2007-2008-financial-crisis>

For Crédal, a Belgium cooperative bank, the low interest rates (which were connected to quantitative easing policies of the European Central Bank) affected Séréal negatively, in undermining the competitive advantage towards commercial banks which (thanks to cheap money) were able to lend out at lower interest rates. After internal discussions, Crédal diversified its activities, by engaging more in financial counselling, next to the traditional business of lendings out savings from members. *“Crédal job is completely different nowadays with this low interest. The activity has really changed a lot. Strategy is go on with lending and doing credits and beside this do more and more advise to social organizations or providing credits for physical persons, unemployed people who wanted to start a little activity and they could receive a credit with the advice and support from Crédal, support from the team of employees of Crédal and also sometimes with the tutoring of external persons, volunteers who agree to follow for 2 years the person starting this small activity with a credit of Crédal.*

[http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp06\\_michel](http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/ctp06_michel)

#### 7.4.2.3. Attempts at seizing a crisis

We discovered 4 attempts to seize a crisis, three of which were relatively successful and one was not.

The first case is the recognition of CCVQ by the government. CCVQ is a cooperative for tenants and squatters who occupied buildings in Buenos Aires, fighting for the self-building of homes and against evictions of squatting families. The Cooperativa de Consumo y Vivienda de Quilmes began its activities in the mid-1980s, but the urgency increased during the great depression of 1989 and 2002 in Argentina. The self-building model and the specialized working groups offered opportunities for employment and income for part of the cooperative's associates. After achieving official recognition and honours, concrete measures were being introduced that favored the daily work of the cooperative in the form of funding arrangements and tax benefits. It is not a clear-cut case of seizing a crisis but more a trajectory of institutionalization.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/public-acknowledgments>

COVILPI a housing cooperation in the La Boca neighbourhood of Buenos Aires was instrumental in making the Municipal Housing Commission of the City of Buenos Aires issue resolution 525 which

involved the granting of loans - with a mortgage guarantee - to finance the purchase, building, extension or refurbishment of housing in benefit of families of limited resources and in a situation of emergency housing: *The implementation of operative 525 was the first significant achievement achieved by members of COVILPI. The organization had emerged within the framework of the housing problems experienced in the south of the city of Buenos Aires in general and the neighborhood of La Boca, in particular. The resolution of the municipal housing commission meant a recognition of the problem by the city government.* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/resolution-52597> The resolution offered a partial solution to the problem of eviction which was facing as much as 150,000 people in Buenos Aires. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/occupation-of-the-padelai-building>

The third case is from Denmark, where a local “crisis” situation is mentioned as a CTP in the establishment of Samsøe Island in Denmark as a sustainable energy island. The closure of the slaughterhouse sparked a local debate concerning the island's future: should they specialise in agricultural products, in tourism or something else. This issue of the future of the Island was discussed at a conference with the relevant actors, including the unemployed workers from the slaughterhouse. This debate was said to pave the way for the public involvement in Samsøe Sustainable Energy Island. In what ways the closing of the slaughterhouse affected the decision to go for renewable energy (by applying for green investments) is not so clear from the text. The co-owner element of the turbines is said to make people happy and proud. According to the researcher, a negative crisis was changed in a positive development. For this, the involvement of local people in decision making and joint ownership of the windturbines was deemed important:

*“The most important learning relate to the former workers from the slaughterhouse. The workers learned that they actually can be a part of shaping their own future. There is a future for the island. The islanders became proud of their island. The local blacksmith was not only a blacksmith any longer. He learned to identify himself as an important part of Denmark's first Sustainable Energy Island. In that way the project creates a local ownership. Part of the ownership is also of an economic character. Windmills are much prettier when you are a co-owner, making money when the wind is blowing. The general learning from this critical turning point is that you can turn a negative crisis into a positive development if you take care of engaging in the local community.”*

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/the-start-r-1997-r-1999-samsøe-becomes-sustainable-energy-island>

The fourth case of dealing with a ‘crisis’<sup>10</sup> is Fair Shares, a Timebank in the UK, who tried to partner with the National Health Service in 2003. Cooperation was sought through the use of workshops with stakeholders: *‘Fair Shares organized five participator workshops for concerned stakeholders, including policy makers, managers, academics, practitioners, users of public services and Time Bank participants, to present arguments and evidence about timebanking and health with a view to initiating pilot projects within the NHS to explore and experiment. The recommendations included, inter alia, “that the concept of co-sufficiency is placed at the centre of public health and health promotion policy and practice.”* Such attempts did not lead to an operational economic partnership but Fair Shares still entertains hopes of that: *‘Although, Fair Shares has proactively attempted to implement timebanking into the NHS already in 2003 and, through this, to reform governmental health care provision, there is still no official partnership between the NHS and timebanking. The high expectations around this potential partnership were not realised. The policy and public debate around the future of the NHS and about engaging community in self- and mutual- help has,*

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that the word crisis was not used, but the NHS is financially strained.

nevertheless, continued and, currently, these same issues are at the centre of the present five-year vision for the NHS and a programme to support implementation under chapter two of the vision.'

The stated reasons for non-success in establishing an economic partnership in the CTP "Frustration of health care efforts and ambitions" are: " *institutional barriers and resistance to change from within the NHS and the organizational cultures that are risk averse and favour 'experts' and the exercise of top-down authority and control.*" <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-uk-4>

In one CTP an **existential crisis** is mentioned. An "existential crisis" occurred in the case of an ecovillage initiative in Germany, when the land they wanted to buy was bought by a commercial party. The initiative had met for already more than six months and intended to buy a piece of land to found, build an ecovillage. After a long process of seeking around Munich the initiative found an attractive offering, but during the negotiation process with the estate agent, other investors showed up. An investor bought the land for a higher price than first offered for. This failure after putting so much hope into the specific plot caused a serious existential crisis in the initiative and finally an insightful re-orientation towards community values. Internally, the group went through a crises and a transformation. After not succeeding in purchasing the land, more than 60% of the members left the initiative and those who were focussing on community started to reform the group. <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/gen-th-1-failure-in-buying-land-for-the-ecovillage>

An **internal crisis** also occurred in the Slow Food movement in the US, when the new executive director (Josh Viertel) introduced fundamental changes within the organization in terms of internal management as well as the aims, mission and activities that Slow Food should conduct. A critical example of the mentioned change of orientation in the initiative, was the "\$5 Challenge" campaign that Slow Food USA launched in 2011 as an effort to "take back the value meal" by making healthy food for the same price as a "McDonald's Happy Meal". The \$5 Challenge which was perceived by some as a departure from Slow Food's core values and identity, of paying farmers a good price. There was also a cultural clash between the new communication people and older grassroots people. New employees were high qualified in community activism or community media skills that did not speak the language of food or agriculture. Part of the conflict was about the *nature* of political action. According to the researcher (Isabel Lema Blanco) most people in the Slow Food movement in the US prefer positive campaigns over negative ones. In the words of one member: "you can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar".

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/internal-crisis-in-the-national-association>

Interestingly, the strategy of **positive campaigning** was also used by Merkur, the Danish cooperative bank. "Merkur leaders were very cautious not to point the finger of blame at other banks, because the fault is seen to lie with the financial system rather than with other banks, the people of which are viewed a colleagues.

<http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/danish-financialeconomic-crisis>

The post WWII years in Japan is said to have influenced the creation of Timebanks in Japan in a longer time frame. The shortage of basic material goods (food, clothes, shelter) and hyperinflation caused a breakdown of the economy and a breakdown of government services, lead Mizushima to appreciate other exchange systems, in particular those based on time, as something that is not

affected by inflation and could serve as a basis for providing mutual support and for addressing time and energy deficits/surpluses across the life course.

The ideas of Mizushima had to wait for an economic opportunity in the form of the first oil crisis and an opportunity in her own personal life: *More than 20 years elapsed between her first articulating these ideas in the 1950s and founding her first TimeBank in 1973. She had postponed implementing her ideas until the last of her children married. Her founding of the first TimeBank coincided with the first major oil shock, which caused a downturn in the Japanese economy and triggered panic buying and shortages of material goods. The timing was right for an innovation aimed at connecting and giving people more control in their own lives and providing resilience to system shocks.* <http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/sii/ctp/tb-japan-1>

### 7.4.3 Conclusions and proposals for amendments

#### **Conclusions:**

- 1) The following crises are being referred to: the economic/financial crisis of 2008 (8 network initiatives), the economic crises in Argentina (5 network initiatives), Uruguay (4 network initiatives) and Brazil (4 network initiatives), a housing crisis (1 CTP ) and internal crises (6 CTPs). Internal crises occurred in Ammerlake an eco-village initiative , PB in Brazil , Omstilling Ry a Transition Town in DK) , a Ouishare initiative in Athens and Ecocritus). They were related to external events but not to external crises.
- 2) It is noteworthy that in the CTPs we did not across articulations of a moral crisis, a spiritual crisis, an ecological crisis, a crisis of the welfare system and the health system being in crisis. Narratives of change generally avoid the word crisis it seems.
- 3) In the CTPs descriptions, there is little evidence of narratives of crises being deliberately constructed for strategic reasons. It appears that an articulation of crises for strategic-legitimisations reasons is mostly done by network organisations. An example is Transition Towns who talks about the imminent crisis related to impending shortages of oil.
- 4) The main influence of economic crisis appears to be through material effects. The effects fall into 3 categories:
  - By *bringing people into states of unemployment and situations of economic hardship*, which leads them into practices of sharing and cooperation in SIIs, for economic reasons of access to goods and services.
  - Through the *effects of economic and financial crises on government policies*, such as austerity measures and banking regulations, turning people to Credit Unions (cooperative banks) as safe and more responsible banks. Interestingly, Credit Unions also suffered from the economic crisis through a greater influx of savings and difficulties of lending out. Whilst they were able to increase their customer base, they experienced increased competition from normal banks who charged lower interest rates for loans because they were able to lend money from the European Central Bank at a very low rate.
  - Through *experiences of people who lived through a serious economic crisis*, stimulating them to set up SII, because of lived experiences that are being reflected upon. An example of this is the creation of the Voluntary Labour Network in Japan by Teruko Mizushima, who experienced the effects of economic breakdown after WWII, when Japan suffered shortages of basic material goods (food, clothes, shelter) in relation to a breakdown of the economy and a breakdown of government services.

