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KATARSIS

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Social Innovation: Collective action, social learning and transdisciplinary research

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Preface: From the study of social exclusion to the analysis of socially innovative strategies (Diana MacCallum and Abid Mehmood)

This report covers approximately four years' collaboration between 19 scholarly institutions under the coordination action KATARSIS, funded by the EU's Framework Program 6. The purpose of KATARSIS was to bring together theorists, researchers and practitioners who are interested in the causes and consequences of inequality, giving particular emphasis to the (collective and individual) strategies through which people respond to social exclusion. Through an iterative series of research packages, meetings and conferences, KATARSIS members have built a rich, but initially fragmented, set of case studies and theoretical perspectives up into a strong network and research program.

A central binding concept for KATARSIS' work has been that of *social innovation*. Though 'innovation' has long been a key objective for economic policy in the EU, its implementation has tended to focus on competitive technology- and market-based solutions, particularly under the model of the Knowledge-Based Society (KBS). Our approach explicitly challenges this model. To us, 'innovation' should be directed first and foremost at meeting *human* needs – and, in conditions of inequality or exclusion, this means innovating in *social relations*, not just in markets (MacCallum et al. 2009).

Moreover, the overly rationalist discourse associated with the KBS has tended to privilege the scientific. We were concerned to re-valorise a strong European tradition of creativity in the areas of community development, arts, and activism: a 'Creative Social Europe' (Moulaert and Gonzalez 2005) whose capacity to promote social inclusion has been compromised by years of neo-liberal policy influence from North American and global governance institutions (such as the OECD, IMF and World Bank). And yet there are thousands of organisations, hundreds of thousands of people, involved in creative strategies to fight inequality and social exclusion in Europe. We felt that it was crucial to learn from these, to recognise that people in need often mobilise resources in novel ways, generating new knowledges and social practices and triggering processes of social innovation that open fresh opportunities for policy design and implementation. And we wanted also to explore how the *conduct* of research into social exclusion/inclusion could be informed and inspired by such socially creative strategies.

To these ends, KATARSIS drew upon different research traditions from a range of disciplines – sociology, geography, economics, political science, anthropology, urban and regional planning, community development, policy analysis, and public health, among others – and

also upon the experiences and practices of actors working against social exclusion in a range of sectors (non-government, public and private) and fields (employment, education, health, housing, environment, youth work, arts, governance, and so on). We focussed on several broad purposes:

- to identify and share information about existing socially creative strategies (SCS);
- to share approaches to researching and analysing SCS;
- to tease out commonalities and differences between these SCS, and between the research strategies used to explore them;
- to connect these commonalities and differences to broader theoretical and methodological debates in the social sciences;
- to work towards an integrated methodological framework for further research into SCS, drawing upon the strengths of practitioners' work as well as those of various academic approaches; and
- to develop and disseminate our findings, and the concept of social innovation, as positive practical antidotes to market-oriented innovation and development policy.

Our work program towards these objectives involved four main steps:

- (i) Literature surveys and cross-disciplinary conversations, mostly within the 'core' KATARSIS team, to establish the State of the Art of research into SCS across five 'existential fields' (that is, fields of experience where groups have reacted to exclusion in creative ways): Labour Market and Social Economy; Education and Training; Housing and Neighbourhood; Health and Environment; Governance and Democracy.
- (ii) Integration of the findings from Step (i) with broader scientific and practical perspectives on the study of SCS, organised around three themes: Bottom-up Creativity (especially in arts and culture); Governance; and the theoretical concept of Social Innovation. This step involved opening the network up wide at a wonderful week-long workshop in Lisbon in January 2008; here, scholars, activists and policy makers from all over the world were able to share practical experiences, case studies,

thoughts about the effects of spatial and institutional contexts, theoretical and epistemological positions, and research methodologies.

- (iii) Development of an integrated approach to future multidisciplinary research about social exclusion in general, and socially creative strategies in particular. This step was shaped by the extraordinary richness of the work surveyed and analysed in Steps (i) and (ii). Rather than attempting to reconcile fundamental epistemological differences or holding a ‘beauty contest’, we have placed various research approaches in dialogue with each other around some methodological considerations which have emerged as crucial to the integrity of social innovation research: theoretical framing; learning from lived experience; conversation across case studies; collaboration with practitioners oriented to action or change; consideration of marginalised or excluded groups; acknowledgement of research heritage.
- (iv) Dissemination of our findings in scientific, policy and practitioner realms.

This final report – the base manuscript for a Handbook to be published with Edward Edgar in 2011 - represents Step (iii) above. In it, KATARSIS partners and friends present examples of, observations about, and theoretical reflections on the study of socially creative strategies in relation to the themes above, building a methodological framework that crosses realms of social practice as well as scientific disciplines. Throughout this project, we pay respect to many social actors who have responded to deprivation not with despair, but with imagination, creativity and a dedication to change.

Introduction: Challenges for social innovation research (Frank Moulaert)

Over the last two decades social innovation research has gone through significant developments. Theory building, case-study analysis, action research, improvement of empirical research methodology, reflections on epistemological viewpoints, etc. have reached momentum. Time has come to take stock of what is valuable and to situate the contemporary discussion on the role of social innovation in society and its communities, how it is studied and how social innovation research should be linked to practice, within a constructive dialogical framework.

KATARSIS was meant to make a significant methodological contribution to social innovation research. The report first explains why as of the 1960s social innovation theories preceded epistemological reflections; it links the rise of case-study research and the search for empirical research methods to the growing reality of social exclusion in deprived urban neighbourhoods (1970s- 1980), and clarifies why for social innovation research transdisciplinarity is the only way toward an epistemological coherent methodology.

From theories to epistemological reflections on social innovation

The contemporary chronology of social innovation research is interesting. It starts with new theory in the 1960s, followed by case-studies in the 1970-80s, followed by interrogations on which empirical research methods and methodological approaches fit social innovation research best. Epistemological reflections came along with the contemporary general concern in social science to make the agency of scientific activity an object of social science analysis: What is the role of social science in society? For social innovation research this meant: What questions should social innovation research address and by which methodology? That the theoretical interrogations came first had to do with the ideological debates going on in the 1960s. The revolt against the top-down corporate and state system, the paternalist family structure, the hierarchical school system, the quest for modes of human emancipation, etc. questioned the foundations of society. The practice of social innovation in the 1960s and 1970s was much more about democratic participation, democracy in education, ... than meeting needs rising from social exclusion; this came later as the oil crisis unrolled into a major economic crisis with severe socioeconomic exclusion processes affecting large layers of the population, especially in industrialised cities. The theory of the sixties, however, that feeds into foundational work on the transformation of social relations, got the general picture

correct: social innovation is about the transformation of social relations in order to improve the satisfaction of human needs across social groups.

Empirical research methods and case-studies as a basis for social learning

The empirical case-studies that appeared as of the 1980 were quite diverse. They belong to different fields: area and community studies, social economy, progressive political studies, cultural studies, urban sociology; but also management science and business administration, ... For most of the case-studies, the theme is the improvement of the human condition in a collective setting: overcoming social exclusion in a declining urban neighbourhood, horizontalizing the communication channels in hierarchical multidivisional corporations, developing skills for political participation, ... The commonality of the experiences was well expressed in the high tones of the 1960s; but these did not deliver the necessary methods and methodological perspectives needed to study the cases taking into account the relationship between problem identification and problem solving, or between research and problem solution on the other hand. What this stream of empirical studies brought about instead was the reunion of the different roles in socially innovative practices, as well as the sharing of experiences across localities. The latter exchange was significantly promoted by EU programmes such as URBAN and URBACT, EC FP research programmes on urban social exclusion (for an overview see Moulaert, Morlicchio and Cavola, 2007), European networks as EUROCITIES and URBA-NET. Thus through this mixing of research roles, sharing of experiences and the linking of research to practice the intrinsically interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature of social innovation research was posed.

From interdisciplinarity to transdisciplinarity

Because of the often multidimensional role of social innovation researchers – with questions about the links or boundaries between scientific analysis, political activism, movement organization, advocacy planning - looking at concrete experiences through case-studies is a critical aspect of the methodology-building process. Central to this building process is the ‘joint’ or social learning process in which different Social Innovation agents share their perspectives, expectations and experiences. Through this sharing, new insights on sources of SI, types of Socially Creative Strategies (SCS) and methods to study experiences and innovations are developed. This interactivity between dimensions of social innovation and between social innovation agents feeds into the interdisciplinary character of social

innovation research. Various authors in the field have stressed this and we will return to it in a number of chapters in this book.

But the main consequence of this interactivity we want to highlight here is the *transdisciplinary* nature of the SI research. Because of the thematic focus of social innovation research on the dynamics of a society and the role of change agency, there is a need for a transdisciplinary steering of epistemology and methodology. This includes the reflexive interrogations on the role of different agencies – see above – but goes beyond it by launching some meta-theoretical methodological reflections on the social production of society, its communities, organizations and trend-setting agencies. “Where do SI and SCS fit into these meta-theoretical ambitions?” is a major theoretical challenge to address. We will come back on this question in the last part of the book, in particular when addressing the role of Sociology of Knowledge in social innovation research methodology. But there are other aspects to transdisciplinarity. If we consider the research process from A to Z and back – or should we consider it in a rhizomatic way? – the following steps or moments should be mentioned:

- Social innovation research is about improving social relations and tackling social problems or meeting social needs. In all of these ‘concerned’ people are at the interactive centre and should ideally be the ones who reveal their needs, and set research priorities both thematically and chronologically.
- These ‘stakeholders’ should also play a role in clarifying the research questions, the kind of answers they expect, their expected impact on collective action, ... This means that ‘stakeholders’ hold a role in setting the epistemology of the research and that they can become involved in the selection of relevant theories. Ideally, those theories that give a clear status to types of agency and to collaboration in choice-making and action should be privileged.
- Together with the professional researchers they will explore the available research methods and ‘reconstruct’ in a transdisciplinary way methodologies and research instruments that fit the social innovation interactive logics (needs-means, agency-process, empowering human development resources, etc.). Various types of action research and sociology of knowledge frameworks are relevant here.

- In addition, ‘other’ social innovation actors but researchers can or should play a role as (co)researcher. A minimalistic position as to this moment in the SI research process is that stakeholders should act as evaluators of the research process, its actions and outcomes. But of course they also become co-researchers.

The different parts of this report cover the different dimensions of the social innovation research process. In particular, they look at the impact of the intrinsically societal character of the research subject (“social innovation as a social relation, as collective agency, as empowerment, ...”), the necessity for theory to be inter and transdisciplinary, for case-studies and their methodology to reflect this and for researchers and their networks to apply an ethics that is coherent with those of the social innovation approach.

PART 1. SOCIAL INNOVATION THEORY: ITS ROLE IN KNOWLEDGE BUILDING

Introduction – Stijn Oosterlynck

The first part of this report is concerned with a number of different, but related theoretical and meta-theoretical issues in the social innovation approach. Social innovation refers to a broad and interdisciplinary field of research concerned with the transformation of existing social relationships or the forging of new ones in order to allow people, especially disadvantaged social groups, to better satisfy their basic needs. As such, it covers a variety of research themes (and corresponding theories and methodologies) ranging from territorial innovation models over urban planning and public services to social movements and community development. Social innovation also inevitably includes an action perspective. It moves beyond the critical analysis of societal processes to make suggestions as to how action might be taken to create more inclusive and emancipatory social relations. The chapters in this part, then, aim to do two things. First, to identify, on a theoretical level, some characteristic themes and dimensions of socially innovative practices to overcome social exclusion. Secondly, to reflect on the emergence and development of the scientific community around the social innovation approach and the role of its thinking practices in promoting social innovation. In the first chapter in this part, Moulaert, MacCallum and Hillier argue that the sheer complexity of social innovation analysis calls for a meta-theoretical framework that can accommodate and guide us through the variety of ontological, epistemological and methodological stances adopted by social innovation scholars. They propose a sociology of knowledge approach that reconstructs the socio-political context in which social innovation research has been (and still is) developed. One of the added values of such an approach is that scientists and their social actions, in this case social innovation scholars, become an integral part in the development of social innovation. In sum, they identify different roles for theory in social innovation analysis, all of them being linked through the SoK approach. In the second chapter in this part Vicari and Tornaghi do a transversal reading of a diverse range of socially innovative strategies to overcome social exclusion and organize these according to two main dimensions, namely the strength of value orientation towards progressive social change and the degree of formalization and relationships with public actors and governing institutions. This leads them to a set of questions about the organizational field in which social innovation actors deploy their strategies against social exclusion, the scalar challenges with which social innovation

initiatives are confronted and finally about the positionality of social innovation scholars in the field of social innovation practice. In the third chapter Garcia, Anglada and Pradel develop an argument supporting the theoretical recognition of governance and other institutional configurations as not just providing the context for social innovation but as being a field for social innovation itself. They pay particular attention to the different ways in which welfare regimes impact on specific local governance frameworks and suggest a multi-scalar approach as an alternative to a simple opposition between top-down and bottom-up approaches. In the fourth and final chapter of this part, Gibson-Graham return to the question of the positionality of social innovation scholars and reflect on the kind of thinking practices of scholars that strengthen our capacity to promote and engage with social innovation practices. Gibson-Graham draw our attention to the affective dimensions of our modes and techniques of analysis and warn us against the disempowering effects of certain forms of realism and objectivity. Instead, they call for scholars to adopt a experimental attitude in which scholar join forces with participants in addressing weaknesses with creative thinking and use their academic setting to spread alternative discourses.

1.1 The role of theory in social innovation analysis: history and challenges (Frank Moulaert, Diana MacCallum and Jean Hillier)

This chapter deals with the role of theory in social innovation analysis and practice. As a provisional sub-title, we had selected “A scientific reflection on the role of theory”. Why is the role of theory in social innovation analysis different or more explicit than in other social science analytical projects? A preliminary answer here is that social innovation analysis and practice are deeply concerned with the transformation of society and the improvement of human life; therefore the theory that is used should be relevant not only to interpreting social innovation as a set of phenomena, but also to mobilizing and guiding transformative practice, and to understanding the social and institutional conditions in which theory itself emerges and acts. . In this chapter, we will explain what the role of social innovation theory is and how it relates to other elements of social innovation analysis. We will address first of all what are the challenges for social innovation analysis: What is social innovation? Where does it come from? – both as a concept and as a societal challenge. We will dwell on the political and ideological significance of social innovation and its consequences for the roles of theory. We will try to identify what are the specific epistemological challenges in social innovation analysis. We will explain why the Sociology of Knowledge or SoK approach is particularly appropriate to build the bridge between, on the one hand, the epistemological challenges and, on the other hand, the selection and refinement of appropriate theoretical contributions to social innovation analysis. Very important in the relationship between social innovation theories and Sociology of Knowledge is the construction of a meta-theoretical structure capable of guiding the differences in ontology and epistemological stances. More in particular, what the meta-theoretical structure could do is to provide a shared view of the logic of being in society, of the future of society, and try to situate the different analytical challenges for social innovation and social innovation analysis within that meta-theoretical structure. In conclusion we would like to come back on the different roles of theory in social innovation research and public action.

What is social innovation?

Lets now come back to the understanding of what social innovation is all about and where it comes from. Social innovation has been launched as a term for different reasons. For example, in the 1960s and early 1970s with the student and workers movements in Paris, Berlin, and other European and American cities, social innovation was used as a kind of

common denominator for the different types of collective actions and social transformations that would lead from a top down economy and society to a more bottom up, creative and participative society that would also recognize, almost in a progressive liberal way, the different individual rights of people in all segments? of the population. It was the time when discussions about students and workers' democracy, gender and emancipation issues were taken on board in public debate. Today when we talk about social innovation we really refer to finding acceptable progressive solutions for a whole range of problems of exclusion, deprivation, alienation, lack of wellbeing. Social innovation means fostering inclusion and wellbeing through improving? social relations and empowerment processes; imagining and pursuing a world, a nation, a region, a locality, a community that would grant universal rights and be more socially inclusive. Socially innovative change focuses on the improvement of social relations, i.e., micro relations between individuals and people, but also more macro relations that concern relations between groups. It also focuses on different skills by which collective actors and groups are playing their specific roles in society.

Theory has addressed many of the issues that are important to define which types of collective action and transformation in social relations are needed in order to respond in an appropriate way to situations of exclusion, to situations of need, to situations of desire for improvement of the human condition. There is today a host of theories that address, for example, empowerment, improvement of governance structures, creation of human development agencies, modes of participation and shared decision-making, (MacCallum et al. 2009). In addition there is a whole range of theories that deal with relationships between Agency, Structure, Institutions, Culture and Discourse, which we summarize as ASID (Agency Structure Institutions and Discourse) (Moulaert and Jessop, 2011). These theories connect path dependency and structure of development to the role of agency and organization. They make the connection with imagining new futures, design scenarios. In brief: they identify key concepts or key drivers in the analysis and making of social innovation.

If social innovation is about solving problems, improving the human condition, satisfying the needs of humans, setting agendas for a better future, and so on, then its definition should cover the dialectics between, on the one hand, the search for improvement or completion of human existence, a better equilibrium in living together, and, on the other hand, the evolution of relations between human beings together with the initiation of actions to improve the human condition. Several definitions cover all of part of these concerns. For example, in the

SINGOCOM project, which was really the first project where we managed to build a very clear-cut relation between the theories on the one hand and social innovation analysis and practice on the other hand, “social innovation is considered as path dependent and contextual. It refers to the changes and agendas, agency and institutions that lead to a better inclusion of excluded groups and individuals into various fields of societies at various spatial scales. Social innovation is very strongly a matter of process innovation of changes and the dynamics of social relations including power relations. Therefore, social innovation is about social inclusion and about countering or overcoming conservative forces that are eager to strengthen or preserve social exclusion situations. Social innovation, therefore explicitly refers to an ethical position of social justice; the latter is of course susceptible to a variety of interpretations and will in practice often be the outcome of social construction.” (Moulaert, Swyngedouw, Martinelli and Gonzalez, 2010).

Other definitions go in the same direction. For Deleuze, for example, social innovation takes place through windows of opportunity for social creativity along lines of life, lines of imagination, lines of bringing in assets for a better future, windows of opportunity for social creativity, which may emerge from challenges to institutional practices. Innovation often emerges from conflict; opportunity spaces at micro scales may make creative strategies possible at macro scales. Here, we already see the announcement of the very important relationship between the initiatives of individuals and groups in small communities, and the necessity or the logic of continuation of this in the construction and building of institutions that would enable socially creative strategies at macro/micro scales.

A more, say, 1960s-rooted definition of social innovation talks about social innovation as:

“des innovations sociales ... des pratiques visant plus au moins directement à permettre à un individu – ou à un groupe d’individus – de prendre en charge un besoin social – ou un ensemble de besoins – n’ayant pas trouvé de réponses satisfaisantes par ailleurs” (Chambon, David et Devevey, 1982, p. 8)

We can see in these definitions, as we pointed out before, that there is always the concern about the human condition; to overcome social exclusion, to improve the quality of service provision, to improve the quality of human life and of well-being. This means of course that social innovation cannot be separated either from its social-cultural, or from its social-political context.

The politico-ideological significance of social innovation

Social innovation has a very strong politico-ideological significance. We referred already to the student and workers' revolts of the sixties. We referred to the different types of collective action that work against social exclusion in our contemporary times. This means especially addressing social exclusion in deprived urban neighbourhoods, but also in rural localities whose decline due to socioeconomic problems has gone almost unnoticed over the last decades (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2007). In any case, social innovation as a principle, as a slogan, as a *mot d'ordre* as the French would say, has a clear mobilizing power in reaction to economist and technologist interpretations and applications of innovation. It is obvious that this means that we will have to analyze this relationship between the system to which many of the SI are reacting and the political significance of SI initiatives. What are the exclusionary and alienating dynamics of the economic system against which social innovation analysis is reacting? And which dynamics feed into the improvement of the human condition? This announces the need of a meta-theoretical structure to which we will come back later. Social innovation has also been unrolled as a principle and type of action in reaction to privatization discourse and practice. It offers an antithesis in terms to the thesis of privatization, which means that it inspires a counter ideology of solidarity. But social innovation has also been a matter of spontaneous mobilization or uprising of people moving against their exclusion, their alienation, the deprivation of resources that was caused by capitalism, by personal isolation, by difficult social circumstances, and also by changes in climatological circumstances and so on. Reacting against often oppressive mainstream institutionalization and legitimatization that confirm the power of already-empowered agents and organizations - relate this for example to the world food crisis - is a very important aspect of social innovation. Mobilization matters here. Mobilization in its widest meaning will throughout this book also mean a better understanding of the role of different actors and stakeholders in social innovation analysis and practice. In this respect, social innovation is also about the shared imagining, mapping, designing, constructing of the views of the future. The alternative design of socially creative futures and strategies matter. Putting in place an *équipement* (infrastructure), as Deleuze would suggest, is a very important role in social innovation processes.

Now, if indeed the core of social innovation analysis is to respond in an analytical and an activist way to poor or improvable conditions of human development, considering the different elements we have looked at in the previous pages, it is very important for social

innovation analysis to come to terms with its epistemological challenge. The epistemological challenge of social innovation analysis expressed in the most generic and simple terms could be formulated as follows: what to analyze and how to analyze it? But part of the epistemological challenge is also: how should our knowledge production system be organized? And how do we legitimize our knowledge production system? The latter also involves unveiling and substituting the undesirable dominating paradigm that is intrinsically incoherent with emancipatory social innovation. And therefore it is about the need for putting in place a meta-theoretical framework that brings into the picture not only the relationships between the politico-ideological system, oppressive institutionalization and collective behaviour, but also opportunities for alternative strategies and development processes. To put in place an alternative meta-theoretical structure, we need to understand the complexity of social innovation analysis.

The complexity of social innovation analysis refers, on the one hand, to the complexity of the society in which social innovation analysis is pursued. On the other hand, it refers to the complexity of the methodology that should be used in coherent social innovation analysis. The Sociology of Knowledge approach plays a very important part in the methodology for SI research. We devote a particular chapter to it (Chapter 5.4). But in this chapter we should spend a few words on it in order to justify the role of the meta-theoretical structure and epistemological approach that we are putting forward. The questions we should be able to answer here? is: can a meta-theoretical framework place the differences in ontological and epistemological stances between social innovation theories? Can it make the bridge between these theories and the SoK approach?

Complexity

A few words now about complexity as it should be reflected in the meta-theoretical framework. First we will address complexity in social innovation analysis. Next we will explain what the sociology of knowledge involves and how SoK can contribute to making the bridge between analysis and practice.

First of all we should distinguish between complexity *of* and complexity *in* social innovation analysis. Social innovation is about changing the world. But then the question is: which world, what to change and how to change it? This is about the relationship between ontology and ontogenesis. The world as it is, the world to be, the desired world or the world to be made

– the ‘*maakbaarheid*’ or ‘makeability’ of the world as we say in Dutch. Here the concepts we mentioned before return: the role of path dependency, the role of leadership in social innovation and transformation, of combining new assets and relationships, of building bridges between past possibilities and constraints and imagined and desired new futures and initiatives. Important issues here are for example relational complexity, and also, from a historical point of view, the relationship between past, present and future as we just expressed. Complexity *in* social innovation analysis then, refers to who is involved in social innovation analysis, what are their roles and relationships: the complex picture of transdisciplinarity. For example, there can be the option to involve more actors to formulate a more balanced problematic for the analysis – covering more perceptions and aspirations for example. Involving more users can lead to a better-shared view of how questions about the relationship between exclusion on the one hand and social innovation on the other hand can be dealt with. So different types of users and actors should be involved in this more complex exercise of building relationships between the desire to solve the problems and the possibilities to solve them. Complexity of and complexity in SI analysis are therefore intimately related.

Going back to the focus in this chapter, namely the role of theory in SI analysis, we should reformulate the question: Can an open meta-theoretical framework integrate this double complexity and give a place to these different actors within an interrelational, power-unbalanced view of the world? A view of a world as a nexus of diverse social-institutional systems in which alienation and exploitation take place but which will also be the breeding-grounds and arenas in which initiatives towards social innovation will be launched and enhanced?

Sociology of Knowledge (SoK)

It is here that the Sociology of Knowledge approach can play a key role. We argue that Sociology of Knowledge approach is capable of building the bridges we need, and for three reasons.

First, the SoK approach would allow to reconstruct the social=political context in which social innovation initiatives, processes, reflections, social philosophies, theories have been developed and can be developed today. Learning from theory building in the past, about the circumstances in which theory building was done and how, therefore, theory can be

redesigned today is a very important challenge. It can only be addressed if the theory-building process in both past and present is embedded and situated in the context in which it took place or is taking place today.

Second, the SoK approach allows reconstructing views of the world adhered by scientists and scientific communities supporting social innovation concepts and theories. When Schumpeter developed his multidimensional sociology of development and innovation, and when we argue that it is very important for our work on social innovation today, we can only do so in a scientifically acceptable way if we manage to contextualize Schumpeter's scientific work in his own time and society, his own scientific community and the philosophical as well political communities he interacted with.

Third, SoK studies the roles of scientists and of science within particular socio-political structures and conjunctures. The roles of scientists can in this broad perspective of complexity not be limited to scientific roles only. A distinction should be made between scientists as analyzing, designing and recommending social innovation on the one hand and 'non scientific' roles adopted by them on the other: for example, as consultants, activists, good citizens, members of local councils, advisors to policy boards, and so on. Here, we could refer to pragmatist stances on the social roles of scientists (see Chapter 5.3 on Holism).

The role of meta-theoretical frameworks

Let us now come back to the role of meta-theoretical frameworks in this whole process of reflection on the role of theory in SI analysis. How do we connect the role of meta-theory to the sociology of knowledge approach and the three roles SoK is supposed to play. The meta theoretical framework or the view of the meta theoretical structure (Which ontology? Which features of complexity) that is put forward here is that it is impossible to lead a SoK approach without clear view of the structure of society: the structural features of society now, and how they may and should evolve. In fact, if we are saying that SoK is about situating concepts and theory development within the context of the discourse, the philosophical traditions, the scientific communities of their time, then, to do that we need a meta theoretical structure that allows us to situate each of these elements in a broader view of "their" society. Otherwise we will end up in a trap of a never-ending story, arguing for example: this sociologist says he was part of a Lacanian scientific community and, therefore, came to conclusion that community development stems from the mirroring onto the lifestyles, norms of 'other' communities and

therefore should be based on reproducing the own identity, etc. This is analytically insufficient because we need to situate that Lacanian scientific community within the social, political and socio cultural conjunctures of the time and place in which that Lacanian community was or is active; and the same should be done with Schumpeterian thoughts, to which we referred earlier. We cannot understand the deep role of Schumpeterian development theory without connecting it to the big debates that were going on at the time of Schumpeter about the relationship between small entrepreneurs and growing bureaucracies, tensions between socialism and capitalism, the role of elite intellectuals in the making of macro economic policy, the looming? economic crisis, etc.

So it is important, in order to lead the SoK approach towards a decent completion, to work on the development of a meta-theoretical framework. How should this meta-theoretical framework look: Should it be an open-system architecture that is capable of hosting different theories? Should it adopt a structural-realist cum cultural-realist perspective saying that “Well this is our grand view of society, we believe in the logic of capital, there is the interaction between civil society, state and market, and the role of social-culture processes in the transformation of these grand structures of society is becoming increasingly important, etc” This could be one way of building a meta-theoretical framework in which different analytical elements stemming from different theories could be positioned.

Now let us go back to the role of theory in social innovation analysis and strategy making and connect these to the epistemological challenges that we formulated at the outset of the chapter.

The role of theories in social innovation analysis and strategy making

Already, during the Integrated Area Development project twenty years ago, the SINGOCOM project some ten years ago and as of the start of KATARSIS, we have looked at a variety of theories analyzing and designing social innovation processes, strategies and agendas. We have mainly addressed these theories as to their *finalité*, i.e., to what purpose were they developed and according to which organizational and procedural dynamics? Later in this book we will develop a clear-cut SoK perspective to answer these questions. For the time being, we are going to point out that in the analysis of the role of a theory in social innovation analysis - and the question could be broadened to social science analysis in general - insufficient attention was given to theoretical and philosophical traditions to which they belong, because

some of the social innovation theories were developed *ad hoc* without referring to the big or grand philosophical traditions or grander socio-political movements. This is for example the case with Integrated Area Development, which had connections with endogenous development theory, for example, but had only very remote relationships with grand theories and socio-political debates about spatial development. Often insufficient attention was given to the problematic that some of these theories were addressing, i.e. the social political dynamics in which scientific debate takes place, more precisely the links between collective action and politico-ideological debates within society and communities. So, as we argued earlier, the appropriate way to address this analytical (or rather epistemological) shortcoming is to situate existing theory in its own societal dynamics, in a kind of an open SoK approach. For contemporary theorizing, the solution is to connect new theory to contemporary challenges, philosophical debates, change movements, etc. while keeping an open eye on similar theory building processes in the past. So, we are arguing in favour of a SoK approach to theories that were constructed in the past but also to theories that have been constructed in recent times or that are in the process of being constructed, and to look at similarities but also dissimilarities between construction processes through the different windows opened by the SoK approach.

Conclusion

Social innovation theory has mainly come about in reaction to different types of problems in society, especially in reaction to conditions of alienation, exclusion, desire for socio-political improvements, for better human development, well being, and so on. We have reflected on the question of whether these theories have perhaps been designed in a way which is too causal in the instrumental meaning of causality; and we have made a plea in favour of a SoK approach capable of contextualizing theories within their broader societal setting, thus making it possible to build relationships between theory building on the one hand, scientific practice to the benefit of social innovation in the middle, and social innovation action and processes on the other hand. To achieve this, we said, we need a meta-theoretical framework capable of hosting a view of society that is ethically coherent or at least pluralist; one that is capable of hosting different partial theories, which shed their own light on particular aspects of social innovation and transformation.

To sum up: What is the role of theory in social innovation analysis? *First of all*, going back in the history of epistemology, theory is a reflection of more or less generally recognized

patterns within particular situations but often holding for society as whole. In SI analysis, theory establishes relationships between, on the one hand, situations of the human condition that need improvements and, on the other, initiatives and processes that can lead to these improvements. We have listed and will list in this book several theories that fall within this category and we call these theories *partial theories*. *Second*, we have discovered that many of these theories have been developed in very specific contexts that were in most cases connected to situations of alienation, but also that, at the same time, these theories have been incapable of explaining or describing the relationship between their own genesis and wider societal dynamics. It is therefore absolutely necessary to bring on board an epistemological tool that is capable of connecting the grand questions from the problematics to be addressed and how should they be addressed - as we do in the SoK approach - and the actual theoretical analytical work that has been done. *And third*, in order to be able to make the connections between partial theories and between them and the greater societal context from which they have emerged and to which they refer, it is important to build a meta theoretical structure in the sense that we have defined before.

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1.2 Social innovation research: questions to the theorists (Serena Vicari and Chiara Tornaghi)

Introduction

In this chapter we aim to contribute to a methodology for research on social innovation with a particular interest in developing a critical reflection upon research methods and researchers' positionality in the fieldwork on socially innovative strategies designed to counter exclusion. Our starting point is a transversal reading of various forms of socially innovative and creative initiatives across existential fields, which have been identified as the main loci of processes of social exclusion (Labour Market and Social Economy, Education and Training, Housing and Neighbourhood, Health and Environment).

With regard to the actors involved, we look at which kind of actors succeed in resisting and overcoming processes of social exclusion, examine their vision of the causes of social exclusion and the problems they confront, and analyze the strategies they pursue to find solutions to these problems. This permits us to characterize social innovation initiatives according to two main dimensions.

The first dimension refers to the strength of value orientation toward social justice, environmental concerns, democracy and empowerment, in brief toward progressive social change that directly motivates the actors involved and legitimizes their action. The second dimension measures the extent to which these practices have penetrated the public sphere.

In a second step, we raise questions that need to be addressed in order to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of social innovation and devise policy recommendations. The principal questions revolve around, first, the *organizational field* in which these socially innovative actors are engaged—in other words, the institutional variables that determine the constraints and opportunities they encounter and thus constitute the path along which a particular form of social innovation may evolve. The charting of a methodological map containing the main path dependency structuring forces remains a crucial task. Secondly, we have observed forms of social innovation based on connecting the local with the national and EU levels and argue that such links increase the resilience of innovative forms; this *multi-scalar dimension* poses theoretical and methodological challenges to the understanding of social innovation. Finally, the *role of academics and experts in such organizations* needs to be investigated, as researchers, managers and activists bring complementary resources for sharing and reinforcing reflexivity, a necessary factor in the successful evolution of social

innovation.

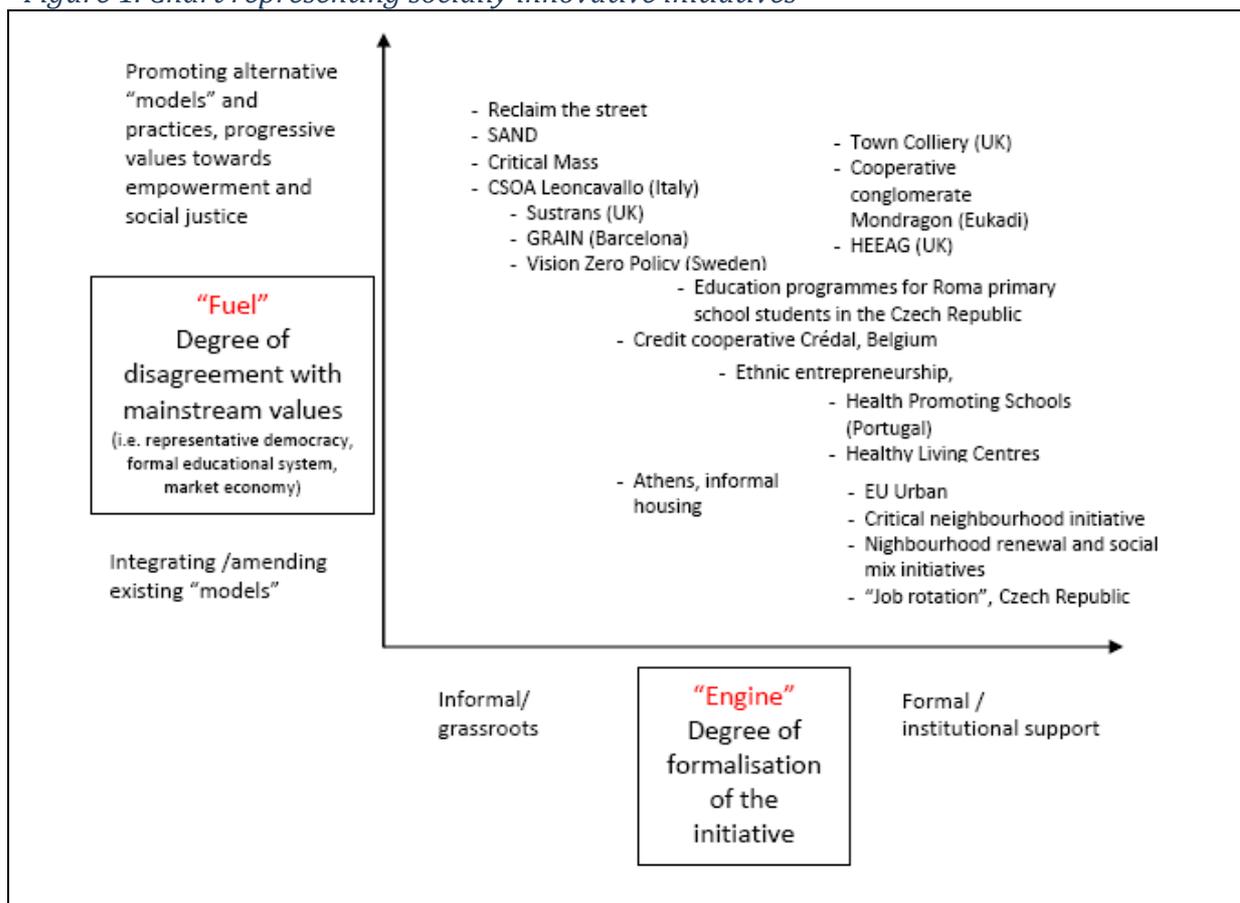
Dimensions of social innovation

The analysis of an extremely large and diversified array of programmes, projects, initiatives and practices and the consequent identification/construction of different forms of social innovation in different existential fields defined in KATARSIS and Social Polis has increased our understanding and appreciation of how social change is produced as a result of the dynamics of social exclusion and the reactions brought about by it.

Now, when we read these forms across existential fields, two main dimensions emerge as constitutive of social innovation. The first is the value orientation that motivates people to pursue progressive social change; the second is the process of institutionalisation, in which innovation settles into relatively stable and sustainable arrangements. These two dimensions serve as the fuel and the engine of social innovation; if we take them together as orthogonal axes they can be used to define a space in which to locate the instances of social innovation analysed by KATARSIS.

Positioning our different practices, organizations and programmes along these two dimensions is a task fraught with difficulty; it is evident from the case studies that the degree of institutionalisation and the innovative strength of value orientation need to be measured against the specific local and national contexts that each organization or initiative confronts. For example, a citizens' group planning a public space deserves a higher score both in terms of progressive value orientation and in terms of its impact on the public sphere if it is active in a city such as Naples, where criminal organizations limit their rights to citizenship and even to a normal life, than in other cities where the right to make decisions impacting public space is taken for granted. Moreover, these 'measurements' are subjective and must be made with great caution; nevertheless we believe this chart to be a useful analytical device; it will also prove helpful in generating interesting questions for future research.

Figure 1. Chart representing socially innovative initiatives



Source: Authors

In point of fact, what such a chart allows us to do is to tentatively order these instances of social innovation along these two dimensions and to observe their distribution. The first axis, representing the ‘fuel’ of social innovation, refers to the strength of value orientation toward social justice, environmental concerns, democracy and empowerment, in brief toward progressive social change that directly motivates the actors involved and legitimizes their action. The second axis, or ‘engine’, measures the extent to which these practices have penetrated the public sphere. The initiatives analyzed do so in two strictly intertwined ways, by entering into governance relationships with public governmental bodies at various scales and by influencing the public discourse in the direction of more inclusive and effective citizenship rights. Depending on the context, an impact on the public sphere can be achieved in different ways: civil society organizations can act as innovative service provision agents, which identify and respond to new needs and demands, thus giving legitimacy to new claims in the public discourse; civil society organizations can also transform the institutional governance framework, changing values and norms to generate new policies and practices. In both ways it is the link between civil society organizations and different public and private

actors at different scales, which has proven to be the crucial element for the success of those strategies labelled '*bottom-linked*' (Garcia, Pradel, Eizaguirre, KATARSIS intermediate report).

In the space charted by these two axes we find that the innovative initiatives analysed in the KATARSIS project are concentrated on the upper left and lower right sides of the chart. The upper left concentration is made up of initiatives in which citizens, in differently organized forms, play a leading role and engage in activities with a strong value content that motivates them and strongly informs the practices. These initiatives have multiple links with social movements and often find in 'the movement of movements' their main cultural reference; they are able to take part in alternative 'associative networks' (Eckstein and Wickham-Crowley, 2003) which they form and operate on their own terms, with or without outside support, on the basis of a shared orientation of self-organization and direct action and involvement. Hence their critical stance, with a varying degree of radicalism, vis à vis representative democracy, which is perceived as ineffective in addressing new forms of social exclusion. Alternatives to the existing social order are then articulated in a plurality of visions in which value orientation toward social justice, environmental concerns, democracy and empowerment are called upon in different combinations. Moreover, each context shapes the specific combination and shows how conceptions of social justice or environmental concerns, for example, are socially constructed and historically contingent, shaped by people's values and institutionally grounded in real-life experience.

As a consequence of this radical/alternative cultural orientation, initiatives in this first model often keep an unstable relationship with public actors and difficulties in engaging with governance institutional structures; this relationship varies from an oppositional and confrontational stance to forms of reciprocal recognition and cooperation, although often based on precarious and temporary arrangements and subject to ongoing negotiations. Moreover, a limitation arises also from the high level of instability and turn-over that characterizes this model: some may have a short life, but new ones appear continuously and old and new actors coalesce in new initiatives.

An opposite model is identifiable in the lower-right concentration. These initiatives are characterized by strong and formal links among institutional actors in the public, private and non-profit sectors, and the primacy of governmental actors at different scales in governance structures. Civil society organizations and associations and Third sector foundations, agencies

and enterprises are involved as co-producers of public policy, contributing to the success of the initiatives by their direct and situated knowledge and their capacity to partake in complex networks of different actors. Among these initiatives the commitment to progressive values may not be as strong and paramount nor may it contribute so strongly to the group and individual identity of the participants; the focus is on service provision or even effective production of goods, and more radically inclusive strategies must be sacrificed to this objective.

All this is not to say that there are no initiatives and practices to be located outside these two main concentrations; quite the contrary, some of the most interesting strategies can be located in the upper-right quadrant as they have strong progressive and inclusive value orientations and, at the same time, are embedded in solid and stable structures of governance. The KATARSIS review of these initiatives provides a comprehensive analysis of the contextual factors facilitating their emergence and consolidation in relation to different welfare regimes and diverse legal frameworks governing the social economy and social enterprises (see KATARSIS WP3). These initiatives resemble ‘working utopias’ (Crossley 1999), spaces of hope that sustain cultures of resistance vis-à-vis the hegemonic consensus on neo-liberalism and market values. As such, despite low visibility, they have broadened and reinforced the front of social innovation.

Questions to theorists and methodologists

The two concentrations analyzed above speak of an inverse relationship between institutionalization and alternative, social progressive values, or in other words, they support the generalization that radical social change tends to be promoted outside (if not against) existing institutions. This is hardly news. But the same chart suggests that there are also cases in which social innovation is produced within a solid frame of institutional relations, albeit subject to conflicts and on-going negotiation. This is more interesting because it opens up additional questions which need to be raised and answered if we want to improve our understanding, build abstractions and generalizations, and eventually devise policy recommendations.

There are three sets of questions we would like to address here.

The first, as anticipated above, relates to the *organizational field* in which the socially innovative actors are engaged. In our investigations we analyzed constraints and opportunities

which these initiatives encounter, but the institutional context which determines them remains insufficiently mapped. Articulated governance models need to be developed and a broader view of institutional change incorporating culture and civil society is called for. Moreover, a historically grounded approach is required for the understanding of the dynamics of change; our analysis was limited to a short timeframe, which confined our understanding of the paths along which a particular form of social innovation may evolve.

The issue of the institutional context directs our attention to the more general question of the role of the context. What is the context of an innovative project? A bounded, small-scale, community within the city, a neighbourhood, the city itself? In analysing the network of relations which facilitate mobilization and underlie social action we have referred to these spatial contexts with an implicitly traditional vision of urbanism and look for public realms emerging from proximity and face-to-face contacts. But contemporary associational life depends on multiple and myriad technological, informational, personal and organizational networks that link locations in a very complex way. Our view of the context remains unsatisfactory on two grounds; firstly, because it fails to take seriously the combination of local and trans-local social networks that are held to produce collective action and mobilization. We need a more theoretically grounded view of the context, providing this integration and the related methodology to pursue these network issues. Secondly, a traditional view of urbanism and community needs to be abandoned as new urban forms emerge, marking the rise of what has been called the 'networked urbanism' (Blokland and Savage 2008). Theories about these new forms work with a relational definition of cities and are thus suitable to provide a better theoretical framework for the understanding of social innovation. As far as methodology is concerned, this framework calls for ethnographic and in-depth approaches, which are held to be suitable to investigating the actual 'making' of social capital.

A second set of questions to be raised regards the analysis of socially innovative initiatives in the broader process of neoliberal transformation and State rescaling (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Much of the existing literature on scale has concentrated on the politics of rescaling from above, i.e. devolution of regulation to sub-national institutional levels. Less has been written about rescaling initiatives from below. We have observed forms of social innovation based on connecting the local with the national and EU levels and argue that such links increase the resilience of innovative forms. What remains to be investigated is the relationship

between the multi-scalar dimension of social innovation and contemporary transformations: are these local projects able to address issues of power distribution, and more in general, to harness the neoliberal restructuring? A critical view portrays innovative projects as a temporary 'fix' to amend the cracks in the system and avoid escalating conflicts; others claim that structural changes are produced. The actual impact of these projects at different scales needs to be assessed. How can this analysis be carried out? What is the most appropriate methodology for this assessment?

A final set of questions we urge to be put to theorists and methodologists, relates to the *role of academics and experts* within such organizations - as activists - as well as while carrying out Action Research. The assumption here is that researchers, managers and activists can often effectively bring complementary resources to these initiatives, and that sharing and reinforcing reflexivity on their positionality can contribute to the successful evolution of social innovation.