- 5) Crises often deepen political conflicts within society. Crises do not come out as important game changers but as something which has positive and negative impacts on SIs through the material effects of unemployment and reduced government spending (although there may be special SI promotion policies).

### **Reflections:**

- It seems that SIs are more concerned with operational issues of dealing with economic hardship at times of economic crisis than with exploiting crisis in a more structured way. It is unclear whether the SI initiatives could have utilised external crises more to their advantage. Whilst this is a possibility, they may be too weak to do so. In Latin America, cooperatives were able to achieve concessions from the government. In Europe there is less evidence of this happening. Timebanks was unable to negotiate a deal with the NHS.
- More research is needed to investigate what happens after a crisis. In particular, are SIs able to keep people in SI in a growing economy?
- The analysis of crisis revealed gentrification as an urban transformation (causing higher rents for fablabs in London, which led it to move to smaller locations for shorter periods of time as a coping strategy Hackspace 4 (South-Central England)).

### **Amendments:**

More attention should be given to the material effects of crisis, the positive and negative elements of opportunity structures afforded by crisis, and critical conditions and resources for utilising external crises. Cooperation with regime insiders of systems that are in stress may be needed to scale SI.

The SIs are more likely to be supported as complementary solutions than as alternatives. This happened in the case of Timebanks in Japan that was able to form a third pillar of the system for elderly care. Slow food also has a lot of potential to grow because the goals fit with policy goals and the large capacity to deliver on that, thanks to the cooperation with schools, food producers and restaurants.

## 7.5 Conclusions and reflections on cluster D

### 7.5.1 Conclusions

***What problematic changes in society (external context) are being referred to by SIIs, through statements of transformative aims and through expressions of criticism?***

The evidence clearly shows that there are other historical shifts than the two movements of marketization and bureaucratisation that are of equal or even greater relevance in the emergence of certain initiatives. For example: Living Knowledge has been shaped by wishes amongst researchers to do research for a more just and sustainable world. They are helped by special programmes for that as a material element. INFORSE and Transition Towns have been shaped by an Anthropocene world order; Slow Food, Via Campesina and the Seed movement have been shaped by a quest for food sovereignty and criticism of commodisation; Credit Unions and Slow Food have been shaped by notions of regionalism. Whilst they are related to global capitalism they cannot be reduced to it.

The following problematic trends are referred to: marketization/commodification, ecological degradation, the loss of community, poverty and inequality, the position of traditional forms of farming and indigenous people (who are often engaged in farming), coercion (especially by the state), aging population, unhealthy diets, and financial capitalism, gentrification (as a result of rising rents). Flexibilisation of the labour market and the acceleration of social change and the pace of life are not mentioned as problematic trends, which is remarkable.

There is a socio-material process in the initiatives as well as in the context which is relevant for the evolution of SI initiatives. The role of globalisation, changing governmentalities and cultural change proved difficult to establish.

An important material element is the ICT revolution as a key factor in the formation of transnational TSI networks (Jørgensen et al. 2016). The availability of software/ICT seems an essential backbone for the way of doing and organizing of several initiatives. This holds especially true for Time Banks, Shareable and Credit Unions.

SIIs engage in criticism of existing arrangements and trends but most of all they partake in affirmative action. Some people actively shun criticism for being unproductive or less productive or unkind.

Whether there is a dialectical process requires further study.

***Do they see themselves as part of a countermovement, if so, which one?***

The cases offer support to the statement that 're-embedding of the economy' reading of the historical shaping of SI does not capture the broader diversity of SI initiatives studied. The SIIs do not refer to a "re-embedding of the economy" and neither do they state that they are part of a movement of localisation and humanisation of the economy based on values and practices which are different from those under global capitalism. Of course, the re-embedding narrative and localisation and humanisation narrative are social constructions made by scientifically trained people but the initiatives also involve public intellectuals. Some of their leaders are vocal public intellectuals. The narratives created by the initiatives are quite diverse. In the cases of the seed movement and slow food movement it is quite clear that they see themselves as part of a

localisation process that is critical of capitalist food chains with an important role for MNC. The slow food movement critiques the globalised and delocalised food production system. Living Labs are not really about localization and a humanization of the economy, certainly not the ones who are led by business. For now, the issue of whether they are part of a broader movement, and if so which one, is not settled. They are part of different movements each with their own emphasis.

The term “movement” has 84 hits, from 18 networks. The work movement appears most often in the CTP of the Slowfood movement where it appears in 21 different CTP [should check whether it appears in the text and not just in the name]. The word combination “counter movement” has one hit. In a CTP of Slow Food/Slow Food USA, it is being said that “In only four years, Slow Food USA counted over 140 chapters and 12.500 members nationwide, which is considered one of the first achievements of Slow Food USA, to reach to a critical mass of activists and persuade them to volunteering in a counter movement that aimed to put food at the center stage”.

Whether the movements can be combined into more encompassing movements is an open issue, which is best determined by asking people questions on whether they see themselves as part of localisation and/or humanisation process/movement, a spiritual movement, an emancipation movement, a return to more social forms of living and working and an economy for the common good. Q statements are very suited for investigating this in combination with interviews.

A related issue is the issue of the actual motivations of members. We should not assume that official banners are fully shared by members. Timebank claims to be aimed at rebuilding communities through exchange systems based on time. For some it may be an alternative to capitalism and state-based care, for others it may constitute simply an exchange system. Motivational elements of members (and leaders!) and levels of ARC satisfaction are a topic for further research. In the Transition Town Network people disagree on a crisis being imminent.

### ***How many of the SI initiatives in our sample can be considered (and consider themselves as) ‘innovations’, and which rather as ‘restorations’?***

The core statement that the DOFK promoted by SI initiatives are not intrinsically (socially innovative or transformative) was confirmed, and neither are they wholly innovative. The initiatives in our sample promote ways of doing, organizing, framing and knowing that seldom are entirely new to the social-material context in which they are promoted and quite often they can be considered both innovative and restorative.

With regard to this general mixture of ‘innovative’ and ‘restorative’ significance that the SI initiatives in our sample have in their social-material contexts, we propose to distinguish 3 categories: those that can be considered emphatically innovative, by experimenting with new technologies and systems, those that do not experiment with novel practices but practice fairly well established practices and SII whose activities have an element of innovation but this is relatively small. The first group involves Living labs, Hackerspaces, Fablabs, DESIS, Shareable, ODP, Impact Hubs. Timebanks and Slow Food belong to the partially innovative group and via Campensina, RIPESS and housing cooperatives to the last group who are not engaged in innovation in an important way but rather in activism, promotion and advocacy.

### ***What other shades and categorizations of relative novelty can be distinguished?***

Four relevant categories are ‘Experimenting attitude & innovation society’, ‘Reasserting practices and values’, ‘Evangelizing, transmitting and advocating innovation’, and ‘Adopting, importing, recombining innovation’. Experimenting and prototyping appear to be rather short phases. The



promotion of sets of DOFK can temporarily acquire acknowledgement as innovation. The gathered evidence brings out how the existence as innovation, and the acknowledgement as progressive force in society with certain potentials to confront contemporary challenges, is relational: innovativeness is constructed in a social-material context.

***Which examples and patterns can be distinguished regarding the ebb-and-flow of relative novelty over time (e.g. becoming, fading and re-emerging as socially innovative or transformative)?***

The empirical analysis confirms elements of re-invention and has brought forward rather preliminary ideas on patterns in the ebb-and-flow of innovation: 'Fluctuations and re-emergences', 'era-specific innovation' and 'hype'. This rough unpacking merits further elaboration. It could clarify further how SI concepts and initiatives rise along with the Zeitgeist, are abandoned as they are out of tune with it, and can re-emerge in other social-material contexts.

***What kinds of framings/narratives of societal crisis are mentioned in CTPs of SI initiatives? In which ways are they helping to increase transformative impact? (legitimization, visibility, credibility, material effects)***

Economic/financial crises are the dominant type of crisis mentioned. It is noteworthy that in the CTPs we did not across articulations of a moral crisis, a spiritual crisis, an ecological crisis, a crisis of the welfare system and the health system being in crisis.

In the CTPs descriptions, there is little evidence of narratives of crises being deliberately constructed for strategic reasons. It appears that an articulation of crises for strategic-legitimisations reasons is mostly done by network organisations. An example is Transition Towns who talks about the imminent crisis related to impending shortages of oil.

***How important are crises for SI initiatives to seize or forge windows of opportunity? To what extent do such attempts cause controversy and internal crisis?***

There are few examples of crises being seized. Crises often deepen political conflicts within society. Crises do not come out as important game changers but as something which has positive and negative impacts on SIIs through the material effects of unemployment and reduced government spending (although there may be special SII promotion policies).