However, although a demarcation line is not always possible or appropriate, the boundaries between these actors' roles are often blurred. In claiming the need for more reflexivity we stress the importance and the differential impact of a different kind of knowledge. A better understanding of the role of activist-academics in communicating and shaping visioning processes is necessary. We need to investigate and make more explicit the politics of positionality, the performative power of their discourses around social innovation, its codification and its empowering effects (Cahill 2007, Maxey 1999). How do these actors represent the range of possibilities for the development of these initiatives? What skills do they mobilize for enhancing internal communication? And how do they contribute to shaping the dialogue between the groups in which they are involved and the wider range of actors they encounter? In short, how do they contribute to structuring the system of opportunities and the structure-agency dynamics?

We believe these three sets of questions should inform the work of methodologists; by addressing them in the phase of research design for future research projects on socially innovative practices, clearer answers will be produced. Theorists will then be able to systematize this knowledge and advance the theorisation of social innovation.

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1.3 Theorising governance in social innovation dynamics and strategies (Marisol Garcia, Santiago Eizaguirre Anglada, Marc Pradel)

Introduction

European cities are faced with a double challenge: to maintain their competitive advantage transforming their economies and at the same time to preserve their social models. This chapter explores the potential contribution of socially creative strategies as a way to fill the gap left by the state and the market in the process of economic transformation in which social exclusion appears. We look at the innovative potential of civil society groups and their initiatives in cities considering their capacity to produce resources and empowerment to disempowered citizens. We also examine their capacity to impact local governance in their interaction with local institutions (Swyngedouw, 2005). We see governance as a complex interaction between different types of institutions and associations operating with diverse and complex organisational patterns as well as with diverse value orientations. Governance mechanisms develop from pre-existing political structures but are also transformed through the implementation of new agendas. The transformation of local governance depends not only on the needs of capital and the restructuring of the state (Brenner, 2003; Jessop, 2004b) but also on the role of non-economic institutions, such as civil society in urban societies and their ways of interacting with local institutions. We used the concept of local governance regimes as the combination of autonomous capacity of cities for innovative regulations, the mobilization of the third sector and their network potentials as well as local welfare innovations. In our revision of governance approaches we have observed that structuralist approaches do not take seriously the role of local actors in creating new strategies to deal with social exclusion. We put the role of these actors and their strategies at the centre of our analysis of governance as social innovation (Moulaert, *et al.*, 2005b; Moulaert, *et al.*, 2007a).

Social innovation, broadly speaking, is constituted by “social experiences aiming at finding new solutions to unsolved problems” (Drewe *et al.*, 2008, 22). In the context of this article social innovation involves: (a) the response to social needs with an orientation to improve the quality of life of citizens with special emphasis on the social inclusion of marginalised sectors of society; (b) develop relations of trust with decision makers in order to become sustainable; and (c) to have an impact on local governance (Moulaert, *et al.*, 2007a). Thus our analysis focuses on the contribution of non traditional actors to generate social inclusion as well as innovative governance (Gonzalez and Healey, 2005). This double contribution is in itself

challenging. We observe that civil society groups, in their creative strategies against social exclusion, need to find a balance between two overlapping logics. They need universalistic objectives (improve the quality of vulnerable sectors of society) but also organisational dynamics, internal cohesion, leadership and networks with other associations and with individuals, which can be found in the logic of 'association as enterprise'. Thus, behind social innovation strategies we can find a compound of universalistic and intra-solidarity logics which may conflict with each other. The weight of each one of the logics depends on multiple elements such as institutional context, welfare provision and governance regime.

We also take into account the capacity of civil society groups to transcend the immediate environment (the neighbourhood and the city) and relate their embeddedness in the territory to wider social networks and spatial relations. Thus, although the analysis focuses innovative practices emerging from the neighbourhood and the city we give also a special attention to the national scale. In this we assume that some socially innovative strategies are capable to transcend the local milieu and establish multi-scale networks. Our central focus on the city and the neighbourhood is justified by the fact that social exclusion dynamics are particularly visible at these scales, where the tension between market and state restructuring, on the one hand, and the global flows, on the other are generating a fall-lines in terms of citizenship and social inclusion. However, our analysis cannot be restricted to the local as socially creative strategies are embedded in institutional arrangements shaped by national contexts and national public sphere (Garcia, 2006).

Governance regimes: an institutional approach

From an institutional perspective, that takes into consideration the territory and its institutional actors, it is possible to explain the different governance mechanisms that take place in different parts of the world, especially in Western Europe. Thus, the selective withdrawal of the state – and its re-entry through the market regulatory backdoor – and the imposition of market forces have had a different impact on each country, which, at the same time had very different previous governance systems (Abrahamson, 2005; Keating, 1998, 2002). Therefore, the transformation of governance mechanisms depends not only on the needs of capital and the spatial restructuring of the state but also on the role of institutions and collective actors in the country. From this perspective the analysis of the institutional context at local, regional and national scales is of foremost relevance in order to understand the emergence of civil society groups engaged in socially innovative strategies operating not only

at the local scales but also at other scales. For that reason our approach uses the concept of ‘governance regimes’. This concept refers to the specific governance framework that appears in different countries and that is moulded by the welfare regime and the degree of integration of political scales. Furthermore, the concept includes the specific institutional context of municipalities in which socially innovative strategies take place.

Thus, we propose an approach that incorporates the existence of multi-scalar governance mechanisms and interactions between different government scales in the decision-making processes. In this sense, bottom-linked socially innovative strategies can be understood as one of the factors of governance in a wide range of possibilities for creating social integration. In accordance with this perspective, we propose an integrated approach to socially innovative strategies, while being very careful to avoid a bottom-up/top-down dichotomy. Thus, the main focus of analysis will be how these systems of interaction take place between scales.

Socially Innovative Strategies and Governance

Governance and social innovation are closely related. First, governance constitutes a framework for innovation, as historical social change has occurred in particular institutional settings modifying the regulatory system. More specifically governance mechanisms have changed through historical dialectics addressing exclusion as well as social cohesion. Thus within each country and field particular conflicts between social groups have emerged historically concerning the allocation of material resources to respond to human needs with underlying conceptualisations of social justice. The different families of welfare, for example, correspond to these dynamics since a welfare system is embedded in the relations between the market, the state and community relations. The specific emerging regulatory combinations are, to some extent, outcomes of particular struggles that have formalised the level of economic redistribution (Esping-Andersen, 2002) and institutionalised the system of social rights. The translation of rights into social entitlements has forced institutional change in order to deliver policies. Similar processes have taken place in countries where social entitlements have been restricted (Cameron & González, 2007). One way to see these changes is, as the KATARSIS project has done, to review each (existential) field focusing on socially innovative strategies (Garcia, *et al.*, 2009: 22-40) and explaining the particular governance changes. From this previous work it can be extracted that independently of the existential field the objectives of covering material needs and changing governance structures go together. This does not mean, however, that struggles to improve citizens’ entitlements are

necessarily calls for governance changes. In fact, all organisations and movements promoting socially creative strategies prioritise to consolidate them and to generate continuity over time. Thus, actors involved in socially creative strategies often consider governance as a framework for innovation rather than as a field of innovation as such.

Second, civil society actors may be also successful in their engagement with public institutions, i.e. social enterprises, housing provision enterprises or health services provision from the third sector and seek to modify the rules of the game, thus seeing governance as a field of innovation. In the KATARSIS project several cases show that localities are seen as places for institutional innovation by these actors. We argue that this possibility is more likely to be successful when innovation in local governance is reinforced by multi-level governance changes. Examples are the achievement of EQUAL programmes in the labour market field or Agenda 21 in the environmental field (André & Abreu, 2007; Joas, 2004).

In this sense the role of multi-level governance, although relevant in all the fields we analysed, is particularly important in education, the labour market and the environment, where decentralised policies and municipal empowerment foster new practices and their institutionalisation at higher levels (mainly EU). In fact we are witnessing a re-scaling of responsibilities in Europe in which the local and regional levels can play a major role via coordination of initiatives at the European level. One case in point is the Open Method of Coordination (Basile, 2008; Garcia et. al., 2004; Jessop, 2002).

Third, although in all countries studied the third sector has experienced a growth both in numbers of people participating and involvement in governance mechanisms, variations exist between countries (Evers et. al., 2004; Moulaert *et. al.*, 2005; Nyssens, 2006). Whereas in social democratic welfare regimes the active role of the public sector in the provision of services has limited the scope of civil society organisations to an advisory role in the United Kingdom, this sector is filling the gap left by the state (Harding, 2005). Several factors are relevant to understand this expansion, such as developing trust across the local community, capacity to consolidate networks and leadership. Variations also exist between the ways organisations operate to overcome social exclusion in the different policy fields. For example, differences in cultural traditions on social economy are relevant in order to understand differences between socially innovative strategies in different places. Those traditions are not isolated from the rest of the national regulatory systems and their transformation. Thus,

welfare regimes explain not only differences in state redistribution but also differences in reciprocity mechanisms promoted by civil society (André & Abreu, 2007).

Social Innovative Strategies in Different Governance Regimes

Welfare regimes are not static formations; they change over time with new regulatory arrangements between different institutions and actors from market, state and civil society (Andreotti, 2006). Cameron has stressed the fact that welfare regimes are in transition from one kind to another, and also pointed out the strong differences within welfare regimes according to the different policy fields (Cameron & Gonzalez, 2007; Cameron, 2007:16). One major actor in this change has been civil society. For instance, in Scandinavia the social democratic welfare regime has facilitated a mode of governance based on the inheritance of the ‘municipal socialism’ of the beginning of the 19th century. Not only was the national class struggle decisive for building the welfare state, but municipalities also played a key role in the development of welfare systems (Esping-Andersen, 2002). In fact, the labour movement achieved power in a large number of cities, mainly in northern Europe and this has been translated into its political culture and multi-level featuring of social innovation (Garcia et.al., 2009, 43).

Moreover, the transformation of welfare regimes is related also with the changing degree of centralisation of states over time and the degree of integration of the different government scales in decision-making processes. There are states with a strong centralist tradition that have timidly decentralised policy-making but maintain strong vertical integration, like France. Others, on the contrary, have been decentralised without vertical integration (this is the case of Spain). These two dimensions (centralisation and vertical integration) will be used to define the wider context in which socially innovative strategies take place.

To understand how socially innovative strategies perform their linkage to different governance regimes three aspects are fundamental. In first place, we must consider multidimensionality of the initiatives, that is, in which sense do they try to develop their activities in respect to multiscale governance dynamics, and how do they try to be connected, or at least negotiate a kind of recognition with each type of governance scale. In the second place, when trying to compare initiatives from different contexts, the distribution of power relations has to be considered as different in each place and existential field. The role of

power relations between actors and how different coalitions of actors create hegemonic consensus on different models of economic development is also related to the features of national, regional and local contexts. In this sense, in some context civil society can institutionalise its actions in order to improve socially inclusive governance dynamics and in other cases can try to construct counter-hegemonic movements against the current hegemonic consensus (Moulaert et al., 2007a). Finally timing is also an important dimension in the relation between socially creative strategies and governance regimes. Often projects live a short life because they are not supported institutionally.

Concluding remarks

Local governance regimes have a clear influence on the strategies followed by local organisations. In order to survive and accomplished their social inclusion objectives these organisations experience a tension between innovation and institutionalisation. To understand this tension it is necessary to analyse how the institutionalisation process occurs, taking into consideration the impact in terms of values and practices of the socially innovative strategies in policy-making. In contexts where market oriented organisations are salient, socially innovative practices have little or no room for changing policies and tend to become providers of services substituting public provision. In other contexts, such as corporatist and familistic welfare regimes, innovative strategies tend to play a more relevant role in the redefinition of policies and values. Moreover, the existential field in which innovative strategies develop is crucial when assessing their impact on governance mechanisms. Thus, the constellation of actors and the ways of social exclusion differ from one existential field to another, which has consequences in terms of the participation and impact on the policy agenda.

Nevertheless, institutionalisation and innovation are not necessarily antagonistic. The impact of social innovation on the governance regimes in terms of policy-making, transforming values or providing more transparent and democratic processes needs to be sustained and renewed in a dynamic context. In fact, although embedded in their institutional context, governance regimes are influenced by global logics and changes in the hegemonic discourses on urban management in the context of neo-liberalism. This influence, as well as socio-political struggles at the local level, can also influence the role that political elites give to different actors in the urban regime. In this sense, local actors need to adapt their organisational logic and their actions to develop and sustain their practices and their achievements over time. Innovative practices play a key role by providing new social

resources and generating opportunities for being relevant in the governance regime and secure their sustainability. Thus, a political dimension is required in the analysis to understand how different political approaches allow new roles for civil society and market agents.

This brings us to the question of the role of public bodies in fostering social innovation. By considering differences between governance regimes, we can understand the role of political actors in the emergence of social innovation. In some cases public bodies lead and promote social innovation looking for involvement by civil society actors. In other cases public administration can adopt initiatives from civil society and transform them into public policies. Thus, there is no direct antagonism between democratic bottom-up social innovation of civil society and representative democracy. Moreover, there are many different modes of participation and citizenship practices (García, 2006). Depending on the local context and the national framework, relationships between these two forms of participatory practices can change. We have seen the complementarities between representative democracy and participation. In most of the cases strategies against exclusion depend on the ability of coordination of different actors at different scales. In terms of governance analysis, the concept of bottom-linked initiatives shows the close relationship established between bottom-up initiatives and top-down practices and policies.

The approach presented here is useful to understand how civil society organisations try to have an impact on governance regimes through socially innovative strategies. In some contexts civil society groups have an influence as service provision agents, whereas in other contexts they try to transform the institutional governance framework. This is done changing values and social norms to generate new policies and practices. In the first case they try to put innovations in practice through existing governance mechanisms, whereas in the second case they try to transform the existing governance mechanisms. These two approaches are compatible, and in most experiences the two objectives can be pursued at the same time. Moreover, actors involved in social innovation usually embrace immediate material purposes and long-term objectives of transformation of governance. As we have seen, organisational strategies are path dependent but have also a strategic dimension. Thus, there is dynamism between governance mechanisms and organisational strategies. Finally, the cases reveal another important element in this relation: the embeddedness of social innovation in the territory.

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1.4 Socially Creative Thinking: or how experimental thinking creates ‘other worlds’ (J.K. Gibson-Graham)

Conjunctural openings

The KATARSIS research project responds to one of the most pressing questions of our times—how to live together? In EU countries this concern has focused on creating conditions for social cohesion, especially by researching the ways that processes of exclusion and inclusion operate. On the global stage the question of how to live together has gained increasing weight in recent times in the light of climate change, public health challenges and economic crisis. Hard-hitting questions about basic needs, consumption levels, capitalist surplus, and the environmental commons that have been suppressed in the language of ‘cohesion’ and ‘inclusion’ are beginning to surface. At no other time has there been such critical scrutiny of the mainstream industrial development model and such a heightened realization of our interdependence with each other and with non-human others. This conjuncture offers an excellent opportunity for new ideas about living together to shift the agenda. As social scientists interested in behaviour change, social learning and the formation of new subjectivities, we have a responsibility to foster new thinking that enables social innovation (on the scale of the changes that have occurred in some contexts around smoking or sexism). Rather than looking ‘out there’ in the world for social innovations that are surely there, we propose to turn our gaze inwards for a moment, to our own practice and ask: Are we creating the grounds for social innovation with socially creative thinking? What are socially creative thinking practices and how might we strengthen our capacity to engage in them?

Thinking practices for social innovation

Over a decade of conducting action research interventions in ‘marginalized’ communities around the world we have gained various insights into how to imagine different futures and allow for the new to emerge. In the places where we have worked people are struggling to maintain social well-being in the face of economic restructuring and globalization. From our experience we have learned that specific thinking practices can promote creativity. Three that we have found particularly useful are:

1. attending to the affect of our analysis (releasing the positive affect of hope and possibility)
2. generating alternative discourses (with performative effects)
3. adopting an experimental orientation (increasing the viability of experiments).

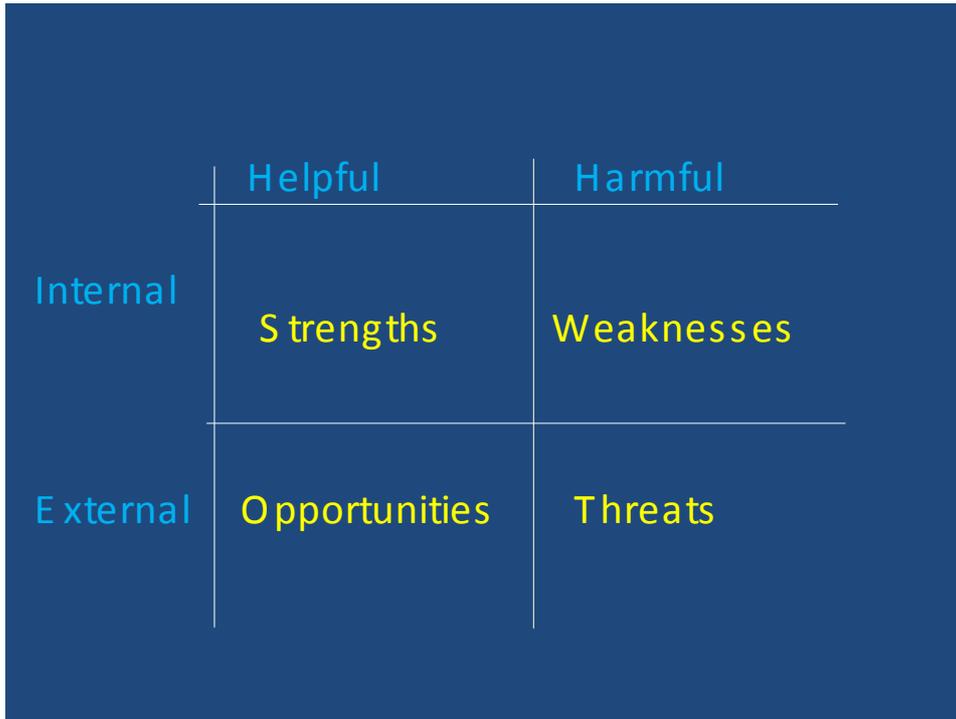
Each practice has potential effects, as noted in the parentheses above. In what follows we elaborate these practices and effects and briefly interrogate the KATARSIS project for evidence of socially creative thinking.

Attending to affect: needs and assets mapping

Thinking is not something that operates in a register separate from emotions and bodily sensation. Intellectual arguments and thinking techniques can invoke visceral intensities and emotional narratives that have the potential to undermine or enhance the power of any analysis. We have found that cultivating creativity is best done when we orient ourselves in a spirit of hopefulness toward connections and openings, so attending to the affect of our analyses and techniques is an important component of stimulating innovation (Gibson-Graham 2006a: 1). To illustrate this point we briefly examine two quite similar appraisal techniques that have very different affects and effects.

The SWOT technique is a familiar tool of contemporary social and community analysis. On a two by two grid of Helpful/Harmful and Internal/External are arranged attributes classified as Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats (see Figure 2). In KATARSIS it has been used to analyse and evaluate many of the social innovation practices that have been surveyed. SWOT is appealing — it is comprehensive, allowing for a ‘warts and all’ approach where nothing is hidden; it appears to offer a balance between positives and negatives; and, above all, it is valued as a simple and realistic rapid appraisal tool. Our concern is with the affect of using the SWOT technique. No matter how even-handed we might want to be, the weaknesses and threats of any situation or organization come to dominate the discussion. Under the guise of ‘realism’ conversation dwells on the challenges and problems and a negativity begins to prevail. It seems that when balance is sought, the negatives cancel out the positives and the resulting affect is that of cautious optimism at best, resigned pessimism at worst—hardly the emotional grounds for thinking and enacting social innovation.

Figure 2. The SWOT Matrix

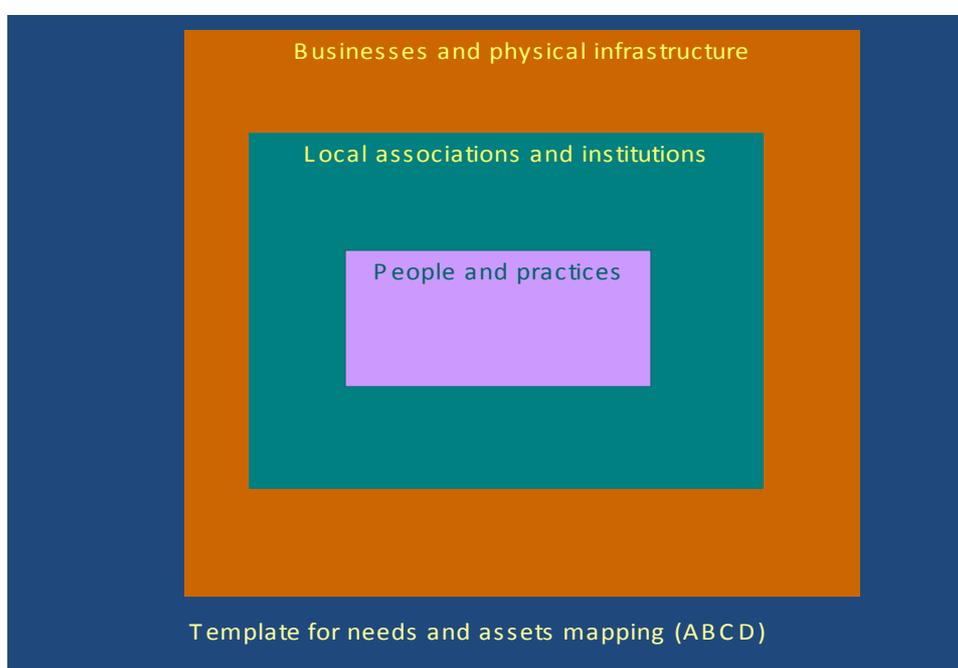


Source: author

In our action research we have been attracted to a very different tool called ‘needs and assets mapping,’ an innovative method of Assets Based Community Development (ABCD) (www.sesp.northwestern.edu/abcd/). In this technique people are asked to brainstorm the needs and deficiencies of their situation, organization or whatever the object of analysis is. Needs are mapped on a template that distinguishes those of people and practices, local associations and institutions, and businesses and infrastructure (or physical environment). In this discussion fears, worries, complaints and negative affect are aired, listened to and given time for recognition. Then the group is asked to brainstorm the assets map. Now the strengths and capacities of the situation under consideration are listed on another blank template, organized in the same way. What is interesting is how hard it is to think of assets, but once the group gets going all sorts of information spills out onto the map. The affect of this exercise is very different—amazement, appreciation and pride are expressed. The negative pull of needs and deficiencies is momentarily forgotten as the value of what is at hand in the here and now is recalled. This exercise provides a fertile ground upon which to dream, build and strengthen. We have noticed that the SWOT analysis has been applied to many of the community and regional initiatives studied by the KATARSIS teams. Innovations ranging from social enterprises that employ people with disabilities or support youth-led artistic practice, to city-

wide strategies for participatory budgeting or transition to a climate-changed world have all been subjected to evaluative appraisal in the SWOT style. Inevitably discussion dwelt on weaknesses (e.g., too small in scale, too disorganized, not generating enough of an economic return) and threats (e.g., too dependent on state funding that can be withdrawn at any time, vulnerability to takeover by the private sector). Under the pretense of realism the innovations at hand became smaller in our imaginations. As more problems and deficiencies loomed it was hard to keep a check on judgmentalism and negative affect. We wonder what might have occurred had we attempted a needs versus assets assessment in the ABCD spirit? Perhaps our collective stance regarding the potential of the social innovations under scrutiny might have been different?

Figure 3. The Needs and Assets 'Map'



Source: author

Generating alternative discourses: representing the social economy

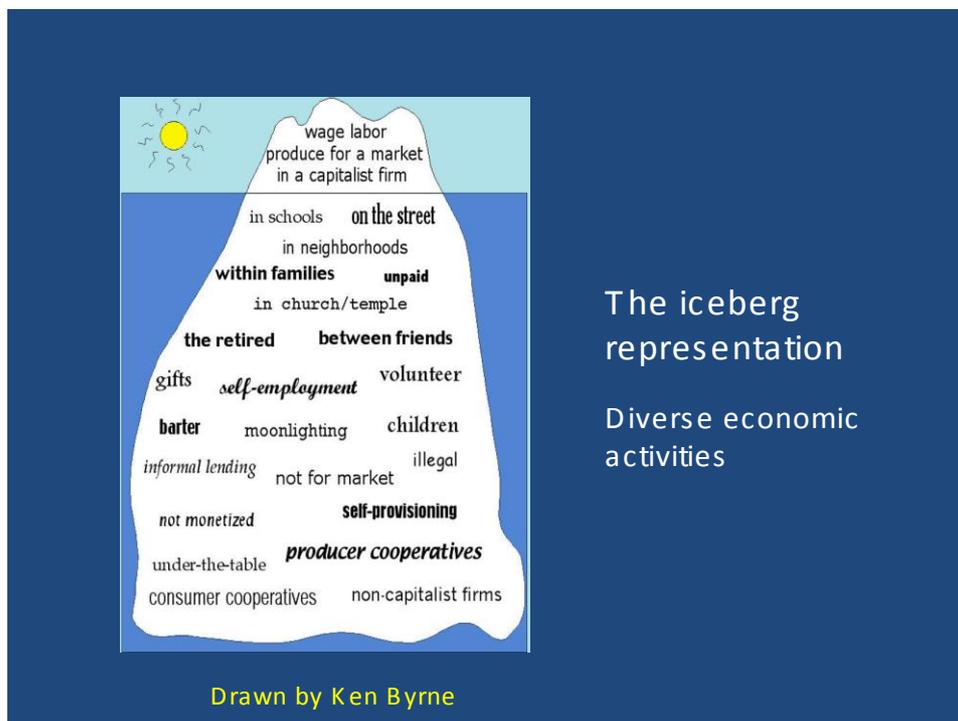
The KATARSIS project has among others focused on documenting examples of innovations in what has been variously called the ‘social economy’, the ‘third sector’ or the ‘solidarity economy’. Much intellectual energy has been expended discussing the nature of this ‘alternative economy’—its possible origins in capitalist crisis, its degree of independence from the state, its relationship with ‘the market’ and commodification and so on. One particular concern is whether the social economy can really be a site of innovation, given the

ever-present risk of cooptation. We note that debates that focus on what the social economy *really is* have the potential to shut down discussions about what the social economy *might become*.

In our work we have found that how we represent something like an economy influences how we think about what is possible. If we see the economy as naturally and rightfully ‘capitalist’ then any economic activity that is positioned as different (e.g., involves non-market transactions, or non-waged labour, or shares surplus) cannot be viewed as legitimate, dynamic or long-lasting. The ‘capitalocentrism’ of economic discourse subsumes all economically diverse activities as ultimately the same as, the opposite of, a complement to or contained within capitalism (Gibson-Graham 2006b). One effect of allowing a representation of the economy as ‘really capitalist’ to stand unchallenged is that something like the social economy is automatically drawn into comparison and devaluing, and its innovative potential is considerably undermined.

Many social theorists have argued that discourse is performative and that thinking contributes to the making of new worlds (e.g., Judith Butler, Michel Callon, J K Gibson-Graham, Bruno Latour, Timothy Mitchell, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick). We have sought to bring thinking into action around the economy by creating alternative discourses that will help people perform new worlds. In our action research we have used the image of an iceberg to represent all the dispersed and diverse activities that make up our economic world (see Figure 3). Those activities (wage labour, market transactions and capitalist enterprise) that are seen as the ‘real’ economy are only the tip of this iceberg. When people see many of the activities they perform on a daily basis in this representation of the diverse economy, they start to imagine themselves as economic actors and shapers of new economies. The alternative discourse of a diverse economy inspires creative responses and an interest in maintaining and expanding economic diversity. The innovations documented by KATARSIS as part of the social economy are scattered around our diverse economy framework (see Figure 4) — some involve formal market transactions, others non-market exchanges and gifts, some include state capitalist involvement, others are truly cooperative communal enterprises. Using this representation there might be less need to talk of cooptation (by the state or by capitalism) and more encouragement to think creatively about networks of support between diverse non-capitalist activities. There might be less power given to representations of capital’s structural dynamics that drive change and limit alternatives and more inventive energy given to theorizing the ethical choices and their unpredictable path-dependent trajectories.

Figure 4. The iceberg representation



The iceberg
representation

Diverse economic
activities

Source: authors and artist Ken Byrne

From critique to experimentation: supporting social enterprise development

For many scholars studying alternative economic interventions, the most important scholarly role is that of the critic. Despite their avowed interest in and support for alternatives, these analysts often assess alternative projects as insufficiently radical or self-sufficient, or see them as co-opted and too weak to withstand the onslaughts of ‘structural’ forces and institutional constraints. The critical and judgmental stance overpowers the hopeful and experimental one—all under the guise of being objective.

It is important for us to remember that the scholarly mandate extends beyond critique to include innovation and experimentation. The innovative experimental approach views any site or process as producing information about how it can be improved. It asks about a social economy project, for example, not ‘how does it measure up in mainstream terms?’ but ‘what can we learn from it to support and spread similar ventures?’ In our action research we have been involved in creating and fostering social enterprises, defined as “businesses with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the

business or in the community, rather than being driven by the need to maximise profit for shareholders and owners”

(www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/third_sector/social_enterprise/background.aspx).

Rather than offering summary judgments on the ostensible weaknesses of these enterprises, we have joined with the participants in treating these weaknesses as challenges to be addressed and overcome (Community Economies Collective and Gibson 2009, Gibson 2009, Graham and Cornwell 2009). Perhaps capital investment in the enterprise is still dependent on granting agencies that have their own agendas. What kind of innovative sources of capital—sweat equity, in-kind contributions, community-supported capital funds with patient payback terms—can be drawn upon to start or grow the business? Perhaps working conditions and pay scale resemble exploitative capitalist enterprises. How might we support moves toward self-management and cooperativization? Perhaps product markets are vulnerable to competition from elsewhere. How might we establish fair trade niche markets with governments and consumers, or enable direct marketing initiatives that bypass the competition? Often social enterprises are seen as isolated experiments, not sufficient to change the rules of the game of a neoliberal economy. How might we support the solidarity economy networks that are emerging worldwide, convening at the World Social Forum and at solidarity economy conferences that bring participants together to build strength and foster innovation?

As academics and even as activists, we are conditioned to expect an economic monoculture, or at most a complicit state and private sector, not an experimental diverse economy offering numerous definitions of and pathways to ‘success.’ How might we circumvent or counteract our conditioning? How might we foster experimental subjectivities in ourselves and others? We suggest a pedagogy of strategic questioning, that is, learning to pose questions that open up rather than close down the possibility of becoming socially innovative, alternative, even ‘postcapitalist.’ For example,

- What might it take for these experiments to be viable, sustainable and successful in people-centered terms?
- What can we contribute to the success of these experiments?

This pedagogy of experimentation is also a pedagogy of self-awareness that asks us to observe our resistances and objections to the answers we generate. If we want the social economies we study to grow and thrive, we need to cultivate our experimental selves alongside them.

Table 1. A Diverse Economy

Transactions	Labour	Enterprise
<i>MARKET</i>	<i>WAGE</i>	<i>CAPITALIST</i>
<i>ALTERNATIVE MARKET</i> <i>Sale of public goods</i> <i>Ethical 'fair-trade' markets</i> <i>Local trading systems</i> <i>Alternative currencies</i> <i>Underground market</i> <i>Co-op exchange</i> <i>Barter</i> <i>Informal market</i>	<i>ALTERNATIVE PAID</i> <i>Self-employed</i> <i>Cooperative</i> <i>Indentured</i> <i>Reciprocal labour</i> <i>In kind</i> <i>Work for welfare</i>	<i>ALTERNATIVE CAPITALIST</i> <i>State enterprise</i> <i>Green capitalist</i> <i>Socially responsible firm</i> <i>Non-profit</i>
<i>NON-MARKET</i> <i>Household flows</i> <i>Gift giving</i> <i>Indigenous exchange</i> <i>State allocations</i> <i>State appropriations</i> <i>Gleaning</i> <i>Hunting, fishing, gathering</i> <i>Theft, poaching</i>	<i>UNPAID</i> <i>Housework</i> <i>Family care</i> <i>Neighborhood work</i> <i>Volunteer</i> <i>Self-provisioning labor</i> <i>Slave labour</i>	<i>NON-CAPITALIST</i> <i>Communal</i> <i>Independent</i> <i>Feudal</i> <i>Slave</i>

Source: Gibson-Graham (2006a, 71).

Conclusion: Academic subjects and practices to support social innovation

Many of us involved in KATARSIS project have been trained as academic subjects to theorize, analyse and critically assess the 'objects' of our research. In this paper we have been *exploring three thinking practices* that might enable social innovation, most of which are not taught in the academic curriculum, nor are they part of the enculturation of a professional academic: (1) attending to affect that fosters possibility; (2) generating alternative discourses with performative effects; (3) adopting an experimental orientation to increase the viability of social and economic experiments.

We have also suggested a number of ways that we might cultivate and position ourselves to facilitate these thinking practices and support social innovation. These include:

- Recognizing ourselves as internal rather than external to the object of research;
- Working alongside non-academics in a collaborative fashion, blurring the line between 'researcher' and 'researched';
- Cultivating an ethos and practice of experimentation rather than premature critique;
- Cultivating ourselves as conditions of possibility for the emergence of the new.

As academics we are well positioned to disseminate and amplify local social experiments, increasing their capacity to engender 'other worlds.' The story of the Third Italy, familiar to economic geographers, suggests how a localized social innovation can be rapidly projected to

a global scale via the communication infrastructure of academic institutions. In 1984 Piore and Sabel published their groundbreaking book, *The Second Industrial Divide*, depicting a new industrial paradigm they called ‘flexible specialization’, based on small, specialized, craft-based yet automated manufacturing firms in the Emilia Romagna region of Italy. The book was soon taken up by every geography and planning program in the English-speaking world; in just a few years, these programs were placing economic development planners in surrounding cities and regions who were enacting ‘flexible specialization’ on the ground. By the early 1990s Michael Porter of Harvard Business School had formalized this planning model as ‘cluster development,’ which soon became the state of the art in economic development planning in universities and regions worldwide (see Porter 1998). Within 15 years, what had begun as a local success story was remaking industrial landscapes throughout the world.

This story not only provides a textbook example of the performativity of discourse—its capacity to bring into being what it describes—but it foregrounds the academy as an existing infrastructure for performative global enactments. Our research on the social economy and social innovation is communicated via publications and classrooms to academics and students worldwide. We can choose to foster and strengthen (and thus perform) an innovative social economy through our academic work, or we can undermine it by ignoring or downplaying its successes and potentials (thereby performing its marginality). Just as we are working to make social enterprise more visible and viable as an object of national policy and international activism, we see KATARSIS as working to make social innovation a priority among scholars, policymakers and activists alike. This process of validation and amplification is fostered not through advocacy, or not that alone, but through the epistemological support of creative thinking.

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PART 2. INSTRUCTIVE CASE-STUDIES IN SOCIAL INNOVATION ANALYSIS

Introduction: Social Innovation experience and action as a lead for research (Stuart Cameron)

In talking of the small town of Montemor-o-Novo below, Andre and Abrue describe this as a ‘virtuous’ case-study. This term might well be used for all the case study examples in this section. They represent impressive and inspiring stories of success in the generation of socially-creative strategies and social innovation, often in difficult and unpromising circumstances. It is important in reading these chapters, though, to look beyond the case study stories, interesting and uplifting as they might be, to the analytical dimensions of the discussion in each chapter. The purpose of the KATARSIS project is to furnish and refine conceptual and analytical tools for researching and understanding how socially-creative strategies can develop to address social exclusion, and the purpose of the authors below is to utilise these tools in the context of the particular case studies they discuss. Looking across these six case study sections, a number of key analytical themes can be identified:

Space and spatial scale is an important analytical dimension. The account of an innovative approach to housing for Roma people in North-West Italy by Vitale and Membretti starts with a spatial issue – the segregation and physical isolation of Roma communities in ‘nomad camps’. It goes on to examine the impetus for change beginning at the most local level of family interaction moving through the mediation of NGOs to up institutional levels where the resources for innovative action can be found.

Vertical relationships of scale and institutional structure are discussed in several of the chapters with a particular emphasis on the linkage of local civil society at grassroots level to more formal institutions at a wider scale. Andersen, Delica and Kransen use the term ‘bottom-linked’ to indicate this relation. The main focus of this chapter is on a formal public institution, in this case library services, which may both support social innovation and in themselves be changed. As Garcia, Santiago Anglada and Pradel suggest above, ‘institutionalisation and innovation are not necessarily antagonistic’.

The discussion of the Quebec model of social innovation in relation to social enterprises points out the equally crucial role of ‘horizontal social contracts’ of public and private institutions and civil society within a spatial arena. This model of incremental rather than

radical innovation involves what the authors describe as the ‘co-construction of public policies’. The other chapter focusing on the social economy, that on Brasil by Dubeux, looks in particular at the role of academics and academic institutions in the partnerships which developed Incubateurs Technologiques d’Initiatives Solidaires for the promotion of social enterprises. The discussion of Brugse Poort and the evolution of regeneration initiatives in Flanders by Oosterlynck and Debruyne also emphasises the coalition of ‘change actors’.

The governance and welfare regime within which social innovation occurs is also an important theme. In some cases its favourable nature can be seen. In the Danish case study, social innovation primarily involves a public agency and its staff operating within a strong social democratic national welfare regime. In the cases of Montreal a ‘specific governance regime’ within the province is noted in the making of public policy and the participation of civil society, together with an ‘economic’ system characterised by plurality. In Flanders, the existence of a ‘neo-communitarian’ regime is identified as a context for the development of coalitions to promote urban regeneration. Conversely, social innovation can take place through the process of struggle with less favourable governance context, as in the Italian case study.

The role of arts and culture in socially-creative strategies has been an important concern of Katarsis and an important element in the examples and experiences on which the project has drawn. This is represented most of all below by the example of Montemor-o-Novo. Vicari and Tornaghi (above) speak of the search for progressive social change as a ‘fuel’ driving social innovation. Cultural creativity may, though, be seen as another such ‘fuel’, though as is made clear in the discussion of Montemor-e-Novo there must be a link to social values for artistic creativity to become socially creative. The potential of arts, and of celebration, in opening segregated communities and spaces is also explored in the account of the Roma housing project in Italy, while in Flanders the valuing and conservation of the historic built environment can be seen as another source of fuel providing an impetus for ‘change actors’ in socially-creative strategies

2.1 Just another roll of dice. A socially creative initiative to assure Roma and Sinti housing in North Western Italy (Tommaso Vitale and Andrea Membretti)

1. Introduction: A Case of Space Production and Empowerment

Paradoxically, scholarly literature on local welfare, social work, and ‘social cohesion’ at the urban level tends not to consider the relevance of space (Bifulco, Vitale 2004). It is an old issue: also in urban studies, ‘place’ is often more relevant than ‘space’ and the spatial dimension is not so easily assumed.

In this short paper we reflect on how social innovation relates to the social production of space (Moulaert, in this report, introduction). We look at a socially creative initiative in which a very hard housing problem was solved thanks to a holistic production of space. We observed how a network of NGOs was able to manage a situation of housing exclusion for some highly stigmatised Roma families. In the middle town of Settimo Torinese, *the network* was able to satisfy the housing need of 35 people, to open up a process of large and inclusive democratic governance within the community, and to empower all the actors involved in the project, especially the beneficiaries. But the typical character of this social innovation was exactly on the level of the production of space. The main problem that the network wanted to address was the issue of segregation that housing endowments for Roma usually reproduce (Sigona, 2005). Welfare provisions for Roma in Italy traditionally are part of the problem they are supposed to solve: they maintain segregation and do not support Roma inclusion into the flux of a broader urban life.

This network decided to design a project and implement it in a very collaborative way, not by providing a special shelter for evicted Roma, or facilitating Roma housing emergencies. It has designed a participative path within the Turin metropolitan area to produce a space that could welcome also, but not exclusively, Roma families without labelling them and without separating them from the wider local community.

2. Roma in Italy: A Crisis of Territorial Embeddedness

Housing conditions for Roma groups in Italy are particularly worrying. They are alarming all over Europe, but with some particular problems in the Italian case (FRA, 2009). Here local policies for Roma and Sinti groups are mostly based on a singular ‘policy tool’ (Hood, 2007),

the so-called '*campo nomadi*' (Nomad Camp) which is a highly segregated public housing provision, which forces very different Roma groups (because they are not a *single* ethnic group) to live together in highly isolated area, within poor prefabs, under special regulations and according to a differential administrative treatment (Membretti, 2009). This policy instrument was launched in the late 1970's as an invention of single town, in the absence of a National legislative framework and of any kind of Regional policy coordination (Vitale 2009a). After thirty years, Nomad Camp remains the mainstream local policy toward Roma and Sinti groups, with a lack of coordination between housing policy and other social policies. The current esteem of the Roma 'population' living in Italy affects about 200.000 and only a dozen of towns in Italy have experimented some form of social innovation to overcome the Nomad Camps (Vitale, 2009b).

Actually, this policy instrument is highly responsible for the decreasing Roma Voice (Dean, *et al.*, 2005), and moreover challenges their identity and intergenerational relationships, and can be held responsible for their criminalization. What is at stake and what is the main point of crisis are exactly the relations between these groups and the territory. It is a crisis of spatial embeddedness due to settlement segregation.

In Italy, addressing the contradictions initiated by the presence of Roma and Sinti groups falls on local authorities that lack the adequate tools to face them; besides, they are rarely backed by public authorities on higher levels. However, room for action and degrees of freedom are present at the local level, allowing to bend policies in several possible directions. Public policy choices that can be exerted on the local level strongly circumscribe opportunities of action regarding primary and secondary education, work placement, healthcare, sociality and, above all, housing. They can either favour or hinder conditions of 'recognition' (Pizzorno, 2007, pp. 275-95) of these communities in a "necessarily complex and self-contradictory" social order (Jobert, 1998, p. 25)¹.

Policies implemented on the local level are always the result of a situated interaction between various actors, with different interests, within common constraints. Notwithstanding the crucial role of policies and their instrumental inertia (especially the 'Nomad camp' device), it is nonetheless possible that social innovation initiatives will raise. What is at stake for

¹ Reflections by Ambrosini (2008, p. 212) are particularly interesting from this point of view. The author noted that, in the case of the Roma, conflicts surface within "territorial mobility practices of transnational minorities and social benefits still regulated by bonds of affiliation to nation-states, which result in deep inequalities within the various groups that constitute Roma and Sinti complex".

developing scientific knowledge is to understand why and how social creative initiatives raise in a very constrained area (Moulaert, *et al.*, 2010).

3. Where do social innovation come from?

In the small town of Borgaro (13.000 inhabitants), near Turin, the presence of Roma newcomers, originating from Romania was perceived as a threat to the ‘city security’. Some of them arrived in 1999, when the first Roma migration from Romania began. They built a shanty town around a farmhouse called La Merla. After the summer alluvium of 2004 and 2005 in Romania, some other Roma groups arrived in Borgaro. The settlements were abusive, composed of wooden hovels and shacks, without toilets, furniture, gas, electricity and water provision. The housing condition was really ghastly. At the same time children went to school, which was a very important element in the fabrication of broader social ties. Parents of the Roma’s classmates started considering Roma as people deserving respect, building relationships with them.

In November 16th, 2006, the shanty town burned down, and 110 people lost everything. The municipality refused to offer them a shelter, but the friendly relationships enjoined between parents thanks to the school insertion helped them to mobilize two local NGOs (Acmos and Terra del Fuoco), not implied in aid to homeless, to house welcome them in their ordinary offices. They remained there no more than one week. After just a week they were moved to a Nomad Camp in Turin, but the experience during that week was fundamental to activate these two NGOs, and especially Terra del Fuoco, to start thinking about a better housing solution for this Roma group.

They mobilized their political resources and managed to catch the attention of the National Minister of Social Affairs who promised to sustain whatever housing solution, on the condition that it could be considered ‘innovative’. In fact the Ministerial funding was never effective, but its promise permitted to legitimate the issue raised by the two NGOs. It was a sort of risky game: the two NGOs used the Minister’s promise as a lever to mobilise other institutional and social actors.

The process was long and with various dynamics. The NGOs asked for a building, or a field or an area to promote a project within the town of Borgaro, but the Mayor was opposed. While the Municipality was unwilling, once again the NGO Terra del Fuoco jumped institutional scales, making an alliance with the Province of Turin to try to find another town

willing to welcome at least a small number of Roma families. They finally found the Municipality of Settimo Torinese, a middle-sized town (57.000 inhabitants) with a large building that was previously used as social shelter. At the same time, the public and visible way to call for an 'open' municipality produced a large consensus around the claim and enlarged the mobilization: the important third sector association 'Gruppo Abele', the Milan organisation 'Architettura delle Convivenze' (AdC, or Architecture of the Living Together), the Turin Catholic Pastoral Office for Migrants and the most important Regional Bank Foundatio joint the movement.