## 7.5.2 Reflections

**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.*

The CTPs show that many socio-material elements come into play. They confirm the views of Jasanoff, Latour and Foucault amongst others that they are not a simple response to marketisation and/or state policies. Rather they bring forward accounts (of co-production, and of governmentalities) that situate power and dominance current societies in social-material webs of procedures, technologies, monitoring tools, accounting systems, infrastructures, communication channels, spatial structures, etc. A relevant distinction is between proximate and distal determinants (Kemp et al. 2017). Proximate determinants have to do with motivations, expectations, resources and situational characteristics (such as local initiatives to join). Proximate drivers are determinants close to action. Distal drivers are the cultural and institutional background factors and processes of marketization, globalization, individualization, environmental degradation and reform of the welfare state that lead people to engage in activities of re-embedding. Proximate and distal factors do not work independently from each other, but are related to each other. Explanations that are purely based on proximate factors miss out on background processes such as the Zeitgeist and explanations that revert entirely to background factors fail to acknowledge the element of human agency and importance of situational settings for micro action (Kemp et al., 2017).

This is not in contradiction to P10. Marketisation is shown to be an important background variable, which operates next to other background variables, which differ per case. We should note that the influence of transformation processes may not be apparent to people or something that they will not spontaneously talk about. For example, the role of cultural change in society (such as meritocracy and social mobility aspirations) and urbanisation as slow moving processes is less likely to be addressed.

It seems that transformations and discontinuities in the social-material context affect SII in 3 ways: 1) as a reason for establishing the SII, in an attempt to counteract undesirable transformations in society, 2) through the material consequences inflicted on SII members (people getting unemployed or changes in funding and revenues), 3) as something that is occurring in SIIs (the use of market principles and social relations being impermanent). This could be incorporated in P10.

The nature of background processes warrants more attention in empirical research and attempts at theorizing. The following list may be used for that:

- **Marketization:** the use of market principles in public policy and voluntary sector in the form of property rights, tendering, contracting out, fees for services & privileges, performance-based pay, product differentiation, instrumental-rational logic being applied to human and nature (commodification), transactions replacing relations (mentioned in *The New Culture of Capitalism* of Sennett)
- **Bureaucratisation & control:** the application of bureaucratic rule and use of key performance indicators and hierarchical decision making as a managerial method
- **Reporting requirements** (invasion of metrics systems to make things manageable and accountable)
- **Reform of the welfare state:** restricting access and accelerating exit, segmentation of participants, introduction of contractual obligations, and application of diverse incentives for recipients of public assistance, disability, and unemployment (Gilbert, 2005).

- **Changing role of government** (related to political views about the proper role of government): outsourcing and down-scaling, governments wanting citizens and social organisations to take over social services
- **Reform of care systems:** efficiency-based protocols and social innovation counter responses to dehumanisation of work and care
- **Urbanisation**
- **Democratisation**
- **Changing views of a good life** (materialist, self-actualisation, experiencing conviviality)
- **Emancipation of women** (changing gender roles and practices wrt provisioning and caring)
- **Migration and the emergence of a multicultural society**
- **Intercultural contacts** (within one's country and by spending time abroad)
- **Impermanent social relations** (liquid modernity in the words of Bauman)
- **Rise of shareholder capitalism** vs social capitalism
- **Financialisation:** rising influence of money, financial capital and financial calculations
- **Acceleration** of technological change, social change and pace of life (Rosa, 2003).
- **Digitalisation of society:** digital artefacts, online forums and connectivity, information devices and big data
- **Flexibilisation of labour market:** the increase of workers working on temporary and flexible contracts (including zero-hour contracts). There is also the rise of people who are self-employed, a good proportion of which is forced into such a position.

**Proposition 11.** *Bundles of doings, organisings, framings and knowings (DOFK) 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.*

The relative nature of innovation is confirmed, leading us to group them in those for whom innovation is a key element and those for whom this is not the case. Four 'shades' of innovation are identified: 'Experimenting attitude & innovation society'; 'Reasserting practices and values'; 'Evangelizing, transmitting and advocating innovation'; and 'Adopting, importing, recombining innovation'. The Japanese case of Timebanks exemplifies how TB build on normal, traditional ways of exchange, but are also re-invented as innovative and transformative practices under new circumstances (changed social security system, changing gender roles).

One important insight is that 'social innovativeness' is shown to be relational and historical. P11 thus acts as a counterweight to the overall preoccupation with SI initiatives, de-centering them from the TSI stage.

Along the empirical analysis, some conceptual challenges and resources have asserted themselves that are worthwhile considering in further theorization of proposition 11 (and cluster D more generally). In random order:

- The formulation of P11 is as yet geared rather strongly towards dominant institutions rather than towards social-material 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.”* It seems desirable to increase the focus on the latter, increasing its relevance for cluster D and avoiding overlap with cluster C.

- The ‘ebb and flood’ of innovation, and the re-storage, re-emergence and re-invention that seems to pervade TSI phenomena, seem to add important nuance and historical context to one of our core concepts: the I of TSI. One broader theoretical implications could be to speak more precisely of ‘activities considered to be’, ‘counting as’ socially innovative’, rather than of SIs – in line with the ‘sociology of expectations’, and innovation-sociological, ANT-inspired work on the co-performativity of innovation (Callon, Voß). Another theoretical implication could be that TSI should state re explicitly how Transformative Change flows from combinations of ‘innovation’ and other activities (such as lobbying etc., as described through the 4 shades of innovation).
- Regarding the concept of ‘era-specific innovation’, i.e. innovation that is recognizably brought forward by current social-material contexts, it seems worthwhile to consult work by authors like Carlota Perez, Franz et al. (2010) and Nicholls & Murdoch (2012). The latter two situate current SI phenomena in an economic-technological ‘long wave’ of ICT & service economy – and therewith help articulate how some of our initiatives are very much carried by and in line with this innovation paradigm and others less so.
- The ‘ebb and flow of innovation’ brings forward a historical view on contemporary SI phenomena, As such it could be informed further by the cyclical view on social innovation proposed by Westley and colleagues, who deploy the ‘adaptive cycle’ of resilience theory to understand the emergence of SI in particular systemic contexts.
- The basic distinction between ‘conspicuous’ and ‘inconspicuous’, or silent and loud innovation, could be useful to pursue.
- The fourfold distinction of shades of innovativeness has helped to identify a subset of initiatives that stand apart for their experimenting attitude, and their pursuit of innovation as something that is good in itself. This meta-normative position can be distinguished from the more principled initiatives for whom innovation is a means towards certain (transformative) ends. A related point to consider is that there are various new ways of organizing and new organizational forms brought forward that are intended to serve better procedures, better governance – they are not consequentialist in ethics, like social movements and activists tend to be, but rather have deontological or virtue-centered ethics. The fourfold distinction in the empirical has thus somewhat by accident raised the issue of different normative/ethical rationales in TSI.
- In the relational view on innovation, the acknowledgement (by others) of innovativeness is centre stage. This involves amongst others the construction of political and scientific authority, as is described in the case of the Basic Income in Pel, B. & Backhaus, J. (under review), Realizing the Basic Income; the promotion of transformative knowings through competing claims to expertise, Science & Technology Studies.

**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 innovations can be brought out with greater persuasiveness and visibility. The occurrence of crisis alone is insufficient 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 context manifest.*

Economic/financial crises are the dominant type of crisis mentioned. It is noteworthy that in the CTPSs we did not across articulations of a moral crisis, a spiritual crisis, an ecological crisis, a crisis of the welfare system and the health system being in crisis.

The construction of crises narratives is not practiced a lot, nor do SI networks engage in systematic analysis of deeper roots of problems. In the one case that this was done, Timebanks in the UK, this did not lead to the desired result of a partnership with NHS.

Rather than affording opportunities, crises may make things more difficult for SII. Credit unions benefitted from extra savings but suffered from lower loans as a result of the economic recession and lower rates for loans charged by commercial banks.

There is little evidence that SI initiatives are being marginalised. They are welcomed as a relieve valve at times of crisis/emergency, but calls for political reforms may meet with strong resistance from the government especially from dictators.

Amendments:

More attention should be given to:

- The material effects of crises (especially economic/financial crises).
- The positive and negative elements of opportunity structures afforded by crisis, and
- The critical conditions and resources for utilising external crises (cooperation with regime insiders may be needed to scale SI).

The SI are more likely to be supported as complementary solutions than as alternatives for dominant systems of delivery. This happened in the case of Timebanks in Japan that was able to form a third pillar of the system for elderly care. Slow food also has a lot of potential to grow because the goals fit with policy goals and the large capacity to deliver on that, thanks to the cooperation with schools, food producers and restaurants.

## 8 Closing reflections

### 8.1 Towards a finalized set of TSI propositions

Even if adding up to approximately 200 pages, the preceding four chapters have presented empirical evidence and observations in highly compressed form. They have presented overviews, paraphrasings and summaries of various sub-sets of CTP files identified to be of particular relevance to propositions. It has been a hard challenge for all meta-analysis researchers to arrive at adequate but concise elaborations of the extensive CTP accounts developed by the TRANSIT consortium as a whole. Considering how the presented materials are summaries of database sub-sets, it becomes apparent that the CTP database has been far from exhausted. This is not only a matter of the number of files 'covered' or drawn upon in the 12 parallel database searches – it can safely be said that the vast majority of files has been made use of. Importantly, the 12 analyses have created 12 sets of diverse files that are associated through one or more key words. As the meta-analysis researchers have become strongly aware in the course of the analysis, many other searches can still be performed to complement and solidify the sub-sets of files they created – and a great multitude of alternative associations between files is still left to explore.