In brief, we can underline two main mechanisms that were manifest during this process: (1) the relevance of social ties built at a very local level, thanks to the social proximity of Roma school inclusion; and (2) the significance of jumping scale, finding alliances at a higher scale. Both of them have produced the multiplication of ties as a joint effect.

Looking at what Vicari and Tornaghi stress in this report, we can say that the relationship produced by Roma children school insertion provides a source of visibility and motivation that countered political and moral indifference and nihilism. At the same time the embeddedness of two local NGOs in solid and stable structures of governance permits them to 'exploit' and mobilise existing political ties to claim for and push toward something innovative to satisfy Roma housing needs and to empower Roma population.

4. The Dice: A Socially Creative Housing Aid and More

The municipality of Settimo Torinese offered a 700 square meter two floor building, previously used as a shelter for mentally ill people. The place was highly stigmatised. The network of organisations involved was very aware of this stigma. A stigmatised population in a stigmatised building could produce an explosive situation. Thanks to the organisation called Architettura delle Convivenze they decided to implement a non targeted project: a shelter not only devoted to Roma families, but in which some Roma families could find a temporary reception (for three years at the longest), but were also non Roma families could find a warm welcome. The organization decided to 'sacrifice' and 'waste' room that could otherwise be used for families in need to reduce the risk of segregation and isolation. So they realised apartments for 8 Roma families (17 children and 18 adults), but also apartments for non-Roma families, an office for social mediators (educators skilled in managing neighbourhood conflicts), and a company flat for students and workers active in broader social and political

initiatives in the Turin metropolitan area. At the same time, the large patio was allotted as an open space for the local community, with a conference room and a purposive space to organise artistic exhibitions and other cultural activities.

Finally the project was ‘interesting’, in the peculiar sense that it has attracted interests (Callon, 1986). To name but a few, when the Minister of Social Affairs decided not to finance the project, an influential local Bank Foundation remained the sole funder of the Dice, ‘interested’ in the kind of innovation the ‘Dice’ was making.

But what seems more interesting than the process of finding a good shelter for some of the Roma families, is the *way* in which the housing social intervention was provided: the style and the method through which things were realised. In fact also the way in which the Dice was realised has built-in the idea to counter ghettoization effects.

First of all, the Roma moving in were engaged to restore and refurbish the building. They were hired by a social cooperative, and worked on their own houses, but paid and learning a job. The network of organisations made sure that the Roma builders could continue working also after the end of the Dice.

Secondly, at each step of the building restoration an open party was organised, involving the local community (schools, parishes, associations, sport teams, and so on). The purpose was to show the quality of the work, to bind new ties, to incrementally reduce the stigma of the place, to engage a larger population in the aims of the project, producing a feeling of community’s ownership in the place. Surely, the building provided very different functions: housing privacy and intimacy for each family, while the open space needs circulation and attraction of the local community. Partying each step in the building of the dice was a way to manage the plurality of functions, discussing them cheerfully.

Thirdly, also the building yard was conceived as an open space. The building yard simplified the processes of mutual acquaintance between Roma builders, social workers, citizens, neighbours and other local agents.

Fourthly, the Dice project was not designed by some ‘outside looking in’ architect, but was continuously discussed, co-planned, negotiated and revised together the Roma families.

Last but not least, the active role played by the Roma was very important in the process of consensus building. One of the main stereotypes against Roma is that they are idlers and

layabouts, ‘bumming around’. The direct engagement of Roma builders was defined as sort of ‘multilayer political light conductor’: they worked in a self building project, therefore reducing cost and public expenditure; they worked directly on the project, therefore it is difficultly criticized as benevolent; what’s more they worked to provide an exhibition space for the city.

5. Discussion and conclusion: Arts and Housing Social Creativity

Roma and Sinti groups are very different and cannot be considered as a single homogeneous population. Italy is the Country in Western Europe where the hostility against these groups is highest. The prejudices against ‘gypsies’ are continuously fed by a highly segregating urban policy, which has confined them to special ‘nomad camps’ at the margin of urban life. This ethnically differentiated treatment has been hardly denounced by International Institutions, and remains the dominant kind of policy, especially in the North Western Regions.

It is exactly in this part of the Country that the ‘Dice’ was born. The social innovation promoted is noticeably because it is able to differentiate the housing offer to gypsy groups, starting from their wishes and projects and not from previous stereotyped categorization. It works on the three dimensions of social innovation: (1) looking at each person in an empowerment perspective (especially as to labour market insertion); (2) caring to mobilize private and public resources to build ‘decent’ and customized housing; (3) strongly engaging to promote inclusive governance and widening spaces of voice for excluded.

In its daily operation the Dice faces not only tough contestation by xenophobic groups, but has to struggle also with democratic politicians who seek electoral consensus by combating Roma and Sinti settlements, also after having already encouraged and approved of their reception before.

The paper reinforces the importance for socially creative initiatives directed to stigmatised groups of their political capability of using arts as an instrument to construct and maintain large coalitions and effective consensus.

Needless to say that this case is relevant within the Katarsis framework, because it is about the incremental production of a space which is perceived as a place of inclusion and not a space of segregation. That involved a very soft-going and tricky process: the housing

provision had to be conceived as an encounter space, but it could not become a 'public space': it has to remain a space where families live, with privacy, ownership, invisibility guaranteeing confidence and familiarity (Breviglieri, 2006). At the same time it had to be conceived to be used *also* in a open way, to attract and not to detract sociability. From what we observed in our research, it was the problem of routing and promoting a process of empowerment that permits to learn how to manage tensions between groups. The sustainability of the housing process was stated in a way of doing based on recognition, in which the threshold between inhabiting and opening to the local community could always be negotiated by the same beneficiaries. And we discovered that arts play a special role for this sustainability.

At length, in the Dice project, the artistic dimension is quite striking. Arts is significant to opening the housing shelter to the outside world, but also to qualify the opening-up. It has permitted to reverse the image of disgrace of a slummy, degraded place as Roma settlements are usually stereotypically considered. Artistic elements modify relationships between the building, the potential inhabitants, the territory and the citizens around.

Meanwhile, artistic facilities within the 'Dice' are considered not only by the promoting organizations, but also by the Roma, as a sort of identity recognition and support. The Roma are regarded not for their assumed criminal behaviour or for their deprivation, hardship and beggary but for their cultural production. Artistic facilities or performance are noteworthy because they allow to consider Roma welfare not only as mere need satisfaction, but as a human cultural capability to provide aesthetic components to urban life. Arts sustain the memory of long-term tradition and support a capability for voice, reducing fear of self-expression. The 'Dice style', i.e. the way in which they do what they did, allows to perform artistic and identity expression not as a way of dividing and closing, but as a stimulus for encounters and urban dialogue.

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2.2 Understanding the dynamics of social innovation through arts: The case of Montemor-o-Novo, Portugal (Isabel André and Alexandre Abreu)

Culture and the arts have for some time taken on an increasingly important role in local development strategies. It is often felt, or assumed, that the former can provide the veritable ‘sleight of hand’ capable of turning run-down, degenerated areas into dynamic, prosperous, ‘nice’ places. But to what extent are those regenerated places also equitable, fair and cohesive? And what does it take for culture and the arts to play a positive role in this respect as well?

This paper puts forth several arguments on this issue, and proceeds to illustrate them by drawing on a ‘virtuous’ case-study from Southern Portugal: Montemor-o-Novo, a small-sized city in the largely depressed Alentejo region (Portugal). The main arguments are: i) that the promotion of culture and the arts within the context of local development strategies may provide a crucial contribution to harmonising the goals of economic competitiveness and social cohesion (as well as those of economic innovation and social innovation), but will not always and necessarily have that effect; and ii) that the ‘virtuous’ outcome is dependent on a broad-based, participatory approach to culture and the arts that is able to (re)combine collective memory and collective creation.

The concept of the creative city – as developed and explored by Landry, Florida and others over the last decade or so – has often been regarded as a true ‘treasure map’, the ‘egg of Columbus’ that makes it possible to bring post-industrial cities out of the doldrums in which they have increasingly found themselves. Drawing in creative and talented people has become a chief goal for numerous cities. With a view to that goal, public authorities have financed a variety of urban mega-projects – both in the cultural and artistic field and in those infrastructural domains that are required to keep creative cities running (transports, communications, environmental rehabilitation, etc.).

The remarkable popularity that these strategies have come to enjoy should be understood in relation to the increasing importance of aesthetics and the ‘spectacular’ in daily life – most especially in the case of cities, with their highly distinctive character (Jane Jacobs). It is thus a deeply ambiguous approach. On the one hand, it has raised a number of very interesting questions and enabled truly creative accomplishments in the cultural and artistic field *per se*, as well as, on a broader societal plane, addressed issues concerning the diversity and tolerance

– particularly in what regards civil rights issues and the formulation of alternative visions of society. On the other hand, however, it is by now well-known that the creative city has often turned out to be an elitist and exclusive city as well. This is a consequence both of the fact that the creative cities discourse has very little time or consideration for the goals of social justice and spatial cohesion, and of the fact that the strategies that seek to pursue the vision announced in that discourse are more often than not driven by the interests of private capital.

Thus it is that creative cities largely disregard social creativity and social innovation, especially because these involve serious challenges to the prevailing social order aimed at promoting equity, empowerment, social justice and new social relations. Or worse even: many actions and initiatives undertaken within the ambit of the mainstream view on creative cities have actually given rise to the exclusion and expulsion of some of the poorest and/or most vulnerable from the areas of the city undergoing regeneration (Ley, 2003; Moulaert et al, 2004). Private capital is quick to seize the value generated by the ‘creative class’ – both directly within the creative industries sector and in such indirect but no less important ways as the increase in the price of urban land and real estate projects.

‘Creative’ urban regeneration projects thus flourish that, quite paradoxically, could hardly be less creative in that they often carbon-copy each other. But that is not even the most serious problem: even more worrying is the fact that these projects often trample both land use laws and regulations and, crucially, the will of the local communities. As eloquently put by Moulaert et al (2004: 2344), “maybe the term beautification should be avoided in this context [of urban regeneration]: it has been burnt by its strong connotation of socially destructive gentrification, including the destruction of poor quarters, the dislocation of poor people, the polarization between chic and outskirt neighbourhoods”. The creative city often walks hand in hand with the fragmented and socially exclusive city. In addition, we should be careful to distinguish between the various precise senses of the word ‘creativity’, their respective implications and their interrelationships: as argued by Scott (2006:10), “the mere presence of ‘creative people’ is certainly not enough to sustain urban creativity over long periods of time. Creativity needs to be mobilized and channelled for it to emerge in practical forms of learning and innovation” (Scott, 2006:10).

The Canadian public authorities seem keenly aware of this debate and criticism surrounding the more simplistic views of creative cities. In a publication entitled *Creative Cities: What Are They For, How Do They Work, and How Do We Build Them?* published by the Canadian

Policy Research Networks, Gertler (2004:1) puts forth a number of recommendations for public policy-makers that seem particularly relevant in this context:

“First, we should support the development of creative cities because they play an ever more important role in enhancing the dynamism, resilience, and overall competitiveness of our national economy. Second, we should nurture the development of creative cities because they have the potential to enhance quality of life and opportunity for a broad cross-section of Canadians. [Debates on the creative cities remind us of] the importance of adapting the creative class thesis to the Canadian context in an active and critical (rather than passive) way, by making our aspirations very clear. The goal for public policy in Canada should be – and can be – to enhance the formation of socially inclusive creative places.”

The key issue thus has to do with how to ‘virtuously’ turn creativity into social creativity, a crucial leap which we argue has been successfully made in Montemor-o-Novo (Alentejo, Portugal). Artistic creation, to a higher degree than other forms of creativity – product design, for example – plays a central role in this narrative, given its unique capacity to question mores and social structures, as well as to (re)construct collective memories and identities. Art, insofar as it is inherently metaphoric, makes it possible to transcend the obvious and facilitate the communication of deep values and feelings (Smiers). As both a product and a source of inspiration, it has the capacity to produce ‘transcendence’ (Ruby). And public art, in particular, is especially relevant to the promotion of individual and collective self-esteem, to the (re)construction of local and social identities and to strengthen the sense of belonging, a crucial condition of urban social cohesion.

The key pre-conditions for social creativity to be nourished and sustained, in accordance with some conceptual, theoretical and empirical results from previous research, are: i) *diversity*, insofar as (social) creative actions and activities typically emerge as a consequence of bringing diverse experiences, ideas and perspectives into contact; ii) *tolerance* and open-mindedness, to the extent that only in milieus that do not systematically penalise failure, risk-taking is encouraged; and iii) *learning and critical thinking*, insofar as novelty introduces information and knowledge that must be appropriated, deconstructed and reconstructed in order for old institutions and structures to be provided with new meanings.

In turn, social innovation – a closely related but distinct concept – takes social creativity a step forward, in the sense that it puts greater emphasis on the social appropriation and dissemination of socially creative ‘novelties’, to the *relative* detriment of the creative act *per se*. It is no less essential for social cohesion and social justice, however. In fact, the very distinction between these two logical moments is a conceptual aid more than anything else, given how inextricably interwoven they must be in order for the aforementioned objectives to be attained. Still, the pre-conditions for social innovation to occur may be formulated somewhat differently from those identified above for social creativity. They include: i) *participation*, or the encouragement of collective cooperation, dialogue and, whenever necessary, conflict (in a critical and positive understanding of the latter); ii) *collective references and memories*, which provide the necessary anchors that ensure the resilience of places and their ability to embrace what is new without degenerating into fragmentation and ‘negative’ conflict; (iii) *leadership*, which has been empirically shown across a variety of contexts to provide the spark – or keep the fire burning? - for consequent collective action; and iv) *an adequate geographical scale* making it possible for the previous pre-conditions to be verified without the introduction of tensions for the places that are concerned. When the previous conditions are met to a sufficient degree – which, admittedly, is particularly hard to test *ex-ante*, we speak of *plastic* places, in reference to the concept of plasticity from physics, which denotes the ability to change shape without losing internal structure and coherence (Lambert, 2004).

Montemor-o-Novo, like so many towns and cities in the Alentejo region, has had to face a remarkably adverse economic and social context. A city of 9,000 inhabitants (2001 Census), it experienced a natural demographic balance of -5.4% between 1991 and 2001. 26% of the population is over the age of 64 and its traditional economic base, agriculture, has undergone a severe secular decline, currently providing work for barely 15% of the workforce. In addition, one third of the adult population had no schooling whatsoever, and only about 5% have a university degree. At first glance, hardly the trappings of a typical ‘creative city’.

However, despite this unfavourable context, the local authorities have over the past three decades been able to mobilise the resources and pursue a strategy that has significantly advanced community development. One of the main pillars of this local strategy has consisted in the promotion of cultural and artistic activities - on the one hand, by seeking to combine and cross-fertilise memory and creation (i.e., using the historical heritage as a crucial resource

in the promotion of creative initiatives and the attraction of creative persons); on the other, by pursuing economic development, social inclusion and urban cohesion in an integrated manner.

Biological and organic agriculture, rural tourism and cultural activities have been elected by the local authorities as the main strategic axes of Montemor-o-Novo's development strategy. Among the latter, however, one towers above all others: in a context of adversity, Montemor-o-Novo is increasingly recognised as an artistic production centre and a cultural reference point of international renown.

The roots of this are to be found in its historical trajectory, and the city council played the key leadership role. Just four years after the democratic revolution of 1974, the municipality founded an Arts Gallery and a Library, located in the ancient Convent S. João de Deus. Some time later, the 1980s witnessed the creation of a municipal socio-cultural office and the launching of arts workshops for children. Then, in the 1990s, the European Structural Funds made it possible to support a range of innovative local projects combining culture, the arts and social work. The last 15 years corresponded in a sense to the maturity stage of this development strategy, as the strategy began to focus in part on the attraction of artists and creative professionals from outside the municipality, region and country. In return, a requirement was systematically made to artists and creators that they had to commit themselves to preserving the historical heritage, undertaking partnerships with schools, the local elderly, etc., and holding their *premières* in Montemor-o-Novo. In sum, under a democratic but determined leadership, virtuous synergies were gradually fostered between three development axes: historical heritage; artistic creation; and social inclusion, cohesion and emancipation. Amongst the wide range of initiatives that gave shape to this strategy, three illustrate its crucial features particularly well, and will be discussed in greater detail in the full paper: (i) a choreographic centre - The Space of Time -, located in the Montemor-o-Novo castle; (ii) a visual arts association - Convent Workshops - that functions in an old monastery; and (iii) a biological agriculture unit - Freixo do Meio Farm - which promotes eco-tourism and land art exhibitions.

The case of Montemor-o-Novo is especially interesting and useful as a narrative of socially creative success, whereby culture and the arts have crucially contributed to social cohesion and to social innovation in addition to fostering economic competitiveness, in the context of what would otherwise have been another small deprived city in a depressed rural region.

While extrapolations of ‘best practice’ experiences are usually over-simplistic, this narrative does provide ample food for thought on the conditions and determinants of social innovation and social creativity in analogous contexts. What we find here, among other things, is the virtuous coming together of: i) an inspired, determined and democratic leadership; ii) constant attention and recourse to the memory and identity of the place, namely in terms of its landscape and historical and architectural heritage; iii) the stimulus provided to creative activities, not least through the ability to draw on the existing natural and cultural resources; iv) the creation of significant new landmarks; and v) the firm requirement that artistic creation never becomes an elitist endeavour and that the artists and creators isolated themselves in an enclave – rather, the ultimate goal has consistently been to ensure that creativity does indeed become *social* creativity, by acquiring a collective character driven by the collective (re)construction of identity and the inclusion of vulnerable groups.

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2.3 L'incubation d'entreprises d'économie solidaire : une méthodologie de promotion de l'innovation sociale au Brésil (Ana Dubeux)

Introduction

Le Brésil, comme d'autres pays émergents, souffre durement des conséquences de la mondialisation du capital, en particulier depuis la crise financière. Les conséquences sont notamment visibles dans les taux de chômage ou de sous-emploi dans le pays. Le processus de développement mis en place au Brésil a une nature excluante, principalement en ce que concerne l'insertion des travailleurs dans le marché formel du travail. La diminution des postes de travail provoquée par le phénomène de la restructuration productive dans les années 1990 et plus récemment par la crise financière est l'une des conséquences les plus graves pour la société brésilienne en général. D'un côté, une toute petite partie de la société détient une grande partie de la richesse. De l'autre, une grande partie de la société brésilienne est obligée de vivre dans des conditions de pauvreté extrême, voire de misère absolue. Cela génère à son tour une situation de marginalisation sociale et économique dans les grandes villes brésiennes, surtout lorsqu'on examine de plus de près les données sur les grandes métropoles.

La partie de la population habitant principalement dans les périphéries des grandes villes déploie cette marginalisation dans le territoire qu'elle occupe. Eloignée des centres-villes (avec parfois des distances de plus de 40 km), cette population se concentre dans des régions dépourvues des infrastructures normalement fournies par l'État (transports collectifs, routes goudronnées, électricité, eau potable, service de traitement des eaux usagées, traitement des ordures ménagères, etc.). Cette réalité scinde les grandes villes en deux réalités opposées : d'un côté, la « ville formelle », qui bénéficie de toutes les infrastructures et offre aux habitants un minimum de bien-être ; de l'autre, la « ville marginale » et/ou informelle, où l'on observe un énorme déficit de politiques publiques et les conséquences que doivent subir les individus qui y habitent. La société brésilienne peut donc être vue comme une société où coexistent les extrêmes, entre ceux qui peuvent être considérés économiquement comme inclus, et ceux qui vivent dans une condition de marginalité et de misère sociale : les exclus. Les contraintes économiques décrites créent donc des « citoyens » de deuxième catégorie qui, de par leur nombre, ont une force qui peut amener le pays aussi bien au chaos social qu'à des transformations profondes.

Vers le milieu des années 1980, une réaction en chaîne, mise en place par les travailleurs brésiliens, configure un mouvement qui s'organise autour de l'économie solidaire, ce qui leur permet de trouver un chemin vers la condition de citoyenneté. Plusieurs initiatives économiques² de cette nature sont créées par les travailleurs, en ville et à la campagne, à travers des coopératives, des groupes informels de production et des entreprises autogérées — initiatives soutenues par un réseau composé d'ONG, de membres de l'église, de mouvements syndicaux et, tout particulièrement, d'universités. Cette pluralité d'acteurs fait que l'économie solidaire brésilienne, à l'articulation des sphères marchande, non marchande et non monétaire de l'économie, prend des formes différentes par rapport aux pays développés.

Dans ce contexte, l'université se voit confier, à partir de différents processus, une tâche d'appui et d'accompagnement des entrepreneurs issus d'une condition de marginalité et qui mettent en place des entreprises économiques solidaires. Cette démarche est un moteur de promotion de l'innovation sociale car elle exige des chercheurs et étudiants un nouveau positionnement sur leur conception de la science et de la technologie, ainsi que sur l'imbrication du produit de leur travail dans le quotidien de rapports sociaux très éclatés. Parallèlement, le rapprochement avec les travailleurs exclus va leur permettre de produire ensemble une nouvelle sorte de savoir qui, au-delà des usages habituels dans la société, est promoteur de transformation sociale et de développement territorial durable.

L'économie solidaire au Brésil

A partir des années 1990, la dynamique de l'économie solidaire au Brésil est de plus en plus prégnante, mais la théorisation sur cette dernière est encore insuffisante, même si elle se développe progressivement. Dans tous les pays, la conceptualisation est difficile, d'une part, car il s'agit d'un champ théorique encore en construction, d'autre part, en raison des intersections de l'économie solidaire, pas toujours clairement identifiables, avec le champ de l'économie sociale, un peu plus solide car plus ancien. Au Brésil, l'économie solidaire commence à être reconnue en tant que ligne de recherche par le Conseil National de Recherche, organisme d'État qui finance les recherches au niveau national depuis l'année 2000. Cela peut être considéré comme une victoire des chercheurs du domaine, qui en large

² Le Ministère du Travail et de l'Emploi, à travers le Secrétariat National de l'Economie Solidaire, et en partenariat avec le Forum Brésilien de l'Economie Solidaire, a créé le Système National d'Informations en Economie Solidaire à partir de la réalisation d'une ample cartographie sur les initiatives. Cette recherche, qui n'a pas été un simple recensement, a enregistré l'existence de 21.859 entreprises dans tout le Brésil.

majorité participent à un incubateur et qui peu à peu exigent des institutions de l'Etat un positionnement sur la question.

Au-delà de cette bataille plus institutionnelle, qui est fortement politique, il est important d'éclairer le débat conceptuel autour de l'économie solidaire au Brésil car il présente des nuances qui le différencient du débat en Europe. Au Brésil, comme dans plusieurs pays de l'Amérique Latine, l'économie solidaire a une forte composante d'économie populaire, car c'est par ce biais que « *les travailleurs ruraux et urbains, les indiens, les immigrants, ont réussi à valoriser les pratiques autochtones d'entraide et faire prévaloir leur sentiment d'appartenance communautaire contre le désordre produit par le capital* » (Gaiger et Laville, 2009). Cette caractéristique a pour conséquence l'implication des entreprises et des organismes d'appui, soutenus par le gouvernement fédéral et certains états et villes, dans un mouvement social de type nouveau, car regroupant des entrepreneurs, des ONG, des mouvements sociaux plus traditionnels et des élus, organisés dans le Forum Brésilien de l'Economie Solidaire.³

Ce qui nous semble évident dans la dynamique brésilienne est d'abord la capacité de changement de la réalité et aussi d'innovation sociale qui devient possible lorsqu'une grande concertation d'acteurs prend place dans la réalité, et ce malgré les soubresauts qui la traversent. Cela semble ainsi constituer une nouvelle conception du développement territorial dont le moteur et l'échange de savoirs sont mis au service de l'innovation sociale.

Dans cette perspective, il nous semble pertinent de pouvoir s'appuyer sur la vision du développement territorial développée par Moulaert & Nussbaumer (2008) qui, à partir d'une approche multidimensionnelle, définissent une conception du développement territorial basée sur une « lecture élargie des libertés humaines et la capacitation des humains à satisfaire leurs besoins ... », lecture qui « ... qui proclame la satisfaction des besoins humains par des initiatives multi partenariales, facilitée par l'innovation des rapports sociaux de développement. »

Dans cette concertation, les universités sont un des acteurs le plus importants. Au Brésil, jusqu'au début des années 1990, les politiques universitaires de la science et de la technologie ne semblaient ne pas avoir beaucoup d'enracinement social, surtout pour les populations en situation d'exclusion. L'université s'est ainsi vu obligée de sortir de ses murs, de ses bureaux, pour aller vers la société, s'inscrivant ainsi dans un processus de construction et de

³ Pour plus d'information voir www.fbes.org.br

démocratisation d'un nouveau type de savoir et, par conséquent, de pouvoir. Les incubateurs technologiques d'Initiative Solidaire ont été créés à partir d'un besoin, non seulement de quelques universitaires plus engagés, mais principalement de ce grand rassemblement d'acteurs qui demandaient une plus grande concertation entre les institutions de recherche en général et la société. Dans ce contexte, il était impératif que l'université, avec tout l'appareil structurel et scientifique dont elle dispose, ouvre ses espaces et ses portes pour qu'un échange effectif et diversifié ait lieu avec les autres segments de la société, non seulement afin d'échanger des connaissances, mais aussi pour exercer sa fonction première : la production du savoir.

Les Incubateurs Technologiques d'Initiatives Solidaires : une méthodologie de promotion de l'innovation sociale et de l'économie solidaire

Vers la construction d'un nouveau paradigme de la science

L'idée de l'université, telle que nous la concevons aujourd'hui, fait partie intégrante du paradigme de la modernité. « *Les multiples crises des universités sont des affleurements de la crise du paradigme de la modernité et c'est pour cela qu'elles ne peuvent être résolues que dans le contexte de la résolution de celle-ci* » (Santos, 1997). En supposant que le projet de modernité ait atteint ses limites, en conséquence le projet d'université tel qu'il a été construit dans le passé aurait également atteint ses propres limites. De ce constat s'impose pour l'université le besoin de « (...) *repenser ses fonctions traditionnelles et de découvrir en son sein quelles sont les nouvelles pratiques qui conduisent à la rupture et à la transition paradigmatique, c'est-à-dire, à un nouveau niveau, dans lequel l'innovation aura un rôle propulseur.* » (Braga et al., 1997)

La phase de transition paradigmatique de la science moderne vers une science post-moderne, et de la modernité vers la post-modernité, présuppose donc des ruptures. Dans ce sens, Santos (1997) affirme que : « *à l'université, il est difficile d'instaurer ce compromis en réunissant les citoyens et les universitaires dans d'authentiques communautés interprétatives, qui puissent surmonter les interactions usuelles dans lesquelles ils sont toujours forcés de renoncer à l'interprétation de la réalité sociale qui est la leur* ».

Le propulseur des ruptures se situe dans le déclenchement de discussions transdisciplinaires sur la crise des paradigmes, sur la période de transition dans laquelle ils se trouvent et sur les

possibles profils qui se dessinent pour l'avenir. De tels débats, qui doivent naître à l'intérieur de chaque université, tout en stimulant la formation de nouveaux concepts, doivent être largement divulgués pour qu'ils puissent servir de point de départ à de nouvelles discussions encore plus élargies. La mise en cause des bases épistémologiques qui sont en vigueur aujourd'hui implique peu à peu des innovations qui, même si elles ne constituent pas des changements globaux, signifieront des changements localisés aux différents niveaux de réflexion.

C'est cette réflexion qui est à l'origine de la création, à partir de 1995, des Incubateurs Technologiques d'Initiatives Solidaires au Brésil. La création des ITCPs est aussi liée à un plus grand compromis des universités avec les mouvements sociaux tournés vers le combat contre la misère, la faim et la pauvreté. Les incubateurs sont des environnements privilégiés d'intégration de la recherche, de l'enseignement et de l'« l'extensão »⁴ universitaires, dont le principal rôle est la construction du savoir, la formation d'une nouvelle génération de professionnels capables d'exercer un nouveau type de leadership, et le développement de méthodologies d'appui à des dynamiques économiques solidaires innovatrices.

Les incubateurs brésiliens s'organisent aujourd'hui dans deux réseaux universitaires. Le premier est le réseau d'ITCPs auquel 40 universités participent au travers de leur incubateur respectif. Le deuxième est le réseau UNITRABALHO qui réunit également plus de 30 universités.

Quelques bases conceptuelles de la méthodologie d'incubation ?

Les premiers incubateurs ont été créés au Brésil au milieu des années 1990. Parmi les cinq universités pionnières, seulement une avait déjà un parcours antérieur de recherche et enseignement dans le domaine de l'associationnisme. Les bases pour lancer le travail sont donc, d'un côté, les expériences d'éducation populaire vécues par plusieurs des professeurs qui se sont lancés dans cette mise en place et, de l'autre, le modèle (complètement renouvelé dans la démarche) des incubateurs d'entreprises traditionnelles.

L'éducation populaire, fondée sur le référentiel théorico-méthodologique de Paulo Freire, prend place à travers des processus continus et permanents de formation, dont l'intention était de transformer la réalité à partir du leadership des sujets eux-mêmes. Dans les processus

⁴ L'expression « extensão » universitaire désigne des activités de formation continue universitaire développées par les universités brésiliennes qui en général sont de courte durée. Le travail des incubateurs développe une nouvelle conception de l'« extensão » universitaire car il requiert des efforts de plus longue haleine en termes du temps et d'engagement de l'université auprès des groupes accompagnés.

d'éducation populaire, une telle conception est vécue à partir de la réalisation d'actions collectives réunissant éducateurs populaires, leaders des mouvements, réseaux et organisations sociales populaires, ainsi que les équipes responsables de l'implantation et du contrôle social des politiques publiques. Les activités de formation sont basées sur des pratiques théorico-méthodologiques, et ont lieu dans des cercles culturels qui permettent de « lire le monde », l'approfondissement théorique et l'élaboration de stratégies d'action. Il s'agit donc d'une démarche de praxis réflexive.

Le processus d'incubation est balisé par des échanges de savoirs à plusieurs niveaux. Ces processus impliquent dans la pratique quelques prémisses :

- a) on n'est pas un éducateur de l'élève
- b) on n'est pas un élève de l'éducateur
- c) mais, on est un éducateur-élève aussi bien qu'un élève-éducateur

Cela signifie que :

- a) personne n'éduque personne
- b) personne ne s'éduque tout seul
- c) les être humains s'éduquent mutuellement, avec la médiation de leur réalité.

Dans la méthodologie d'incubation actuelle, après presque 15 ans d'action, les incubateurs incorporent et lancent quotidiennement de nouveaux concepts à partir de l'interaction avec les acteurs incubés. Cela est principalement orienté par la construction dans le processus de ce que nous appelons des *technologies sociales, entendues comme des produits, des techniques et/ou méthodologies réutilisables, et développées à partir de l'interaction avec les habitants qui représentent des solutions efficaces de transformation sociale*. Sur un plan conceptuel, la technologie sociale exprime une conception d'intervention sociale qui est inclusive dans toutes les étapes de sa construction ; il s'agit d'un moyen participatif permettant de produire la connaissance et de concevoir la science et la technologie. Sur un plan matériel, la technologie sociale est développée et diffusée en accord avec les possibilités de chaque quartier, ville ou pays, et peut être appliquée dans la construction de solutions pour les questions sociales les plus diverses.

La construction de réseaux sociaux est encore un autre élément fondamental dans la méthodologie d'incubation des groupes d'entrepreneurs. Les réseaux dans le processus d'incubation sont construits non seulement à l'intérieur de l'université entre chercheurs, étudiants et techniciens de différents départements, mais également et principalement entre les acteurs des groupes en processus d'incubation et entre ceux-ci et d'autres acteurs du mouvement pour l'économie solidaire. Ces réseaux peuvent être analysés comme des articulations entre différentes unités qui, à travers certains liens, échangent différents éléments. Et, dans un processus d'éducation pour la coopération, l'échange de savoirs est le point de départ. Ces échanges renforcent mutuellement chaque « nœud » du réseau en même temps qu'ils sont renforcés par l'ensemble des acteurs présents dans le même réseau par les différents flux établis.

Les processus d'échange établis dans ces réseaux, qui sont dans la majorité informels, constitue un autre atout du processus d'incubation : la transdisciplinarité. Chez Edgard Morin, ce concept désigne la création de « schèmes cognitifs qui peuvent traverser les disciplines, parfois avec une virulence telle qu'elle les met en transes. En fait, ce sont des complexes d'inter, de poly, et de transdisciplinarité qui ont opéré et qui ont joué un rôle fécond dans l'histoire des sciences ; il faut retenir les notions clés qui y sont impliquées, c'est-à-dire coopération, et mieux, articulation, objet commun et mieux, projet commun » (Morin, 1990).

Enfin, ce n'est pas seulement l'idée d'inter et de transdisciplinarité qui est importante. Nous devons 'écologiser' les disciplines, c'est-à-dire tenir compte de tout ce qui est contextuel, y compris les conditions culturelles et sociales, c'est-à-dire voir dans quel milieu ces conditions naissent, posent des problèmes, se cristallisent et se métamorphosent. Il faut aussi du meta-disciplinaire, le terme 'meta' signifiant dépasser et conserver. On ne peut pas briser ce qui a été créé par les disciplines ; on ne peut pas briser toute clôture ; il en est du problème de la discipline, du problème de la science comme du problème de la vie : il faut qu'une discipline soit à la fois ouverte et fermée. A défaut, à quoi serviraient tous les savoirs parcellaires sinon à être confrontés pour former une configuration répondant à nos attentes, à nos besoins et à nos interrogations cognitives ?

Dans le processus de construction des technologies sociales avec les groupes incubés, les chercheurs et étudiants sont placés au cœur de la problématique des acteurs. Par conséquent, comme la réalité n'est pas disciplinaire, ils sont forcés d'interagir dans la réflexion sur cette réalité en vue de création d'alternatives collectives avec les acteurs. Ainsi, c'est peut être la

sociologie de la connaissance qui nous apporte la meilleure piste pour analyser le rôle des chercheurs dans ce processus. Moulaert et Nussbaumer (2008), se basant sur ce cadre épistémologique, indiquent que les chercheurs dans la construction de l'ontologie de l'innovation sociale dans un territoire peuvent avoir quatre types de rôles : virtuels, académiques, réels et discursifs. Dans le processus d'incubation, les chercheurs ont à la fois les quatre rôles, en sachant que c'est le rôle de médiation qui apparaît le plus important dans leur démarche.

La médiation dans le cas du processus d'incubation a lieu à plusieurs niveaux :

- a) Entre les groupes et le mouvement d'économie solidaire
- b) Dans la mise en réseau des acteurs
- c) Entre les groupes et les différents départements de l'université
- d) Entre les groupes et mouvements d'économie solidaire et les pouvoirs publics
- e) Entre les groupes et d'autres organismes d'appui

L'action d'incubation est donc très complexe car elle possède plusieurs dimensions (technologique, socioculturelle, organisationnelle, politico-idéologique, économique) et recouvre plusieurs axes d'action (individu, famille, quartier, entreprise) qui sont traversés par des dimensions transversales (genre, génération, ethnie, environnement, culture et loisir). C'est à ce niveau que nous pourrions peut-être prendre le risque d'affirmer que les incubateurs brésiliens ont déjà fait du chemin dans la construction d'un nouveau savoir-faire universitaire qui, au-delà de la connaissance, produit aussi du lien et de l'innovation sociale dans les territoires où les incubateurs déploient leur travail.

En guise de conclusion, il est important de souligner que l'université est une institution qui traditionnellement détient un rôle coordinateur dans le processus de production du savoir dans une société, et que, par conséquent, elle a la capacité de promouvoir l'innovation. Cependant, il faut également noter qu'il n'est pas suffisant d'avoir de l'éthique ou une compétence scientifique aiguisée dans la production et l'usage du savoir. Ce n'est pas l'appropriation et l'adaptation des technologies existantes qui pourront réduire les inégalités sociales. Le grand défi des incubateurs est de développer des technologies qui puissent incorporer, de la conception à l'application, une intentionnalité d'inclusion sociale et de développement

durable. C'est ainsi que nous pourrions donc dire que l'université a réellement accompli son rôle dans la construction de l'économie solidaire.

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2.4 From ‘book container’ to community centre – bottom linked innovation of public services supporting community empowerment (John Andersen, Kristian Delica, Martin Frandsen)

Libraries in disadvantaged neighbourhoods have redefined their role from that of serving as ‘containers for books’ to acting as agents in community empowerment processes. Libraries engage in a wide range of activities from creating open learning centres for information technology to bridging ‘the digital divide’ and to providing homework assistance for local children from ethnic minorities. In the process of repositioning themselves, libraries can create empowering networks to local welfare institutions and voluntary associations, housing associations and citizens and sometimes invent new organizational forms. In an international context, Chicago’s public libraries ⁵ have been pioneers. In Denmark too, libraries in disadvantaged neighbourhoods are taking major steps to support enhancement of the life situation of the local community and ethnic minority groups.

The case in this chapter is the development from public library to a Community Centre in the neighbourhood of Gellerup (in terms of income the poorest district in Denmark and with one of the highest concentration of immigrants) in Aarhus, Denmark. The context of the project was a seven year, therefore long term neighbourhood renewal program (financed in part by the European URBAN- program). The area-based program was based on the Asset Based Community Development approach (Andersen, 2008).

Gellerup Community Center (CCG) was created in 2005 by a local public library branch, community workers and immigrant NGO’s, its objective was to develop a new type of ‘bottom linked institution’: a community centre uniting library services, health promotion, job creation, educational and other direct citizen oriented counseling services for ethnic minorities (the majority among the residents), NGO-activities and community activism (Andersen and Frandsen eds., 2007).

The strategic objectives of the project were: (1) practical knowledge sharing and learning across the different professions (social workers, nurses and librarians) working for and with the citizens in the urban neighbourhood: social workers, nurses; and (2) on the other hand to develop a robust platform for ongoing close cooperation between the professionals and the

⁵ Other international examples of libraries reinventing their roles are Queens Library in New York (www.queenslibrary.org), Idea Store in Tower Hamlets in London (www.ideastore.co.uk) and Toronto Public Library in Canada (www.torontopubliclibrary.ca).

different associations, NGO's and community activists. Hence the type of social innovation in this case can be characterized as at *the same time* a high degree of formal institutional support and a high level of active involvement of civic society or 'associative networks' (refer to the typology developed in Moulaert et al. in WP4, p. 81 figure 6). In this sense the case could be seen as an attempt to re-embed or re-link public services and meeting places (like the library) to the active parts of civic society.

Empowerment and local community development

Community empowerment strategies are deliberate strategies for the strengthening of citizens' involvement, mobilisation and positive affiliations to the local area. The most important methods are *appreciative inquiry* and *empowerment* (Fetterman and Wandersman, 2005).

Common to community empowerment strategies in deprived urban areas is a long-term and holistic perspective - typically a combination of physical town development, and social, cultural, education and employment focussed development projects (see Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2005: Integrated Area Development).

In the 1970s, Paulo Freire's book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* introduced the concept of empowerment worldwide. Freire defined it as "learning to understand social, political and economic disparities and to act against these elements of reality. Empowerment can also be defined as processes of mobilisation and change "that improve underprivileged individuals' and social groups' ability to create and handle mental, material, social, cultural and symbolic relevant resources" (Andersen et al. 2003: 7). Empowerments are processes that enable people to counteract powerlessness and lack of control over their living conditions (Andersen and Siim, 2004).

Mobilisation and processes of capacity building in social groups and local communities can be described as *horizontal empowerment*: a question of internal processes within the area where people confront enemy images, lack of confidence and of respect between various groups. One important aspect here are the relations of trust and reciprocity between local residents and the local welfare professionals. This is by no means a truism as part of the 'ghetto problem' may have something to do with the fact that the professionals in the area do not work together properly (e.g. day-care institutions, schools and crime prevention work) and do not always see themselves as active players and innovators in local community life.

Vertical empowerment has to do with developing the impact upwards and outwardly to influence important decision-making centres outside the local community.

Sustainable empowerment strategies have therefore not only to do with getting the citizens involved from below. They also require a positive interplay between government or municipal ‘top-down’ and local ‘bottom-up’ policies. Empowerment strategies range from individual self-confidence to the ability - at the (local) community level - to influence society’s developmental direction over a longer period of time.

Local conditions for innovation

In the case of CCG the agents of change were NGO’s, Community Activists and professionals in public institutions. They were able to draw on a particular path dependency, namely the close collaboration between the public institutions in the area, which has been developed since the beginning of the 1990s in the ‘*Gellerup model*’. This model entails that new public employees in the area are introduced to common basic values of active citizenship and inclusion and to the particular history of the area. The core values for the professionals are loyalty, commitment, multiculturalism and solidarity with the urban neighbourhood and its citizens – rather than identification with the formal administrative bodies of the City Hall.

Furthermore regular meetings at the management level are arranged between the welfare institutions: schools, day-care institutions, social centre, crime prevention work etc. In periods of troubles and social unrest in the area (e.g. the riots during the ‘Cartoon Crises’) this network also meets with community leaders (e.g. the parents network working with youngsters in the area). In other words, the core of the model is an attempt to develop territorial decentralisation by promoting increased *horizontal communication and commitment* among public servants, citizens and NGO’s.

The lessons from Chicago

The public libraries in Chicago have over the past decade turned an ominous development into a success story. The secret behind the success was the exploitation of the library’s potential as catalyst for social networks in the local community.

A study from the Asset Based Community Development Institute also pointed to the fact that libraries can contribute with a wealth of resources: a ‘free’ meeting place, the most recent information technology, knowledge, a feeling of ownership among local citizens as well as a

relationship of trust between people. On the basis of this study, the following recommendations to libraries were formulated:

1. Be investigative (outreach work).
2. Find the community leaders. A coordinated effort to find leaders and ‘community activists’ in the local community makes all the difference.
3. Be visionary in relation to what the library can do.
4. Make visible and contribute to the local community’s unique strengths and conditions.
5. Support local institutions and business life.
6. Turn the library building into a local community centre.
7. Create a local-community-orientated culture among staff and volunteers.
8. Investments in libraries can kick-start local community development.

Some lessons from CCG

CCG started as a development project in 2005. Employees have focused on organisational- and staff development, which has resulted in the adoption of a common vision, set of values and collaboration models. In the project period all employees have participated in joint courses (on AI, empowerment, conflict solving techniques and learning) and in study tours to other local communities. Public service and recruiting volunteers have also been on the agenda, as well as the role of facilitator.

CCG has lived up to this vision by:

- Developing models and methods for cross-sectoral cooperation
- Focusing on civic inclusion and civic involvement
- Supporting local-community-based initiatives, projects and local trade and industry
- Contributing to creating cohesion between the urban area of Gellerup and the city of Aarhus.

CCG exploits the competences and resources of different organisations and administrations in a regular collaboration and includes voluntary organisations, associations and citizens as partners in this. CCG builds on an organisational concept of knowledge and experience being shared, and where collaboration goes on across professional borderlines in order to

accomplish specific tasks, such as cultural activities, information services and informal learning sequences. This might include language assistance, courses in IT, homework assistance, club activities, as well as individual, anonymous advice on e.g. health, housing, labour market and family matters. It might also include advice to parents on the parental role.

In organisational terms CCG is a collaboration project between Gellerup Library, the Health Centre and Public Information. These three institutions work closely together with voluntary organisations, associations and community activists.

The Health Centre is a collaboration between a number of municipal corporations and the Aarhus Midwifery Centre. Health visitors had been experiencing encouraging results from their home visits to families, but had also for a long time been missing a place for the parents to visit for instruction and guidance. When new premises had to be found, Gellerup offered to make a corner of the library available. The Health Centre got a site which helped to support local anchorage and provided the chance to combine activities, e.g. theme days on health-related subjects.

Public information handles open and anonymous advice to the citizens of Aarhus, but primarily citizens with an ethnic background other than the Danish. Advice is available on social and labour market conditions, education, citizenship and residence permits, social services, housing allowance etc. Advice is also offered on communication with the authorities. Apart from that, members of staff in Public information act as bridge-builders and mediators between citizens and the system.

Anonymous advice is of great importance to the citizens of the area.

An example: A woman approaches Public Information to talk about her cash benefit in relation to a recently introduced piece of legislation, stipulating that within *one* year one has to have worked a minimum of 300 hours to maintain one's right to cash benefits. She is advised to go to the Job corner to look for feasible vacant jobs. The member of staff in the Job corner helps her to examine her resources and to find a job. The woman then prepares an application, which she can discuss with the adviser. The application is sent off, or the woman may be advised to take direct contact with the employer. If she gets the job, she can return to Public Information to learn about the consequences in relation to her social benefits.