Having stated both the significant amount of pertinent data gathered and the still great scope for further explorations, the key issue to consider is what has been achieved in terms of the main goal of the meta-analysis – testing and informing our theorizations thus far and providing valuable inputs for the finalization of TSI theory and the propositions that articulate it. Important considerations in this regard have been to work towards approximately five empirically concrete observations per proposition, to refrain from actual reformulations of propositions, to keep theorization minimal in the service of empirical analysis, and to ensure specificity and clarity through the requirement of formulating and answering empirical questions.

Taking stock of the respective concluding sections, it becomes apparent that this has been achieved for all propositions to a greater or lesser degree. There are propositions that have mainly been substantiated, confirmed and unpacked through tentative theorizations, and there are propositions that have been significantly re-interpreted, clarified and interrogated. The latter reflects how the empirical analysis has generated abundant theory reflections as by-catch: forced to operationalize relatively abstract, generative propositions into verifiable empirical statements, answerable questions and effective database queries, many conceptual issues and relevant theoretical resources came to the surface.

*What have we learnt about TSI through this meta-analysis?* This question is answered best by comparing the results per cluster. Considered procedurally rather than running ahead of theorization, clusters are compared on 1) the match between data-set and scope of empirical statements, and 2) on the apparent progress made towards a coherent, specific and somehow telling imagery of the relations and dynamics it tries to cover:

#### **Cluster A: *Relations within individual SI initiatives***

The CTP database has offered abundant pertinent empirical materials for this theme. The focus on local manifestations and the CTP questions on contestation, anticipation and learning have

typically generated materials through which to substantiate and unpack the theoretical statements on motivations and group dynamics. Still it is important to be aware of the circumstance that the CTP data is focused on collectives of individuals: data on the behaviour of individuals in these collectives is of an indirect nature.

In terms of progress towards middle-range theory on TSI and the relations within individual SI initiatives in particular, it appears that more specific ideas have been developed on the different kinds of motivations that bring individuals to join SI initiatives, the different ways in which these are handled and addressed through particular forms of organisation and leadership, the particular tensions, balances and compromises that shape the courses of SI initiatives, and the particular ways in which the careful shaping of interpersonal relations is accorded both inward and outward significance. The many separate findings within cluster A do not yet seem to converge onto simple messages or integrative powerful metaphors. Still it does seem possible by now to start to articulate basic things like what particular kinds of collectives 'SI initiatives' are (the CTP database contains at present 65 of them), what kind of proto-institutions they are consciously developing, and why. It also seems quite possible already to integrate the developed insights and paint a picture of the many ways in which the 'personal is political' (and vice versa) for the category of agency referred to with TSI.

#### **Cluster B: *Relations across/between initiatives***

This cluster has crucially gained empirical 'flesh on the bones'. Significant substantiating and unpacking has proven possible through the CTP data – through its focus on the co-producing relations of SI initiatives with other actors, and arguably through the creation of an extensive list of key words on actors interacted with (Theme 1). The work on this cluster has also been confronting a key limitation of the CTP database, however. The 'local manifestation-bias' is a dark side of an otherwise defensible methodological choice through which the CTP database is developed. The timelines of LMs are useful entry points in the situated dynamics of TSI processes, but they do tend to downplay the networking and the actors co-produced with – especially as far as the networking does not give rise to somehow 'critical' events. Likewise, it has proven difficult to empirically substantiate the otherwise promising theoretical constructs of SI 'fields', 'ecologies' and 'movements' as ways to articulate the distributed agency that local SI initiatives are embedded in.

Regarding the progress towards strong metaphors and statements on the embedded agency, it appears that abundant elements have been already developed to articulate the forms of networked agency that are typical for TSI. Some basic typologies of network constellations, detailed insights of the kinds of empowerment at issue and a nuanced understanding of the relative importance of local and transnational SI agency have been developed. The main challenge seems to be reconsider the focal actor in our method, combine the various insights on the embeddedness and networking of the LMs, and recast these insights in a network language that distinguishes the kinds of embedded agency that TSI rests on. The theoretical tools for this are not difficult to find: the co-productionist, relational framework of Jasanoff and authors working in that paradigm have already developed a language of assemblages, co-production, enrolment, mobilities and hybrid collectives etc. This could help to systematize current distinctions of 'tight' and 'loose' networks, and the phenomenon that often seems to appear in the empirical cases of networking: networking as a social innovation ambition in and of itself.

### **Cluster C: *Relations of SI initiatives to institutional change processes.***

Cluster C seems to have been the cluster to have gained the most in empirical substantiation. The theoretical ideas about confrontations with dominant institutions, about the search for an appropriate institutional home and the travelling across institutional logics have been substantiated and unpacked into typologies – together yielding several overviews of the kinds of interactions with various institutions that the SI LMs and networks are involved in. To a certain degree, this cluster has also been able to capture the time-sensitivity of CTP data, and to articulate the dynamics of institutionalization processes next to stable institutions and institutional logics.

In terms of progress towards elements of TSI middle-range theory, the abundance of empirical observations and coincidence of several analytical distinctions seems to have brought the cluster further away from the end goal in terms of fragmentation and conceptual challenges to be resolved. The Challenge, Alter, Replace and Provide Alternatives typology that is used in several propositions seems not to be adequate. An alternative is identified in P7, and if it is indeed adequate it requires adaptations well beyond P7. On the other hand, through the cluster C meta-analysis, it has become much clearer how the propositions overlap and interrelate, but with the caveat that: *“The findings of the analysis for each of the three propositions actually points them towards increasing overlaps with each other. The endpoint of this chapter then is to simply note that we still have more work to do in finalising the “division of labour” between the three propositions.”*. The parallel processes of operationalization and unpacking of abstract propositions have also led to converging conclusions on 1) the need for clear and consistent understandings of ‘institutions’ and derived concepts such as ‘institutional logics’ and 2) on the need to arrive at typologies – whichever they are - that unpack the ‘bandwidth’ of strategic action empirically observed. Moreover, the apparent competition between typologies and conceptual confusion is easily overstated. The developed understandings of institutional bricolage, search for an institutional home (whilst maintaining a degree of institutional nomadism) and the ‘traveling across institutional logics’ with their particular states and shades are clearly converging towards the middle-range metaphors and empirical substantiations aimed for.

### **Cluster D: *Relations of SI initiatives and networks to the broader social-material context.***

The cluster D meta-analysis has clearly been affected the most by what has earlier been called the ‘local manifestation-bias’. The timelines of local SI initiatives have proven to be often insufficient entry points into the broader social-material contexts within which TSI processes unfold (even though the CTP questionnaire does address this under the second category of ‘co-production’). The somewhat inward-looking data have made it difficult to test or confirm the theorizations of marketization/bureaucratization, the role of crises and construction of crisis narratives, and the ‘ebb and flow’ of SI as far as this refers to long historical periods. Likewise, the data gathered has not been very detailed about the social-*material* account of context as articulated in our Jasanoffian co-production framework. Quite often the accounts of CTPs have reaffirmed the anthropocentric understandings of the social that the aforementioned framework challenges with reason. The CTP database has not been particularly informative about what happens between SI initiatives’ backs.

The implication of the last point is also that the substantiation and unpacking of social-material context will require more interpretive work and a closer look at the CTP files – possibly even looking for further basic empirics on particular unclassifiable initiatives. Cluster D meta-analysis



has in fact generated clear indications of a broad set of social-technological-ecological-spiritual-governmental transformations that formed relevant backgrounds to particular initiatives in the more than 25 countries covered in the database. These substantiations of relevant social-material background changes have in the first instance created a certain unsettling of the theorizations on this, especially on the assumed relevance of 'marketization' and 'bureaucratization'. On the other hand, the observed and to a certain degree already unpacked fragmentation of movements may well become a cornerstone to cluster D theorization: roughly similar to the 'diverse transformations' account that Stirling (2011) holds against idealistic pictures of 'integrative transitions'. Combined with the distinguished shades and patterns of innovativeness and restoration (P11) and the apparent ambiguities surrounding the relevance of crises, the meta-analysis does seem to have generated empirical insights that can be developed into coherent statements about the social-material context for TSI. The three movements or 'waves' may need to be mistrusted as too simple a scheme (cf. Jasanoff (2003) on 'breaking the waves')), but they still seem valuable to elaborate into a more complex metaphor. The transformations in the social-material context could be described through waves of longer and shorter duration, different kinds of waves, and oscillations—and indeed the SI initiatives somehow trying to navigate the waves.

## 8.2 Reflections on CTP database and SI methodology

The above evaluation of meta-analysis results has highlighted the value of the CTP database to the testing and further elaboration of the 12 propositions. Accordingly, it has been underlined that there are some systematic limitations in this data-set and underlying SI methodology. It is important to be aware of the mismatches between theory and empirics, reflect on bias and selection effects, and consider what the implications of the empirical evidence are – well beyond face value. These considerations have in fact pervaded the development trajectory of the CTP database, and they have been prominent as well in the previous step of TRANSIT empirical investigations (WP4). Important follow-ups on this issue are Pel et al. (in progress) and Haxeltine et al. (in progress), as contributions to an international workshop and a journal special issue on 'Methodological challenges in Social Innovation research'.

Evaluated beyond the immediate instrumentality to the theoretical 12-proposition exercise - an important justification for the significant amount of efforts and resources invested into the data gathering - and also beyond the context of methodological reflection, the CTP database can be cast in a somewhat less critical light. As mentioned, TRANSIT researchers could conduct many further searches, and see their empirical observations associated with more or less similar observations on other initiatives in other countries. Moreover, the wider public will be able to do so as well, through an interface that is easy to use: the 74 key words provide various entries into TSI theory, and will as such be equipped with brief explanations and hyperlinks to further readings.

Finally, a particularly valuable aspect of the database that yet has to be realized to the full is indeed its operation as a knowledge infrastructure (Cf Pel (2016), section 3.2). Interviewees themselves and many others will be able to see our rendition of their accounts on screen, see those of other initiatives, and possibly arrive at new insights into the world of TSI. The preparations for the online launch are aimed to facilitate broader database searching, generation of propositions, and critical testing – parallel to and possibly intertwined with TRANSIT.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Analytical strategies to meta-analysis

- **Solidifying.** The CTP database allows propositions to be supported through a broader empirical basis – especially when resting strongly on theorization rather than inductive construction through WP4 evidence.
- **Making time-sensitive.** The CTP database contains timelines and process data, describing events and to a certain extent event patterns, phases and dynamics. The key words from key word theme 5 support searching for process patterns. This ‘time-sensitivity’ is a key added value of the CTP data to exploit – several propositions are formulated as statements on processes.
- **Substantiating.** Some propositions may be quite solid in theoretical respect, but still they need empirical ‘flesh on the bone’ and telling examples.
- **Unpacking.** Some propositions are as yet rather abstract and general, whilst already containing traces of distinctions and typologies through which they could be specified. Some propositions contain typologies that seem to merit more fine-grained categorization, or reconsideration of distinctions.
- **Confirming.** Even if proposition-testing and quantitative validation is not the key to CTP meta-analysis, it is possible and desirable to gather and clearly present the evidence that supports our theoretical assertions. For some assertions we will have a large evidence basis that supports it, for others less so. Importantly, CTP evidence can be used to identify ‘exemplar’, ‘paradigmatic’, ‘extreme’ cases, et cetera – as categorizations supporting analytical generalization.
- **Falsifying.** This is not the main strategy in the CTP meta-analysis. Still it is worthwhile to make use of the general principle of falsification, critically interrogating the assumptions in propositions and actively looking for empirical evidence that contradicts a proposition. Even when not frontally contradicting a proposition, such critical cases may still be important challenges that inform according caveats and refinements in a proposition.

## **Appendix 2: Meta-analysis team: Clusters and propositions**

### **Cluster A (lead: Adina Dumitru, UDC)**

- P1 Adina Dumitru (UDC)
- P2 Iris Kunze (BOKU)
- P3 Flor Avelino (DRIFT)

### **Cluster B (lead: Bonno Pel, ULB)**

- P4 Jens Dorland (AAU)
- P5 Julia Wittmayer (DRIFT)
- P6 Michael Sjøgaard Jørgensen (AAU)

### **Cluster C (lead: Alex Haxeltine, UEA)**

- P7 Alex Haxeltine (UEA)
- P8 Bonno Pel (ULB)
- P9 Flor Avelino (DRIFT)

### **Cluster D (lead: René Kemp, UM)**

- P10 René Kemp (UM)
- P11 Bonno Pel (ULB)
- P12 René Kemp (UM)

## Appendix 3: Overview CTPs, initiatives and their ID numbers

type	id	name	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	14	Arche Noah	visible
<b>CTP</b>	80	Secession in 1997	visible
<b>CTP</b>	82	Take-off - moving from theory to practice	visible
<b>CTP</b>	83	Finding financial stability from 1999	visible
<b>CTP</b>	84	Consolidation of networks and operations in and around Arche Noah	visible
<b>CTP</b>	81	Financial crisis in 2008	visible
<b>CTP</b>	85	Extension of AN's office in Brussels	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	56	Ashoka France	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	494	Ashoka-France-6	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	491	Ashoka-France-3	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	492	Ashoka-France-4	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	493	Ashoka-France-5	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	489	Ashoka-France-1	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	490	Ashoka-France-2	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	54	Ashoka Germany	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	397	Shared Leadership	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	399	Building the eco-system of social entrepreneurship	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	398	Spin-off	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	482	Ashoka-Germany-5	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	483	Ashoka-Germany-6	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	481	Ashoka-Germany-4	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	53	Ashoka Hungary	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	391	Local-Regional Shift	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	392	Fellow gatherings	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	393	Social Business Orientation	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	394	Without local office	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	395	Return to Hungary	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	347	Public inauguration of elected Ashoka Fellows	invisible

<b>Initiative</b>	55	Ashoka Poland	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	396	Looking for Fellows in the countryside	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	484	Ashoka-Poland-2	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	488	Ashoka-Poland-6	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	487	Ashoka-Poland-5	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	486	Ashoka-Poland-4	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	485	Ashoka-Poland-3	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	16	BICN - Basic Income Canada Network	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	369	Hugh Segal's advocacy and his time in the Senate of Canada (2005 - 2014)	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	367	Formation of BIEN-Canada	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	368	Evelyn L. Forget publishes her results on the Canadian MINCOME experiment	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	370	From BIEN-Canada to BICN: formal incorporation, re-branding and a new website	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	372	The BIG push campaign	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	371	The Canadian province Ontario commits to run a basic income pilot	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	15	BIEN-SUISSE (BIEN-Switzerland)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	373	The founding of BIEN-SUISSE (BIEN-Switzerland) in Geneva	visible
<b>CTP</b>	374	Paving the way to a popular vote: the film-essay "Basic Income – a cultural impulse" by Enno Schmidt and Daniel Häni	visible
<b>CTP</b>	375	Joining forces: a citizen initiative for a basic income	visible
<b>CTP</b>	376	Powerful imagery to kick-off the campaign for signature collection: Helvetia signs the Swiss citizen initiative for a basic income	visible
<b>CTP</b>	377	126,000 valid signatures are submitted at the palais fédéral in Bern: a popular vote will come!	visible
<b>CTP</b>	378	5 June 2016: Switzerland votes on a basic income	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	91	BIEN/Netzwerk Grundeinkommen	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	176	Founding of the Netzwerk Grundeinkommen	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	177	Collaboration of German-speaking Basic Income Networks (Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Italy/South Tyrol)	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	178	Götz W. Werner, well-known CEO of a German drug store chain becomes a public supporter of the Basic Income	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	179	Online petition for the introduction of a Basic Income in Germany	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	180	Failed establishment of a Commission of Enquiry (Enquête-Kommission) about the Basic Income at the German Federal Parliament (Bundestag)	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	181	Start of the German crowd-funding initiative Mein Grundeinkommen (My Basic Income)	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	90	BIEN/Vereniging Basisinkomen	visible

<b>CTP</b>	11	Publication on Basic Income by Dutch Scientific Advisory Council	visible
<b>CTP</b>	12	Establishment (predecessor of) Dutch Basic Income association (VBI)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	13	The deceptive political breakthrough of basic income	visible
<b>CTP</b>	14	Central Planning Bureau report/a decade of silence on basic income	visible
<b>CTP</b>	10	Publication influential Basic Income article	visible
<b>CTP</b>	9	Establishment network of experimentation initiatives	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	42	DESI - DESIS Lab Belo Horizonte	visible
<b>CTP</b>	200	Sustainability report for UEMG (State University of Minas Gerais)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	201	Change in the physical space	visible
<b>CTP</b>	205	Recognition award (DESI BH won the Social Technology Award of the Bank of Brazil Foundation for a project undertaken for the deaf).	visible
<b>CTP</b>	202	Food design project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	204	DESI BH team member output	visible
<b>CTP</b>	206	Team Change (students complete their studies)	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	44	DESI - DESIS Lab Florianópolis	visible
<b>CTP</b>	209	Partnership with AMPE in Alto Vale	visible
<b>CTP</b>	207	Group Foundation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	208	Team change / volunteering	visible
<b>CTP</b>	210	Partnership with COLIMAR	visible
<b>CTP</b>	211	New approach: territorial development	visible
<b>CTP</b>	212	Methodological change: participatory design	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	41	DESI - ID+ DESIS Lab, Aveiro	visible
<b>CTP</b>	65	Invitation to constitute a DESIS Lab and the first course in Design for Social Innovation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	277	Project "Action for Age": national and international recognition	visible
<b>CTP</b>	92	Project "What do we eat": local recognition (in the city of Aveiro)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	278	DESI Lab founded as local manifestation of DESIS network	visible
<b>CTP</b>	279	Internal recognition (in the university) opened up new projects	visible
<b>CTP</b>	280	Interdisciplinary collaboration and (potential) opportunities	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	93	DESI - POLIMI DESIS Lab Italy	visible
<b>CTP</b>	281	Starting point of DESIS Network (EMUDE project)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	282	Project Cohousing.it	visible
<b>CTP</b>	283	Project Feeding Milan	visible



<b>CTP</b>	284	Project Creative Citizens	visible
<b>CTP</b>	285	Project Coltivando (a community vegetable garden set up at the Politecnico di Milano Bovisa Campus)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	286	Formalization and coordination of the DESIS Network	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	94	Ecovillage Bergen	visible
<b>CTP</b>	320	Discovering other ecovillages	visible
<b>CTP</b>	54	Reshifting focus from physical land to group of people	visible
<b>CTP</b>	55	Implementing sociocracy	visible
<b>CTP</b>	56	Purchasing the land: receiving the key	visible
<b>CTP</b>	57	Asbest conflict with municipality and closing of the gates	visible
<b>CTP</b>	58	Current stalemate: waiting for planning permissions	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	28	Ecovillage Findhorn	visible
<b>CTP</b>	304	Start of Findhorn community	visible
<b>CTP</b>	305	Stop of the spiritual guidance for the community and legally establishing of the Findhorn Foundation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	306	Transition in Leadership, one of the co-founders leaves	visible
<b>CTP</b>	307	Entire board of Findhorn Foundation (FF) was resigning: Reinvention process	visible
<b>CTP</b>	308	Framework for the wider community is established (NFA)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	309	Close to bankruptcy: change of governance structure	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	26	Ecovillage Schloss Tempelhof	visible
<b>CTP</b>	288	Failure after first try of purchasing a site: the 'Ammerlake disaster'	visible
<b>CTP</b>	289	Purchase of ecovillage site 'Schloss Tempelhof'	visible
<b>CTP</b>	295	Foundation of village school	visible
<b>CTP</b>	296	Process of implementing "all leaders" principle	visible
<b>CTP</b>	290	From expansion to integrated growth and social sustainability	visible
<b>CTP</b>	297	Opening of a village café	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	25	Ecovillage Sieben Linden	visible
<b>CTP</b>	298	Start with a project planning centre as first step to realise a large ecovillage	visible
<b>CTP</b>	299	Buying Sieben Linden land and permission to build a new village	visible
<b>CTP</b>	300	Regular retreats and 'ZEGG Forum' (group communication method) was introduced	visible
<b>CTP</b>	301	Successful completion of first two straw bale houses, kick-off for straw bale construction in Germany	visible
<b>CTP</b>	302	Agreement process on animal husbandry	visible