When establishing CCG, the focus was on the development of user-oriented activities. Courses in community comprehension and in the Danish language have been organised. There have been theme days e.g. a health day, IT-open learning, a day on folk high schools and continuation schools. There have been arrangements and campaigns such as ‘Khat and clans’ arranged by young Somalis, a clean-up day: ‘Clean Ghetto’, a concert against deliberate fires in the area: ‘Gellerup wake up’, debate evenings on Palestine, presentation of candidates for the Integration Council in Aarhus, sponsoring of jerseys for a football tournament, exhibition of library material on the theme days ‘Faith meets faith’.

CCG has entered into permanent partnership with the following NGO’s:

- The IT-guide association which is a multi-ethnic association with a doubles purpose: to bring together everyone with an interest in IT, and to make the members’ knowledge available to citizens without IT-literacy by way of free courses.
- Homework Help Association ‘Tusindfryd’ under the Danish Refugee Council, which consists of young people offering help with homework free-of-charge. One does not have to book an appointment, but can just turn up. Homework help is for all citizens, whether they attend a language school, are studying to pass the theory test for their driving license, attend primary or secondary school or are doing an upper secondary course.
- The Voluntary Centre, the purpose of which is to establish contact between voluntary social associations and people who wish to do voluntary work.
- Local-historical Archive, which collects pictures, association documents, maps, memoirs etc.

CCG as institutional innovation.

CCG is an example of a multi-functional local community centre, where a library service is combined with an advisory service, voluntary work, health work and help with job applications.

The involvement of the professionals has meant that the flexible network-based, ‘ready-for action’ attitude in relation to the local community generates more cross-disciplinary competences. In this connection the interplay between staff and volunteers is also of great importance. CCG employees maintain that during the project period they have become better

at discovering and acknowledging each other's particular knowledge in their contact with the citizens, e.g. in relation to health, job seeking and more extensive use of the employees' linguistic talents. This 'synergy advantage' has two sides:

1. In relation to the employees it is a question of learning from each other and building up common competences to the benefit of the citizens in the local community. But does it not create more stress when the individual or the team has to develop competences by way of referring to each other, facilitating contact to voluntary organisations etc.? If organisation and management prioritize joint activities for the employees where you take stock of day-to-day experiences, this stress seems to be limited. If you get better at using each others' various competences, it can in fact be 'stress reducing', because 'tricky' cases outside one's own field of competency can be passed on to those who are more familiar with such cases. In this way one avoids the individualised 'borderless work', and turns it instead into a collective, unbureaucratic and flexible division of labour between employees.

2. In relation to the citizens, it means that they experience a more flexible and coherent contact with various public systems and with voluntary organisations. One may contact or be referred to another person in the Community Centre without having to contact another authority, make appointments etc. The evaluation report concluded that in order to secure the dynamics in such development work it is important:

- To work on organisation development that prioritizes the social wellbeing and collectivity of the staff and joint competency development.
- To encourage relevant further education of the staff that supports the development of a 'Community Centre professionalism', where the keywords are knowledge of the local community, civic inclusion and the interdisciplinary aspect.
- To develop a strategy for staff recruitment in the form of clarifying which professional competences support CCG's objectives.
- To ensure creative frameworks for dialogue between voluntary work and CCG
- To develop simple evaluation and user-satisfaction tools that can be used internally in the organisation as well as to meet the decision-makers' demands for documentation of 'value for money'.

Community Centres and user-driven innovation

CCG can be taken as an example of *user driven service design* (Parker and Heapy: 2005) and *user driven innovation*. The CCG concept is therefore interesting in relation to the discussion on routes towards democratisation, better exploitation of resources, and quality development of the public sector in a close interplay with the civic community. One of the challenges is that public institution budgeting and administrative processes are not always geared to supporting such cross-sectorial and civic- community-inclusive innovations. There still remain some hurdles to surmount for a user driven innovation to become part of a realistic, sustainable development trajectory.

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2.5 The Quebec Model: An Innovation System Founded on Cooperation and Consensus Building (Juan-Luis Klein, Jean-Marc Fontan, Denis Harrisson, and Benoît Lévesque)

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the contribution of social innovation to social transformation by way of a concrete example, namely that of the ‘Quebec Model,’⁶. Quebec’s economic structure relies on an economic and social arrangement of private companies, several major public corporations, and many cooperative and social economy based businesses⁷. We argue that the interest in examining the Quebec case lies in its being a good example of a certain type of configuration in which social cohesion is relatively strong and in which civil society is represented not only by unions but by many other components. Moreover, it is a society that easily favours incremental innovations.

From that perspective we will begin, first, by presenting what we understand by social innovation, in relation with the Quebec case. Secondly we will lay out the main dimensions of the approach and methodology we are adopting. Thirdly, we present the historical context and the actors concerned by innovations in three fields in which incremental innovation has been relevant, i.e. labour, living conditions, and local development. In a fourth step, we will examine the Quebec Model’s main variables of innovation for each field. These variables are governance, co-production of services, co-construction of public policies and the plurality of the economy. In conclusion, we will come back to what the Quebec Model can teach us with regard to social innovation and its effects on social transformation.

⁶ For the concept of the “Quebec Model,” see Lévesque (2001). For a critical analysis of that concept, see Salée (2007). We should note that we see the concept of a model as not necessarily having a normative value. It aims to cover the full body of features characterizing a community (Boyer & Freyssenet, 2000). Thus, a model is more an a posteriori construction that aims at a better understanding of things, **in keeping with the method of the ideal type (Weber, 1965).**

⁷ Let us remember that Québec is part of Canada, a confederation formed of a central (federal) government and of provincial and territorial governments, and that in many respects, the province of Quebec constitutes a “distinct society,” the first establishment of which, Quebec City, dates back to 1608, i.e., 150 years before the conquest of Canada. Therefore, Quebec society stands apart, first, because it is predominantly French-speaking, while the dominant language elsewhere in Canada is English; second, because it is regulated by a specific legal system inspired by the Napoleonic Code, distinct from the common law prevailing in the rest of Canada; and third, because its dominant religion is Catholicism, while English speaking Canada is predominantly Protestant. Moreover, it also stands apart because of its economic development model—our point of interest in this chapter.

Social innovation in the case of the Quebec Model: from incremental innovations to social transformation

In order to understand and analyze social innovation, we will examine the process surrounding the implementation of new social arrangements, new forms of resource mobilization, and new answers to problems for which available solutions have proven inadequate. These processes mobilize tangible and intangible resources in a new way. Social innovation takes place in the context of rationales (association versus contractualization) and strategies (individualism versus collectivism) for establishing links between individuals and communities and between communities with each other (Klein & Harrisson, 2007; Moulaert & Nussbaumer, 2005). Social innovation thus enables us to qualify the progressive dynamic at the basis of the development of societies, in particular the development of their economic system.

It is important to point out that research on innovation distinguishes between radical innovations and incremental innovations. Radical innovations represent a major rupture with the existing economic and social practices. Incremental innovations, for their part, are intended to be gradual, “a series of changes in the framework of known parameters, or the introduction into a given product of technical norms already used in similar products” (Fagerberg, 2003: 5). Even if incremental innovations are less spectacular, many consider their cumulative impact to be as great as or even greater than that of radical innovations (Lévesque, 2006).

From that standpoint, other intermediary notions should also be examined for the understanding of the Quebec case. Innovation can also find its origin in the impossibility of certain actors to reach legitimate social goals with the means at their avail (Merton, 1973). Driven by necessity or aspiration, these actors then create new means and confront their institutional environment by implementing new social arrangements, new habits and methods, and new social links. Social innovations put in place actors occupying differentiated positions in the institutional environment. Institutional arrangements take the form of structured systems of actors starting with different but complementary modalities of social regulation (Boyer, 2002). Our hypothesis is that, in the Quebec case, these innovations result from the participation of a plurality of actors (economic, social, political, cultural) who take part in the definition of public policies. There is thus a co-construction of public policies. Pressure from

social movements combined with that from various factions among employers and public organizations creates the conditions for the development of a pluralist economy in which the public and the private spheres cohabit and associate with the social economy and the economic action of social movements. It is above all the influence of those social movements on social innovations that we want to illustrate by showing its strong presence in the Quebec Model, giving to the province of Quebec a certain specificity compared to the North American and European governance models (Enjolras, 2008; Amable, 2005; Hollingsworth & Boyer, 1997).

Social innovations are the product of social actors who act in specific institutional contexts. Those contexts influence the nature, implementation and reach of innovations. They comprise a dynamic that includes, on the one hand, ‘path dependency’, i.e., the dependency of actors on the way in which they were socialized and their ability to act according to the rules of an established framework; and, on the other hand, ‘path building’, i.e., the ability of actors to break this regulatory framework and build another one. The analysis of the Quebec Model brings out a whole set of social innovations which transform the institutional environment of the Quebec society and which structure and contribute to its social transformation. These changes are incremental, and their source lies in experiments occurring in civil society organizations. The actors transform their organizational adherences. They deconstruct previous arrangements and adopt new practices that break with the institutional arrangements. This is a new form of action which emerges and which incites those not yet engaged into change. Modes of coordination are thus modified, resulting in transformations in regulation and governance as well as in social transformation.

The concept of development model: a methodological approach

As indicated above, the notion of the development model is an ideal-type construction, the aim of which is to arrive at a better understanding of the social dynamics (Weber, 1965). It is relevant because social actors are embedded in a development paradigm in which values and points of reference are shared, and which orients the identification of targets and solutions, but that is relatively limited by the actors’ capacity of imagination and by the social and political dynamics. By the same token, a development paradigm defines both the perimeter of solidarity and the scale of the main conflicts facing a society. The notion of the development model determines, at times, the productive system, even the business model, in the framework of economic development (Hollingsworth & Boyer, 1997); or, at other times, the form of the

welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1999). Since the mid-1990s, it has expanded to involve not only economic development and social development (Lévesque, 2007) but also their articulation, in keeping with the dynamic of social relations, or even the respective place of the market, the state, and civil society in the construction of a socio-economic model (Triglia, 2002; Savoie, 1999; Lipietz, 1989).

This approach places great importance on the particularities of the local institutional configurations, as well as on the coordination and governance modalities of the actors and on the actions that give meaning and orientation to communities (Boyer, 2002; Moulaert, Morlichio & Cavola, 2007). Their analysis promotes organizational convergences and coalitions of actors as a major factor in the social construction of a model of society (within the meaning of ‘model’ given above). As an example, we cite analyses of the ‘Barcelona model’ (Borja & Castells, 1997), discussed increasingly throughout Catalonia (Castells, 2004) and relying on social contracts between actors from various social groups (local government, employers, unions, human rights groups, etc.). These contracts crystallize coalitions of actors studied by many researchers in the North American case by using the notion of ‘governance regime’ (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Stone, 1989). We also point to the case of ‘small countries’⁸ including Ireland (Murphy, 2007), Norway (Enjolras, 2007), Denmark (Pedersen, 2007; Lundvall, 2006), and Sweden (Sundström & Jacobsson, 2007). The Quebec case features a specific governance regime (Côté, Lévesque, & Morneau, 2007) characterized by the participation of a plurality of actors and the hybridization of diverse forms of governance (Lévesque, 2001; Fontan, Klein, & Tremblay, 2005; Bouchard, Bernier, & Lévesque, 2003).

Context and actors of Quebec’s social innovations

The research on which this article is based concerns social innovations that shaped the Quebec Model in its partnership stage, namely, in the period starting in 1980, and that experienced a setback starting in 2003. We emphasize the participation of civil society in defining and implementing these innovations. We will limit ourselves to three fields: labour, living conditions, and local development, three areas that give rise to specific social innovations but that, as we shall see, are embedded in a Quebec-wide system. Analysis of these fields will lead us first to characterizing the context that explains the implementation of

⁸ Small in demographic terms, with fewer than 10 million inhabitants. However, those countries do not lack resources. They are countries that “have succeeded in adapting to the new economy” and that have strong social cohesion. Some other small countries are less enviable in this regard (Thériault, 2007).

these innovations and to identifying the main actors who participate in the innovation process in those areas. In a second step, we analyze those areas, focusing on three variables that characterize the innovations that have been generated and put into practice in the framework of the Quebec Model.

The first of those variables concerns governance, i.e., progress in terms of consultation, cooperation, partnership, recognition of stakeholders, deliberative democracy, and direct democracy. The second variable concerns the co-construction of public policies and the co-production of social services. Co-construction refers to the participation of actors, especially from social movements, in the development of public policies (institutional level) (Vaillancourt, 2008). Co-production refers to the implementation and the production of services as such (organizational level) (Pestoff, 2006). The third variable concerns contributions from various actors to the plurality of economic ownership forms (private economy, public economy, and social economy) and to the interrelations between their economic sectors.

The mobilization of the social actors was crucial in the implementation of the Quebec Model, beginning with the early years of the Quiet Revolution. That mobilization concerned specific domains but had effects on the entire social process that was under way. First, the citizen mobilizations of the 1960s demanded a greater presence of public authorities in economic development, in the provision of services, and in the shaping of the living environment. In Quebec, those mobilizations began with unions and citizens' committees, in the period from 1963 to 1968 in urban settings, and with the defence of threatened rural settings from 1970 to 1975 (Bélanger & Lévesque, 1992). Fairly soon, the claims became more specific and more radical, which generated the proliferation of more specialized collective actions (status of women, the cultural field, the environment, etc.). All those actions took on a style characterized as the 'unionization of the living environment' (Favreau, 1989; Lévesque, 1984). Due to the crisis of 1980, that style changed as part of the transition to the community or cooperative formula of service groups. Collective actions then became more oriented toward active participation in the search for solutions to social and economic problems, which transformed civil society organizations into partners and constituted a major element in the innovations that modified the Quebec Model.

In the labour field, Quebec companies engaged in various experiments with regard to work organization, such as task variation and work teams (Bélanger, Grant, & Lévesque, 1994).

With the aim of improving their structure, labour federations, in particular the *Centrale des syndicats démocratiques* (CSD), a pioneer in this regard, the *Confédération des syndicats nationaux* (CSN), and, more forcefully, the *Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec* (FTQ) took turns in exploiting opportunities to revitalize work organization. First, they re-examined their role in the workplace and, later, also their negotiating style with the introduction of principled negotiation. Moreover, at another level, in reaction to unemployment and company closings caused by the crisis of 1980, the unions created economic development funds to invest in job creation, which meant a significant policy change in the social movements and their collective actions. These were pension funds intended to support job creation in Quebec: the FTQ's *Fonds de solidarité*, created in 1983, and the CSN's *Fondation*, created in 1996 (Lévesque et al, 2000). In terms of innovation, those funds resulted from a long learning process and from union interventions in the economy and finance, not to mention an intensive research concerning similar experiences in the world. These innovations relied on the networking of actors who were generally not in contact with each other, or who were in contact only when negotiating conflicts, namely, unionized workers, financial advisers, capitalist entrepreneurs, and bankers. As we shall see below, these funds promoted shared governance, a proliferation of partnerships, and the formation of a plural economy at the Quebec scale.

In the area of living conditions, following the crisis of 1980, citizen action began turning to formulas of cooperation (Lévesque, 1984). First, citizens took the initiative of creating services rather than asking the state to provide them. Services under the welfare state became oriented toward universal and free access, while civil society initiatives claimed democratization in the provision of services. This allowed for alliances between users of services and professionals for a reconfiguration of relations of production as well as consumption (Bélanger, Lévesque, & Plamondon, 1987). The actors concerned were the new social movements (women's groups, community groups, environmental groups) but also unions and representatives of local communities and even public administrations.

In the local development area, the crisis of 1980, as shown above, caused a realignment of options for the actors concerning their territorial demands (Tremblay & Fontan, 1994). Community organizations created community development corporations and community economic development organizations through which they took an active role in the economic and social development at the local level (Fontan, 1992). This was encouraged by the reform

of the territorial development framework, with the creation of regional county municipalities (MRC) between 1979 and 1983 and, in Montreal in particular, the creation of the boroughs in the late 1980s. Those territorial reforms, combined with a redefinition of intermediation-oriented development support organizations, led to the creation of the *Centres locaux de développement* (CLD), which is the organization that began channelling support to development initiatives in local settings starting in 1998.

The three analyzed fields—labour, living conditions, and local development—are characterized by the large number of actors and an openness to partnership. A mode of coordination took shape between the various actors, who instituted a governance dynamic that is unique to the Quebec Model.

Structuring variables in the Quebec Model: governance, co-production, and the pluralist economy

According to our hypothesis, the Quebec Model, as it has renewed itself starting in the 1980s, is characterized by major innovations in labour, living conditions, and local development. These innovations concern governance, the fact that civil society organizations participate in the co-construction of public policies, and the fact that this contributes to the implementation of an economic system characterized by plurality. Even though they also constitute sub-systems of social innovation, the three fields analyzed are interrelated. First, sector-based organizations, as representatives of the socio-economic actors, ensure a level of inter-sector interrelation. The *Conseil de la coopération et de la mutualité du Québec*, the *Chantier de l'économie sociale ou Solidarité rurale du Québec*, and the unions and associated organizations, only to mention a few, constitute the network of actors at the Quebec level. Those networks ensure a transversal coordination and a representation before the government which promotes compromises, the recognition of the social actors, and the co-construction of public policies and their implementation (co-production). The different actors in those fields tend to share those main objectives. The unions, community organizations, and social economy organizations are present in the three fields, which promotes learning and the convergence of resources. In all cases, what is aimed for is democratization, i.e., the participation of all actors, in particular social movement, in decision-making.

Through the institutionalization of innovations, the social movement becomes a part of the compromises which define the political framework of the social regulation, thereby transforming the institutions. Through partnership, civil society organizations participate in

the execution of policies. The relationship of the society to the state then appears as a fundamental element in a social innovation system, as illustrated by the Quebec Model. However, this relationship can take many forms: 1) subcontracting, 2) coexistence, 3) supplementarity, and 4) co-construction. Subcontracting confines the social partner to an instrumental role. Coexistence illustrates the parallel evolution of two spheres (community and public). Supplementarity indicates that the social organizations have a major place in the implementation of programs, but that they do not define them (co-production). As for co-construction, it became operational when community and social economy organizations became actors ‘in the development and implementation of social policies,’ which can subsequently promote co-production (Proulx et al., 2005). These four forms are present in the Quebec Model, but it is in the importance of co-construction (joint definition of public policies and implementation) that the institutional innovation resides which is characteristic of the Model and which consists in the ability to institutionalize the innovations experienced in the organizations and the local communities. This politically oriented institutional innovation goes along with the participation of the stakeholders in the implementation of policies and strategies (co-production).

As regards the contribution of social innovation to transformation, the examination of the Quebec case provides for the combination of certain concepts, generally used separately, to better clarify the contribution of social innovations to social transformation. Thus, it appears that innovation can be considered both as a process (set of interactions taking place in time and allowing for trials and errors, as can be observed in the experiments that sustain themselves over time) and as resulting from a social innovation system (network of actors and governance, co-construction of public policies, institutional mechanisms, set of support measures and tools). From that perspective, the last wave of social innovations provided for the formation of a ‘national’ innovation system, which subsequently changed the course of things. Moreover, the notion of ‘path dependency’ (dependency on the institutional context) complemented by that of ‘path building’ (capacity of actors to change the regulatory framework and to build another one) offers a complementary avenue for understanding how innovations can embed themselves in a societal transformation. If a type of dependency on the path taken in the Quebec case exists, it is founded in part on collaboration and social cohesion as well as on the collective hope not only to survive as a Francophone society in North America but also to develop as distinct society in terms of its economy as well. In just over a half-century, Quebec society made the transition from practising anti-government and

conservative management (1930) to a social democratic orientation using state interventionism as a lever for economic nationalism (1960) and, more recently, to collaboration and partnerships that mobilized a plurality of civil society actors in the framework of an open economy (1980).

In all three cases, the innovative path originated unquestionably in a context of crisis but also within social movements and the constitution of a new social coalition that provided for innovative thinking and for 'equipping' itself with the means to fulfil those visions. These transitions were realized peacefully, as indicated by the term 'Quiet Revolution.' Those transformations were possible because consensus and cooperation promoted the proliferation of incremental innovations while leaving room for radical innovations in the case of social and economic blockages.

2.6 Going beyond physical urban planning interventions: fostering social innovation through urban renewal in Brugse Poort, Ghent (Stijn Oosterlynck and Pascal Debruyne)

It is widely recognized today that urban renewal policies are strongly shaped by neoliberal discourses, strategies and regimes at various spatial scales (Harvey, 1989, Swyngedouw et al., 2002). However, the recent history of Flemish urban policy illustrates that neoliberal globalisation, despite the structural political-economic constraints it imposes on urban policy-making and urban development trajectories, still leaves considerable space for strategic agency in the pursuit of urban renewal (Moulaert, 2002; Loopmans, 2007; De Decker, 2009). Jessop argues that neo-liberalism, despite being the general tendency, might not be fully accepted and implemented in each place and on each spatial scale, particularly not at the urban scale where its tensions and contradictions are most apparent (Jessop, 2002). Deindustrialised neighbourhoods, confronted with social, cultural and economic problems for which conventional state or market-based solutions seem less than adequate, are more likely to develop what Jessop calls ‘neocommunitarian’ regimes (Gerometta et al., 2005). In neocommunitarianism, grass roots mobilisation plays an important role in developing and implementing development strategies and the social economy and third sector contribute significantly to economic development and social cohesion (Jessop, 2002). Much, of course, is dependent on the relations of power and coalition formation between different actors in the urban political arena.

We focus on post-industrial urban neighbourhoods where the tensions and contradictions of post-industrial capitalism are most apparent and argue that in these cases neo-communitarian strategies of urban renewal may emerge, either as a complement to or as an alternative for neoliberal urban development. In these non-competitive urban spaces, strategic urban planning interventions often move beyond the mere upgrading of the built environment and also involve grass-roots mobilisation and social economy initiatives that are meant to address local needs. This neo-communitarian strategy requires the formation of a development coalition that integrates particular needs in urban renewal projects through social mobilisation and struggle. Crucial in this regard are the transformation of relations across and within civil society and state bureaucracies at various spatial scales. Only by creating new and more inclusive social relations can another, more integrated urban development agenda be put forward. It requires the ‘social production of power’ through the creation of a collective capacity to act, as urban regime analysts would put it (Stone, 1993). Urban regimes refer to

the necessity to build an alliance between the public and private sector to govern cities and effectively implement urban policies. Because social innovation requires alliances of a different type, most likely between civil society and state actors (politicians as well as functionaries), we propose to call them ‘development coalitions’. The general idea of urban regime theory that in advanced democratic societies not one actor is capable of governing alone but has to build coalitions with other actors at various spatial scales to bring together the appropriate resources to do so is maintained, but the focus is more on bottom-up mobilisation and a socially innovative development agenda. Development coalitions organise themselves around local needs, identify the local development potential and bring together the actors and the resources necessary to tap into this potential in such a way as to satisfy these needs. In order to be effective they have to organise across different spatial scales.