<b>CTP</b>	303	Building of education centre extension	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	95	Fair Shares	visible
<b>CTP</b>	462	Creation of Fair Shares	visible
<b>CTP</b>	463	Classification, definition and legal status	visible
<b>CTP</b>	464	Childcare	visible
<b>CTP</b>	465	Frustration of health care efforts and ambitions	visible
<b>CTP</b>	466	Frustration over criminal justice work	visible
<b>CTP</b>	467	Securing independent funding stream by establishing Gloucester Motorway Services	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	59	FEBEA/Banca Popolare Etica	visible
<b>CTP</b>	415	Constitution of the credit cooperative Banca Popolare Etica	visible
<b>CTP</b>	411	Establishment of a new organizational structure within Banca Popolare Etica	visible
<b>CTP</b>	412	Strategic plan to improve the external communication of Banca Popolare Etica	visible
<b>CTP</b>	416	BPE's new frame towards a new civil economy approach	visible
<b>CTP</b>	413	Election of the new President of Banca Popolare Etica	visible
<b>CTP</b>	414	Banca Popolare Etica launches a new Webpage with online banking service	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	60	FEBEA/Credal	visible
<b>CTP</b>	417	Constitution of Credal Credit Cooperative	visible
<b>CTP</b>	441	Legal restrictions to public fundraising of non-banking institutions	visible
<b>CTP</b>	439	Crédal launches microcredit products	visible
<b>CTP</b>	418	Strategic partnership between Crédal and Dexia Foundation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	440	Change on the business model of Credal: From marginality to becoming an alternative	visible
<b>CTP</b>	442	Low interest rates in lending business	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	58	FEBEA/Fiare	visible
<b>CTP</b>	39	Agreement with the Italian credit cooperative Banca Popolare Etica	visible
<b>CTP</b>	38	Attempt to create a new European (ethical) credit cooperative	visible
<b>CTP</b>	35	Celebration of Fiare's General Assembly in Madrid	visible
<b>CTP</b>	40	Fiare obtains the inscription in the Spanish register of financial entities	visible
<b>CTP</b>	37	Fiare opens its first banking office in Bilbao	visible
<b>CTP</b>	36	Celebration of Fiare Banca Etica General Assembly	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	57	FEBEA/Merkur Cooperative Bank	visible

<b>CTP</b>	31	Constitution of Merkur Cooperative Bank	visible
<b>CTP</b>	32	Merkur receives a large investment from a new shareholder (a Danish trust)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	34	Expansion of Merkur across Danish territory	visible
<b>CTP</b>	33	2007-2008 financial crisis	visible
<b>CTP</b>	327	Danish financial/economic crisis	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	73	FL1 [AWAITING PERMISSIONS]	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	496	FL-1-2	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	499	FL-1-5	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	497	FL-1-3	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	495	FL-1-1	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	500	FL-1-6	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	498	FL-1-4	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	74	FL2 (Southern England)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	241	Naming strategies	visible
<b>CTP</b>	242	Headhunted	visible
<b>CTP</b>	245	Limitations on funding from digital infrastructure	visible
<b>CTP</b>	243	Hiring a dedicated team	visible
<b>CTP</b>	244	Public engagement	visible
<b>CTP</b>	246	Codified long-term strategy	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	75	FL3 (North-East England)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	256	Local university resources	visible
<b>CTP</b>	257	Meet-ups	visible
<b>CTP</b>	258	Committing to dedicated workshop space	visible
<b>CTP</b>	254	Bringing in the first employee	visible
<b>CTP</b>	253	Sustainable funding models	visible
<b>CTP</b>	255	Defining the organisation's purpose	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	76	FL4 (East England)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	266	No red flags	visible
<b>CTP</b>	265	Bootstrap funding	visible
<b>CTP</b>	268	Accessing the correct higher education contact	visible
<b>CTP</b>	267	Two-stage verification	visible

<b>CTP</b>	269	Clear blue water	visible
<b>CTP</b>	270	Gender balance	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	77	Hackspace 1 (North of England)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	271	Digital to physical instantiation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	275	Company structure	visible
<b>CTP</b>	272	Decision to leave free premises	visible
<b>CTP</b>	273	Intergenerational learning	visible
<b>CTP</b>	276	Operating as a do-ocracy	visible
<b>CTP</b>	274	Changing membership models	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	78	Hackspace 2 (North-West of England)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	260	Creating a curatorial space	visible
<b>CTP</b>	261	Generating large grants	visible
<b>CTP</b>	262	Shifts in leadership structure	visible
<b>CTP</b>	259	Defining purpose	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	263	Space renovation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	264	Being located in the North of England	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	79	Hackspace 3 (Southern England)	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	235	CTP1: Managing Rapid Growth	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	236	CTP2: Building a new space	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	237	CTP3: Creating voting protocols	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	238	CTP4: Dealing with difficult members	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	239	CTP5: Delayed housing issues	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	240	CTP6: Community management	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	80	Hackspace 4 (South-Central England)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	247	Tapping into existing communities	visible
<b>CTP</b>	249	Creating legal protocols and structures	visible
<b>CTP</b>	250	Reconsidering funding models	visible
<b>CTP</b>	248	Managing toxic members	visible
<b>CTP</b>	252	Planning to fail gracefully	visible
<b>CTP</b>	251	Creating legibility through space	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	62	ICA/CCVQ	visible

<b>CTP</b>	95	Legal Capacity and buying of land	visible
<b>CTP</b>	94	Infrastructure problems	visible
<b>CTP</b>	446	Public acknowledgments	visible
<b>CTP</b>	221	self-building and housing allocation: the module system	visible
<b>CTP</b>	447	Specialized working groups	visible
<b>CTP</b>	448	New productive and services projects	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	64	ICA/COVILPI	visible
<b>CTP</b>	429	Resolution 525/97	visible
<b>CTP</b>	427	Mobilization to the municipal housing commission	visible
<b>CTP</b>	428	Murder of the cooperative leader "el Oso Cisneros"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	431	Creation of the community radio station FM Riachuelo	visible
<b>CTP</b>	449	Inauguration of the "Paseo de la economía popular"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	430	Inauguration of COVILPI's first Building	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	61	ICA/Fucvam	visible
<b>CTP</b>	310	Co-housing Act	visible
<b>CTP</b>	93	Pay Strike	visible
<b>CTP</b>	213	Portfolio of Land	visible
<b>CTP</b>	216	Recycling Complexes	visible
<b>CTP</b>	215	Co-operative Act	visible
<b>CTP</b>	214	FUCVAM Internationalization	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	63	ICA/MOI	visible
<b>CTP</b>	217	Occupation of the Padelail Building	visible
<b>CTP</b>	218	Creation of the MOI	visible
<b>CTP</b>	220	Co-operative housing law in Buenos Aires city	visible
<b>CTP</b>	219	Economical and social crisis in 2002	visible
<b>CTP</b>	406	Eviction of the PADELAI building	visible
<b>CTP</b>	438	Co-housing federation	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	21	Impact Hub Amsterdam (IH AMS)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	42	Locating at Westerstraat	visible
<b>CTP</b>	43	Professionalising from volunteers to hired management	visible
<b>CTP</b>	44	Global Rebranding	visible

<b>CTP</b>	45	Local Rebranding: from The Hub to Impact Hub Amsterdam	visible
<b>CTP</b>	46	Relocating to Westerpark	visible
<b>CTP</b>	47	Ending the lease of the Westerpark	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	89	Impact Hub Belo Horizonte, Brazil	visible
<b>CTP</b>	87	Change the local manifestation place	visible
<b>CTP</b>	86	New business model	visible
<b>CTP</b>	91	Engaging in networking meetings	visible
<b>CTP</b>	90	Improving the quality of the Hub service: members with greater demands	visible
<b>CTP</b>	88	Staff reduction	visible
<b>CTP</b>	89	Integration events – The IH Sexy Salad	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	22	Impact Hub London King's Cross (IH KC)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	52	The Hub goes global	visible
<b>CTP</b>	53	Change in global governance	visible
<b>CTP</b>	48	Change in ownership	visible
<b>CTP</b>	49	Hiring new manager	visible
<b>CTP</b>	50	Impact Hub Scaling programme	visible
<b>CTP</b>	51	Implementation Nexodus (automatisation software)	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	23	Impact Hub Vienna	visible
<b>CTP</b>	328	Start renting out physical space	visible
<b>CTP</b>	329	launch of Impact HUB Vienna	visible
<b>CTP</b>	330	Founding of the ImpactHUB Vienna Incubation Centre	visible
<b>CTP</b>	331	From individual support to team & group support	visible
<b>CTP</b>	332	Merging of IH Vienna incubation and IH Vienna	visible
<b>CTP</b>	333	Internationalization and expansion to Eastern Europe	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	38	INFORSE - Samsøe Energy Academy	visible
<b>CTP</b>	400	THE START – 1997 – 1999: Samsøe becomes Sustainable Energy Island	visible
<b>CTP</b>	401	Learning public involvement processes, 1998 – 2001	visible
<b>CTP</b>	402	Creating a meeting place with content 1999 (-2007)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	403	2001 Election – Lack of economy and new opportunities	visible
<b>CTP</b>	404	2007: Energy Academy on an Energy Island	visible
<b>CTP</b>	405	2016: New funding challenges after change in government June 2015	visible

<b>Initiative</b>	40	INFORSE -CLER	visible
<b>CTP</b>	432	1992: Eye opening study trip	visible
<b>CTP</b>	433	March 1997: a framework for 200 Local Energy Information Offices created	visible
<b>CTP</b>	434	2001: PREDAC – a European project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	435	2005: Manifesto against fuel poverty	visible
<b>CTP</b>	436	2007: Changing the course in Energy Policy	visible
<b>CTP</b>	437	2011: 100 renewable energy villages (100-RES-COMMUNITIES)	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	39	INFORSE -Ecoserveis	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	474	Foundation of Ecoserveis	visible
<b>CTP</b>	475	Begin to Work Energy Poverty	visible
<b>CTP</b>	479	Growth	visible
<b>CTP</b>	476	Boom in Energy Poverty	visible
<b>CTP</b>	478	Strategic alliance with other organisations	visible
<b>CTP</b>	477	New funding of projects	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	37	INFORSE -VE	visible
<b>CTP</b>	385	1987: making VE a professional local actor	visible
<b>CTP</b>	386	1992: VE goes global	visible
<b>CTP</b>	387	1997-2002: Scenarios for a 100 % sustainable energy future	visible
<b>CTP</b>	388	November 2001: No national funding	visible
<b>CTP</b>	389	2004 – 2005: finding new funding	visible
<b>CTP</b>	390	2012: Young Energy – renewing VE	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	49	Living Knowledge - Science Shop DTU	visible
<b>CTP</b>	121	The Foundation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	311	Science Shop becomes permanent	visible
<b>CTP</b>	312	The merger	visible
<b>CTP</b>	313	The international project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	314	SB is hired	visible
<b>CTP</b>	120	The closure	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	50	Living Knowledge - Science Shop Ireland	visible
<b>CTP</b>	317	The Living Knowledge network	visible
<b>CTP</b>	315	Appointment of provice chancellor for community engagement	visible

<b>CTP</b>	316	the higher education innovation fund	visible
<b>CTP</b>	287	Partnership with the management school	visible
<b>CTP</b>	318	Organisational change	visible
<b>CTP</b>	319	The EnRRICH project	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	52	Living Knowledge - The Environmental Social Science Research Group (ESSRG)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	342	Establishing the research group	visible
<b>CTP</b>	336	Establishment of a community service and volunteering centre	visible
<b>CTP</b>	343	Establishing ESSRG	visible
<b>CTP</b>	346	The PERARES project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	345	New management in ESSRG	visible
<b>CTP</b>	344	Establishing activities at Corvinus University	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	51	Living Knowledge - Wissenschaftsladen Bonn	visible
<b>CTP</b>	321	First paid staff	visible
<b>CTP</b>	322	First big project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	323	The business idea	visible
<b>CTP</b>	324	The first international project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	326	First dismissal of an employee	visible
<b>CTP</b>	325	A new direction	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	33	Living Labs - Laurea	visible
<b>CTP</b>	152	Limited amount of residents in workshops	visible
<b>CTP</b>	153	Emerging participation challenges	visible
<b>CTP</b>	154	Challenges with engaging immigrants	visible
<b>CTP</b>	157	Challenges in the relationship between professionals around community centre	visible
<b>CTP</b>	155	Professional cooperation challenges	visible
<b>CTP</b>	156	Organizing Restaurant Day	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	35	Living Labs - Living Lab Eindhoven	visible
<b>CTP</b>	164	The realization that citizens need to be engaged truly	visible
<b>CTP</b>	165	Granting of a Provincial subsidy for Stratumseind 2.0	visible
<b>CTP</b>	166	Citizens' initiative BIEB faces challenges	visible
<b>CTP</b>	168	A brave coalition agreement for Eindhoven	visible
<b>CTP</b>	167	Citizens' initiative in Prinsenjagt faces challenges	visible



<b>CTP</b>	169	A vision for Strijp-S	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	36	Living Labs - Sfax Smart Living Lab	visible
<b>CTP</b>	170	The inauguration of the Chair of Innovation in Sfax	visible
<b>CTP</b>	171	The Tunisian Revolution	visible
<b>CTP</b>	172	Official declaration of the Regim Lab as a living lab	visible
<b>CTP</b>	173	Robotic Competition: RoboComp'2013	visible
<b>CTP</b>	174	Application of a quality management system to acquire ISO certification	visible
<b>CTP</b>	175	Application process and certification of IEEE	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	34	Living Labs -iMinds Living Labs	visible
<b>CTP</b>	158	Initiating iBrussels	visible
<b>CTP</b>	159	Consolidating 3 Flemish living lab projects	visible
<b>CTP</b>	160	Questioning the Flemish living lab projects	visible
<b>CTP</b>	161	An iMinds Living Lab team	visible
<b>CTP</b>	162	Developing a Business Model	visible
<b>CTP</b>	163	New iMinds structure	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	17	Magház - Seed House	visible
<b>CTP</b>	231	Open Day on Agrobiodiversity in the Parliament, 2009	visible
<b>CTP</b>	234	Seed-swapping in Szeged (HUN)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	230	International Meeting at Arche Noah	visible
<b>CTP</b>	233	Establishment of Magház	visible
<b>CTP</b>	229	Let's Liberate Diversity in Basel	visible
<b>CTP</b>	232	Practicality of Seed Saving (publication)	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	85	Omstilling Ry (Transition Ry)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	96	The establishment of Omstilling Ry	visible
<b>CTP</b>	97	Establishment of a new organisational structure and meeting process	visible
<b>CTP</b>	98	Energy Expo event	visible
<b>CTP</b>	100	Establishment of a Forest Garden (Skovhaven)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	101	Reclaiming waste project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	102	Ry Farmer's Market	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	24	Participatory Budgeting Amsterdam (PB Amsterdam)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	63	Forced co-production	visible

<b>CTP</b>	62	Letting go of human rights perspective	visible
<b>CTP</b>	61	Launch of Neighborhood budget instrument	visible
<b>CTP</b>	59	Re-organization municipality of Amsterdam	visible
<b>CTP</b>	64	Uptake of common work practices in policy cycles	visible
<b>CTP</b>	60	Partial budget authority to citizens	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	46	Participatory Budgeting Belo Horizonte	visible
<b>CTP</b>	182	Urbanization of a low-income neighborhood	visible
<b>CTP</b>	183	Digital Participatory Budgeting implementation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	184	Redesign of PB's methodology (aligned with the city planning)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	185	Implementation of Child and Adolescents' Participatory Budgeting	visible
<b>CTP</b>	186	Change in PB management architecture	visible
<b>CTP</b>	187	Inclusion of associated entities in the PB process	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	45	Participatory Budgeting Fortaleza	visible
<b>CTP</b>	68	Participatory Budgeting Emptied	visible
<b>CTP</b>	69	Participatory Budgeting Children and Adolescents	visible
<b>CTP</b>	66	Fortaleza PB (Participatory Budget) Coordinator Change	visible
<b>CTP</b>	67	Change of municipal government political project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	70	Change of vision and culture of social participation	visible
<b>CTP</b>	71	Digital Multi-Annual Plan (MAP)	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	47	Participatory Budgeting Porto Alegre	visible
<b>CTP</b>	188	Results of the Municipal Election of 1988	visible
<b>CTP</b>	190	Development of the dialog between the communities' representatives	visible
<b>CTP</b>	191	Municipal Election of 2012	visible
<b>CTP</b>	192	Change in the PB Cycle	visible
<b>CTP</b>	189	Municipal Election of 2004	visible
<b>CTP</b>	193	Government decentralization	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	18	ProSpecieRara	visible
<b>CTP</b>	197	Structure of the organization – Building up a network	visible
<b>CTP</b>	195	Cooperation with COOP	visible
<b>CTP</b>	199	Changing attitude - Shifting from conserving to developing	visible
<b>CTP</b>	196	Communication – Talk to everybody	visible

<b>CTP</b>	198	Creating a label	visible
<b>CTP</b>	194	Political campaign - Vielfalt für alle/Diversity for all	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	9	Red de Semillas	visible
<b>CTP</b>	74	Approval of the European directive regarding conservation varieties	visible
<b>CTP</b>	76	Approval of the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture	visible
<b>CTP</b>	77	Red de Semillas set up their own association	visible
<b>CTP</b>	78	Approval of the new seed legislation in Spain	visible
<b>CTP</b>	79	Creating an informal federation – the progress of Red de Semillas	visible
<b>CTP</b>	75	Changing the coordination of the organization	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	13	RIPESS/ APRES-GE	visible
<b>CTP</b>	350	The creation of APRES-GE	visible
<b>CTP</b>	351	Drawing up a Charter of values and membership criteria	visible
<b>CTP</b>	352	Period of development and the launch of major projects	visible
<b>CTP</b>	353	Departure of the first General Secretary	visible
<b>CTP</b>	354	A period of difficulties leading to a loss of funding	visible
<b>CTP</b>	355	Repositioning and the launch of "Demain Genève"	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	11	RIPESS/ CRIES	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	364	CRIES-CTP4	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	365	CRIES-CTP5	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	362	CRIES-CTP2	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	363	CRIES-CTP3	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	366	CRIES-CTP6	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	361	CRIES-CTP1	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	12	RIPESS/ Ecocitrus	visible
<b>CTP</b>	334	The story begins – partnership between Government and GTZ (German technical cooperation)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	356	Ecocitrus becomes an association/cooperative	visible
<b>CTP</b>	358	Decision in the plant	visible
<b>CTP</b>	359	Conflict management and the role of democracy in the cooperative	visible
<b>CTP</b>	357	Closing the citrus supply chain	visible
<b>CTP</b>	360	Tripartite Partnership - cooperative, government and private enterprise	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	10	RIPESS/ Groupe Terre	invisible

<b>CTP</b>	380	Groupe Terre- 2	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	381	Groupe Terre-3	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	384	Groupe-Terre-6	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	383	Groupe Terre -5	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	379	Groupe Terre-1	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	382	Groupe Terre-4	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	70	Shareable- ShareBloomington	visible
<b>CTP</b>	134	The Formation of ShareBloomington	visible
<b>CTP</b>	135	The Establishment of a Tool Library	visible
<b>CTP</b>	136	Realizing More Consistent Members Are Needed	visible
<b>CTP</b>	137	The Formalization of Timebank in ShareBloomington	visible
<b>CTP</b>	138	Connection with BloomingLab	visible
<b>CTP</b>	139	The Forming of a Seed Library	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	69	Shareable-Co-Bologna&LabGov	visible
<b>CTP</b>	122	The importance of the “urban commons” for today’s cities	visible
<b>CTP</b>	125	The beginning of the first Co-City: CO-Bologna	visible
<b>CTP</b>	123	The seminar ‘The City as Urban Commons’	visible
<b>CTP</b>	128	Experimental workshops in Bologna	visible
<b>CTP</b>	124	The establishment of LabGov	visible
<b>CTP</b>	126	The “White Book”: Co-Bologna’s evaluation	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	72	Shareable-ShareableAthens	visible
<b>CTP</b>	146	The creation of “Time Exchange Athens - Syntagma Square”	visible
<b>CTP</b>	147	Shareable representative moves to Athens from London	visible
<b>CTP</b>	149	Sharing economy and solidarity festival organized by Time Exchange Athens and others	visible
<b>CTP</b>	148	Presenting the international Ouishare initiative in Athens	visible
<b>CTP</b>	150	The last of a series of meetings - initiators of Ouishare quit	visible
<b>CTP</b>	151	Changing communication strategy during Greek referendum	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	71	Shareable-ShareMelbourne	visible
<b>CTP</b>	140	Darren Sharp becomes Australian Editor of Shareable	visible
<b>CTP</b>	141	Initiating Melbourne Mapjam	visible
<b>CTP</b>	142	Melbourne ShareFest takes place	visible

<b>CTP</b>	143	Setting up Yarra City Mapjam	visible
<b>CTP</b>	144	Meeting with Future Melbourne Plan team	visible
<b>CTP</b>	145	Darren Sharp's Speech in Melbourne Knowledge Week launch event	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	66	Slow Food/Slow Food Araba-Vitoria	visible
<b>CTP</b>	338	Organisation of the "I Cultural days in defence of food and gastronomic heritage"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	337	I Meeting on Civism & Food of Vitoria-Gasteiz	visible
<b>CTP</b>	27	SFAV launches the Slow Food school garden project in Vitoria Gasteiz	visible
<b>CTP</b>	28	Organisation of the "Santiago Farming Fair" in Vitoria Gasteiz	visible
<b>CTP</b>	29	Designation of the President of SFAV as a member of the Slow Food International Board	visible
<b>CTP</b>	26	Participation in 2014's Terra Madre-Salone del Gusto	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	68	Slow Food/Slow Food Italy	visible
<b>CTP</b>	25	Publication of the first edition of the "Osterie d'Italia guide"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	21	Early taste education courses: "Slow Food taste workshops"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	22	Celebration of the first edition of Slow Food's "Salone del Gusto"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	335	Creation of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity in 2003	visible
<b>CTP</b>	23	Celebration of the first edition of "Terra Madre"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	24	Celebration of 2016 congress of Slow Food Italy	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	65	Slow Food/Slow Food Mexico	visible
<b>CTP</b>	19	Election of Alfonso Rocha as member of the International Board of Slow Food	visible
<b>CTP</b>	17	"Slow Food 2.0". Radical organizational change within Slow Food Mexico	visible
<b>CTP</b>	15	Creation of the Mexican Slow Food Youth Network (SFYN)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	16	Selection process of candidates to attend the international event "Salone del Gusto 2014"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	18	Constitution of the non-profit association "Comida Lenta"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	20	Collaboration agreement with the Ford Foundation	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	67	Slow Food/Slow Food USA	visible
<b>CTP</b>	339	Constitution of the Slow Food USA National Association	visible
<b>CTP</b>	30	Slow Food USA's RAFT Program (Renewing America's Food Traditions)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	340	Internal crisis in Slow Food USA National Association	visible
<b>CTP</b>	348	Slow Food USA canceled the biodiversity projects	visible
<b>CTP</b>	349	Re-establishment of the Slow Food USA's Ark of Taste project	visible

<b>CTP</b>	341	Slow Food USA undertakes a strategic planning process (2015-2016)	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	96	Timebanks-New Zealand-Lyttleton Harbour Time Bank	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	456	TB-NZ-1	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	458	TB-NZ-3	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	459	TB-NZ-4	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	460	TB-NZ-5	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	461	TB-NZ-6	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	457	TB-NZ-2	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	20	Timebanks-USA-Hour Exchange Portland	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	468	TB-USA-1	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	469	TB-USA-2	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	471	TB-USA-4	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	472	TB-USA-5	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	473	TB-USA-6	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	480	TB-USA-3	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	86	Transition Bro Gwaun	visible
<b>CTP</b>	99	Establishment of Transition Bro Gwaun	visible
<b>CTP</b>	103	Registration with Environment Wales	visible
<b>CTP</b>	104	Training courses in community engagement and outreach	visible
<b>CTP</b>	106	Fishguard tidal power feasibility study	visible
<b>CTP</b>	105	Fishguard Transition Cafe	visible
<b>CTP</b>	107	Abergwaun Community Turbine	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	87	Transition Norwich	visible
<b>CTP</b>	108	Formation of Transition Norwich group	visible
<b>CTP</b>	109	Unleashing of Transition Norwich	visible
<b>CTP</b>	111	Transition Circles project (TN2)	visible
<b>CTP</b>	112	Reorganisation of Transition Norwich core group	visible
<b>CTP</b>	110	Development of Farmshare project	visible
<b>CTP</b>	113	Disbanding of the Transition Norwich core group	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	88	Transition Town Tooting	visible
<b>CTP</b>	114	Establishment of Transition Town Tooting	visible

<b>CTP</b>	116	Establishment of co-chairing system	visible
<b>CTP</b>	115	Trashcatchers Carnival	visible
<b>CTP</b>	118	Development of a visual strategy / organisational diagram	visible
<b>CTP</b>	119	Organisational development workshop	visible
<b>CTP</b>	117	Beginning work on the Tooting Neighbourhood Plan	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	31	Via Campesina/ANAMURI	visible
<b>CTP</b>	424	Creation of ANAMURI	visible
<b>CTP</b>	422	International Campaign: "The Seeds, Patrimony of Peoples in the Service of Humanity"	visible
<b>CTP</b>	419	First ANAMURI's National Congress	visible
<b>CTP</b>	421	National forestry development law 20.488	visible
<b>CTP</b>	423	The Chilean senate approves the UPOV 91 agreement	visible
<b>CTP</b>	420	National school of agroecology	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	29	Via Campesina/APENOC	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	73	Eviction intent in "El Duraznal"	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	407	Law of normalization of title deeds	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	408	Land occupation in "Paso Viejo"	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	222	New political involvement of APENOC	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	409	The peasant walk	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	410	Technological development projects	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	32	Via Campesina/MNCI	visible
<b>CTP</b>	225	Creation of the MNCI	visible
<b>CTP</b>	223	Lockout of agricultural associations	visible
<b>CTP</b>	226	First National Congress of MNCI	visible
<b>CTP</b>	224	Law proposal to stop evictions	visible
<b>CTP</b>	227	National Roundtable for Sustainable Agriculture	visible
<b>CTP</b>	228	Family farming law	visible
<b>Initiative</b>	30	Via Campesina/RMRU	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	445	Creation of the RMRU	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	444	New RMRU position on GM crops	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	72	Calmañana cooperative problem	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	426	Participation in the School of Political Training of Rural Women	invisible

<b>CTP</b>	425	Incorporation of RMRU into Vía Campesina	invisible
<b>CTP</b>	443	Co-ownership Resolution of the National Colonization Institute	invisible
<b>Initiative</b>	19	Volunteer Labour Bank/Network	visible
<b>CTP</b>	450	Mizushima and her Creation of TimeBanking	visible
<b>CTP</b>	451	Nationwide introduction of multi-currency TimeBanking in Japan by JCSA	visible
<b>CTP</b>	452	Nippon Active Life Club and the Gold Plan	visible
<b>CTP</b>	453	Loss of Mizushima and her Leadership	visible
<b>CTP</b>	454	The Non-Profit-Organisation Law and related Reforms	visible
<b>CTP</b>	455	Long Term Care Insurance Law	visible