This focus on the social production of power through the formation of development coalitions around the satisfaction of local needs requires socially innovative urban renewal to start from the actually existing social relations in the area and work through the historical legacy of socio-spatial and institutional fragmentation that is characteristic for socio-economically disadvantaged urban areas. Social innovation in urban renewal hence requires addressing the fragmentation and disintegration of local civil society and improving the weak coordination between different organisations working around particular dimensions of development. We like to argue here that social innovation will find its fundament for socio-spatial change in the existing and lived tissue of the neighbourhood and, in order to be effective, should not solely be a top-down endeavour steered by the local public authorities and their sectoral agencies (Christiaens et al., 2007).

We explore how spatial and social innovation in urban renewal strategies are coupled through the work of development coalitions in a case study of the urban renewal project ‘Oxygen for Brugse Poort’ (‘Zuurstof voor de Brugse Poort’) in a post-industrial neighbourhood in the Flemish city of Ghent. Ghent is the second biggest city of the Flemish region (but relatively small in international terms) and has a tradition of social urban renewal. Ghent’s urban tissue has been strongly shaped by its rapid industrial expansion in the second half of the 19th century (Heughebaert, 2006). The neighbourhoods that were built around the core city in the 19th century to accommodate the rapidly expanding industrial workforce, commonly called ‘19th century belt’, covers only 4% of the City’s territory, but houses a quarter of its 250.000 inhabitants. From the 1950s onwards, deindustrialisation, suburbanisation and later immigration eroded the social tissue and neighbourhood life in the 19th century belt and led

many people to see the area in terms of a range of socio-spatial problems: lack of green and open space, unemployment, poverty and social exclusion, tensions between immigrants and the original labour class inhabitants, bad quality of housing stock, high density, etc.

Urban renewal of the city's 19th century belt has been one of the priorities of the city council of Ghent since 2000. This ambition is implemented in a range of social urban renewal projects, which focus policy resources and attention on each of the belt's neighbourhoods in turn. 'Oxygen for Brugse Poort' was the first urban renewal project that was launched by the city council as part of its ambition to improve the liveability of the 19th century belt and attract more middle class families to this area. However, this social urban renewal policy focus of the city council came about and is sustained through the shifting alliances of a number of actors on different spatial scales. It is the particular (and changing) make-up of this multi-scalar development coalition that determines the thematic content of this policy focus. This policy focus on urban socio-spatial problems, and later its 19th century belt, has been in the making for roughly thirty years. Its roots go back to three change actors that organised themselves during the 1970s (Knops, 1992; Van Keymeulen, 2006; Heughebaert, 2006). Firstly, during the 1970s everywhere in Flanders groups emerged that fought for the protection of historical monuments from demolition and argued that instead they should be renovated and used for new functions. Secondly, Flemish urbanists sought for new ways to stop urban sprawl, restrict building opportunities outside the city and attract (middle class) people back to the city. Thirdly, urban social movements emerged in Flemish cities in the aftermath of May 1968 to resist the taking over of the city by real estate developers, the technocratic, top-down modernist planning system and its functional zoning practices and the dominance of automobility in urban planning interventions and its debilitating impact on inner city areas.

These problems triggered the formation of a coalition of urbanists, urban activists and monument conservationists on the Flemish scale. This coalition mobilised for a renewal of inner city areas, with particular interest to the housing function and the protection and re-use of historical buildings, and for a more participatory approach to urban planning and social urban renewal. This coalition put pressure on politicians. This led, in 1982, to the establishment of a Flemish regional government program for 'renewal areas'. Cities that delimited 'renewal areas' and designed a global plan for the area together with the inhabitants were entitled to subsidies from the Flemish regional government. In Ghent, renewal areas were devised in several inner city neighbourhoods with a high cultural and historical value,

reflecting the presence of the conservation movement in the coalition. The ‘renewal area’ program, though limited in funds, marked a first important politico-institutional moment because it marks a first break with technocratic planning practices in Ghent (participation of inhabitants in drawing up urban renewal plans) and the recognition that action was necessary to address urban socio-spatial problems.

A second important politico-institutional moment comes when the urban renewal focus is gradually broadened to include the 19th century belt, under pressure of urban activists drew attention to the problematic housing stock of the 19th century belt and claimed the government should give priority to those neighbourhoods that cannot be renewed through self-regeneration. This was first recognized in 1988, when several neighbourhoods in the 19th century belt became urban renewal areas and was further reinforced with the establishment of the Social Impulse Fund, which focussed heavily on urban social exclusion, in 1996. Specifically in Ghent, urban design plans were drafted that proposed measures for a new, functional and liveable urban spatial structure for four 19th century belt neighbourhoods. These urban design plans were the locally specific result of the coming together of two change actors: the spatial planning community that had been mobilising for strategic forms of spatial planning to stop suburbanisation in Flanders and to re-invest in cities and the coalition of anti-poverty organisations and the local social welfare sector (Borret and Notteboom, 2000).

These urban design plans were not made public and it is unclear to what extent they fed into policy interventions, but in 2003 urban renewal of the 19th century belt figured as one of the aims in the main spatial planning instrument of Ghent, namely its Spatial Structure Plan. In the meantime, the local Green Party kept on pushing the city council to take the drastic urban renewal action that was required to address the appalling situation of the housing stock in the 19th century belt. Amongst others, because of their pressure, urban renewal is a theme in the local elections of 2000 and the new city council pledges to make urban renewal one of its strategic priorities. ‘Oxygen for Brugse Poort’ is one of two urban renewal projects that were designed to deliver on this promise.

The urban renewal project ‘Oxygen for Brugse Poort’ focuses on the non-competitive urban spaces of the 19th century belt. The socio-spatial problems concentrated in this area cannot be solved by market-based restructuring. The urban renewal project was initially devised by spatial planning unit of the city of Ghent as a set of physical-spatial interventions to improve the liveability of the neighbourhood and attract middle-class residents. This was coupled

however to a neo-communitarian strategy. A dialogue with local civil society was set up to mobilise their support for the urban renewal project and to create a shared vision. Although the neighbourhood still entertained a lively local civil society, because of suburbanisation and immigration this local civil society was also quite fragmented. This neocommunitarian strategy eventually became the vehicle for the creation of a development coalition, which defined and re-defined the needs to be addressed by the urban renewal project and created a collective capacity to act on the neighbourhood scale. This process is illustrated with three examples:

- 1) Participatory park design: one of the central physical-spatial interventions in the urban renewal project was the creation of more green and recreational space in the neighbourhood. The city council wanted to involve the inhabitants in designing the new neighbourhood parks and expected residents to be mainly concerned about the physical-spatial lay-out of the park. However, through the participation processes other, more social concerns emerged as being of primary importance for residence. Residents feared that new parks would be claimed and appropriated by particular socio-cultural groups, attract crime and vandalism, create noise disturbances by children and youngsters, etc. The city council responded to this new concern by supporting the organisation of festivities in the new parks by and for the residents in order to have them appropriate the space together. The network 'Talk Talk' that organises these activities has gained a life of its own, apart from the urban renewal project, and hence signals an important social innovation.
- 2) Location of neighbourhood services: the location of important neighbourhood services such as the Neighbourhood Healthcare Centre (which at the beginning of the urban renewal project was considering moving out of the centre of the neighbourhood) was an important consideration in the urban renewal project. Initially the focus was on maintaining or improving physical access to these services, but through negotiations with the different involved partners (amongst others local community workers) the social access to neighbourhood services, especially for the large migrant population in the area, became an important focus of attention and actions were set up to reduce the threshold for migrant people to use these neighbourhood services.
- 3) Housing: the housing issue was less central to the urban renewal project than could have been expected on the basis of actual housing needs. Several reasons explain why the housing need was not integrated in the urban renewal project. Firstly, housing issues do

not surface easily in participation processes. Many people see their problems to find suitable and decent housing as a personal failure, whereas they feel that participation processes are directed at issues for which the city council is responsible (litter in the streets, parks, mobility, etc.). The fragmented ownership of housing in the area further reinforces this. Secondly, because of the sheer scale of the housing problems in the 19th century belt, the city council does not really have the means to address this and prefers to promote self-regeneration. Thirdly, the local civil society actors that put housing needs central to their actions, namely the squatter/anarchist movement, took a hard oppositional stance and rejected the urban renewal project as subsidised gentrification. Because of their outright rejection of any housing demolition, which according to the urban design plans for the area drafted earlier was necessary to significantly improve the housing stock, they were not integrated in the development coalition and failed to integrate the housing need (especially for the poor) more firmly in the urban renewal project.

To conclude, the neo-communitarian approach is indeed present in non-competitive urban spaces. The needs addressed by urban renewal projects are dependent on the actors that make up the development coalition around urban renewal projects. These development coalitions operate as a vehicle for these neo-communitarian strategies and help to integrate social needs in urban renewal projects often heavily focussed on physical-spatial planning interventions. The case study shows that housing needs are less easily integrated than needs concerned with 'living together' and access to neighbourhood services. The relationship between the local civil society and the state is important to assess the social innovation potential of the neo-communitarian strategy. If a new capacity to act is created by empowering actors in neighbourhood to speak up for their own needs, than one can call it social innovation. In the other case, neo-communitarianism complements neoliberalism by controlling the urban social crisis without fundamentally transforming the social relations in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods as the 19th century belt in Ghent.

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PART 3. SOCIAL INNOVATION ANALYSIS: LESSONS FROM CASE-STUDY ANALYSIS

Introduction: 'reality' as a guide for SI research methods? (Abdelillah Hamdouch)

This provocative title suggests that approaches in social innovation (SI) analysis should be clearly guided by what is really going in the world: new initiatives, ways people deal with new experiences and respond to new challenges (their perception, interpretation, conception and analysis), etc. But should SI analysis really be instructed by 'reality only'? Or have existing methodologies something to say about how reality should be interpreted and analysed? For researchers, one key challenge is therefore to think of how new knowledge about the reality of SI initiatives and dynamics can be built and, at the same time, to assess in which way this new knowledge can contribute to change reality. Formulated in a more structured way, researchers are confronted with three intertwined major issues as regarding the role of knowledge on SI in understanding and transforming the reality: 1) Knowledge from 'where' and gathered/ produced by 'whom'? 2) Knowledge for 'what' and for 'whom'? 3) More specifically, what are the roles of the researchers in SI processes?

The first issue is related to the way in which new knowledge is obtained/ produced: historical analysis, case studies, surveys and quantitative/ qualitative analysis, interactive field work with/ among stakeholders, research action, etc. are all eligible methods for that purpose. It equally raises the question of the 'origin' of the knowledge on SI. At the same time, the type of actors (academics, practitioners, communities, policy makers, public authorities, etc.) who collect, generate or co-produce the knowledge is all but not neutral as it also determines to a large extent the finality of the new knowledge that is made available. This connects directly to the second issue for researchers. It is first related to the use that is going to be made of the knowledge gathered or created about SI 'reality' (features, initiatives, processes and effects). Is it just 'knowledge for the sake of knowledge' (at best, knowing better what exists), or is it also used in order to understand how what is observable came about through historical and socio-institutional specific dynamics? Is it also knowledge aimed at imagining, promoting and implementing socially innovative policies, new governance practices, creative strategies and experiences? Is this new knowledge just a pre-conditional 'input' for action, or is it also an outcome of the action itself, as a knowledge co-produced through interactive learning and collaborative processes among various stakeholders? An equally important knowledge-finality dimension is related to the respective objectives and roles of the various stakeholders

involved in SI dynamics. Among the key stakeholders, there are first the people or the communities concerned, but also social and grass-root movements, public authorities (from the national to the very local level), and finally the various new ‘players’ (the EU, the private sector, the ‘social entrepreneurs’, etc.) who are occupying an increasing place in the social field.

It is here that the relationship between SI analysis (the ‘research side’) and the ‘reality’ (the ‘action side’) is really challenged: How does the researcher analysing SI position her/himself vis-à-vis the other stakeholders, especially the people and communities concerned by or active in socially creative initiatives, actions or experiences? Is the researcher just a ‘lesson-concept-method provider’, or merely a simple ‘photographer’ showing a picture supposed to represent what exists or what is going on? Or is she/he also a potential co-producer of a ‘workable knowledge’ about new imaginaries and social perspectives? What is therefore the ‘social value’ of the methods proposed by the researchers and the legitimacy of their commitment in concrete SI processes? Are the researchers mere (yet potentially useful) ‘facilitators’ helping the ‘field actors’ in the production/ exchange/ use of new knowledge and in fostering their (cross)learning capabilities? Or are they also be genuine ‘active actors’ contributing to the (co)design and/or the (co)implementation of new socially creative strategies, policies and experiences at various territorial scales within specific institutional contexts?

The contributions in this third part of the book address these crucial questions and dimensions from different but complementary viewpoints. The chapter written by Jacques Defourny and Marthe Nyssens is rather representative of a SI analysis approach in which the researchers are essentially observers of a ‘reality’ which they try to define, describe and reflect on. In a sense, it embodies a research attitude in which the researcher stands ‘from the outside’ and aims at providing a supposedly ‘objective’ view of a certain ‘reality’ (in this case the social enterprise sector in Europe). Based on a series of criteria pre-defined by the researchers, a quantitative study of large samples of European social enterprises (especially those involved in work-integration concerns) is made to identify the key features of social enterprises. Socially innovative dimensions of such enterprises (especially at the organisational and managerial levels) are then derived from these features and serve as the basis for outlining a theory of what is the ‘ideal-typical’ social enterprise. In this theoretical approach SI is used as a key

foundational rationale for social entrepreneurship; but SI is also empirically recognised as a result of the distinctive organisational and managerial ‘models’ adopted by social enterprises.

The chapter written by Dina Vaiou, Haris Konstatatos and Dimitra Siatitsa adopts a completely different methodological basis as it stresses the role of qualitative approaches in understanding bottom-up socially creative initiatives. ‘Reality’ is therefore seen as what may be called a ‘local praxis’ that can be revealed through the ‘lens’ of collective-interactive-open work with the promoters and actors (the ‘users’ in the KATARSIS project wordings). These ‘users’, when gathered in a work-session exercise, have proved to be able not only to exchange and co-learn about their respective experiences, but also to co-decide by themselves on the relevant modes in which they should exchange the knowledge accumulated from their various contextual ‘realities’. More importantly, they have raised new topics to be discussed and they have helped clarify context-related practices. Finally, they have helped identifying ‘invisible relations’ that guide socially innovative initiatives. This experience-based qualitative approach to SI yields three key methodological lessons concerning knowledge creation and use as well as the role of the researcher. First, the ‘users’ have collectively engaged, at least partly, in a kind of ‘bottom-up methodological process’ as they have reshaped the criteria of comparative analysis of experiences and the interaction process (‘method’) initially proposed by the researchers. Second, the ‘users’ have shown that one can learn from the ‘reality’ as such (i.e. as observable), but also from the ‘visions’ that the practitioners have of their own ‘realities’ and from the initiatives they have taken within the interactive process. Finally, this qualitative approach exercise has shown that researchers and ‘users’ have been involved in a dynamic process in which learning has proved to be as much horizontal (among users themselves) as transversal and symmetric (learning by researchers from practitioners and vice-versa).

The insistence on the key role of learning in socially innovative processes is also at the core of the approach privileged by Ana Cristina Fernandes, Ana Dubeux and Paul Singer. But here, social and community learning is traced in a historical perspective in which the socio-economic and political conditions that have prevailed in Brazil since the late 19th Century and at various crucial periods within the 20th Century explain the emergence, sustainability and dissemination of socially creative experiences. Specifically, the authors explain how a local solidarity and socially innovative movement that started in the late 1950’s in the state of Pernambuco, has spread and influenced social action in many other parts of the country. The

critical approach to education developed by Paulo Freire ('popular education' as a strategy against illiteracy and as a means to political participation of the rural and urban working class) resulted from a larger movement, the "Popular Culture Movement" in the first part of the 1960's, with the participation of many creative actors (including intellectuals and artists, but also urban labour unions, among others). For its part, the rise of the Solidarity Economy started later in the early 1980's as a response to the disastrous social effects of the financial debt and the economic crisis. The authors argue that both movements were strongly based on the experiences accumulated through the development of the labour movement in the long Brazilian history since the 1880's. This historical approach to SI analysis, as rooted in the Brazilian context, yields very rich insights on how the 'reality' connects with knowledge creation and use. In particular, it shows that learning and transforming reality go hand in hand within long-term socio-historical dynamics. At the same time, cross-learning and sharing objectives among socially creative actors involved in specific social experiences are key sources for new methodological approaches and for further social innovation. As the authors show, if the emergence of the Paulo Freire's critical education methodology owes a lot to the Popular Culture Movement and its social experiments, the former has in turn been a critical component and is still a source of inspiration for the popular cooperatives' incubators (including 'technological incubators') experiences started in recent years within many public universities in Brazil. Equally, the Solidarity Economy and its activism, along with the influence of some prominent researchers on SI and solidarity, are at the root of the creation in the 1980's of two key institutions (involving researchers and field actors), i.e., the National Secretariat of Solidarity Economy and the National Forum of Solidarity Economy, which both contribute to promoting and improving the solidarity sector in Brazil.

The final chapter in this part, written by Flavia Martinelli, here is strongly policy-oriented. It is built upon the idea that learning both from history (especially that of the role of the state in the funding and the provision of public and social services in the European countries since the end of World War II) and from the 'field' (i.e. from socially innovative initiatives (SII) and socially creative strategies (SCS), as responses to social exclusion and the lack of public provision of social services and goods) is crucial for imagining and promoting new frameworks for social policies. Summarising the author's core arguments, one may connect two key ideas. On the one hand, the understanding of observable SII and SCS is necessarily instructed by 'reality' and historical dynamics; this means that both the context and path-dependent trajectories are at the root of new social experiments in reaction to for instance the

withdrawal of the state in the provision of social services. On the other hand, mobilisation, universal socio-political rights, citizenship and bottom-up democracy are seen as key drivers and components of socially innovative policies and strategies. As the author argues, if this may be seen as a utopian approach, it is at the same time meant as a strongly policy-rooted creativity dynamics ‘bridging utopian creativity with institutionalised opportunities’. It is here that SI analysis and existing methodologies are useful: on the one hand, case studies of SII and SCS (the ‘reality’), as analysed by the researchers, can feed creative policy thinking; on the other hand, SI analysis shows that a multilevel spatial context and a multi-scale governance perspective are needed both for assessing SSI and SCS, and for imagining and designing new frameworks for social policies. In sum, we have here the idea of can be called a ‘multiscalar praxis approach’ in which SI analysis (and therefore the researchers) plays a useful go-between role, i.e. bridging the ‘reality’ and the creative mobilisation of actors at the local level with innovative opportunities for new social policy approaches.

3.1 Qualitative approaches for the study of bottom-up innovative initiatives (Dina Vaiou, Haris Konstantatos, Dimitra Siatitsa)

Qualitative methodologies are related with the need of scientific enquiry beyond the single aim of broadening the base of empirical evidence. They turn the methodological focus of research toward the object/subject relationship and its dynamics within the social context. It is no longer the researcher alone who decides in advance what s/he is going to ‘measure’ and who proclaims on the basis of measurements the ‘value’ of interrelations, which hold as acceptable averages for communities or society as a whole. Rather, a small and flexible set of questions is a starting point to look at what happens within a social situation or group on its own terms, the latter determining what is important or not. This set of questions is initially formulated based on bibliographical research, theoretical enquiry, study/knowledge of the context, a pre-research phase which helps develop questions and topics. Hence, analytical categories are constituted and evaluated based on the material, which emerges from the research experience (interview, focus group discussion, participant observation, case study etc) and is subject to many readings.

It is out of the scope of this paper to ‘summarize’ the voluminous literature on qualitative methodologies. Its scope is rather more focused on the use of such methodologies in the study of bottom up initiatives which aim to cope with situations of social exclusion. Such initiatives originate from a variety of theoretical standpoints and political priorities, include complex practices and mobilize a multiplicity of skills. As the analysis in the following sections of the paper indicates, contextual differentiation is determinant for understanding such priorities, practices, organizational structures and activities. The chapter offers a reflection on some of the issues raised by the use of qualitative methodologies, drawing from the experiences of contact among researchers and ‘users’ within Katarsis⁹. The latter are members of NGOs, grass roots organisations, etc. who face questions of social exclusion/inclusion in different places across the EU.

These experiences are summarised in the first section of the chapter, which is followed by a discussion of the methodological questions arising from this experience and their relevance for the issues under study. Finally, in the last section, some comments are put forward about the scope, advantages and limitations of such methods and their relevance for policy.

⁹ Vaiou, D., Konstantatos, H., Siatitsa, D. et al 2009, *Bottom-up Creativity to Overcome Social Exclusion*, Katarsis D2, Final Report, January

Bottom-up initiatives: contact with and among ‘users’

The material brought together in this chapter is drawn, as already mentioned, from KATARSIS, a European project offering a platform for exchange of ideas and experiences and for debate among research teams, practitioners, policy makers and grass roots initiatives working on questions of social exclusion and on creative strategies to cope with it. Bringing together diverse experiences from different places across the EU, different languages and research traditions and different contexts of practice, the project proposes innovative perspectives for the formulation of research problematics and for policy design.

One of the goals has been to analyse how a range of place- or community-specific material practices and knowledge can foster dynamics to overcome situations of deprivation and social alienation. To this end, a group of practitioners has been mobilised who are active in socially innovative initiatives in many EU countries. Most of them were already known to the researchers’ team from previous collaboration and few were added for the purpose of KATARSIS (see Table 1). The constitution of this group as a ‘field’ or resource for research is subject to a high degree of randomness and individual choice and does not lend itself to easy generalisations. Still the experiences and practices brought together form a rich source of material on social innovation deriving from the social imaginary¹⁰.

How to tap on this resource without compromising its potential and diversity has been at the base of our methodological choices: qualitative and a central focus on interaction and exchange among ‘users’. Within the limitations of the project, we proposed a focus group discussion. In this form of qualitative research, a group of people - in our case the KATARSIS ‘users’ - are asked about their practices and attitudes regarding a specific service, product, concept, idea etc – in our case their practices and attitudes towards socially innovative methods to overcome social exclusion¹¹. The logic of this choice for a focus group approach was twofold: On the one hand people involved in day-to-day praxis were expected to respond more eagerly in a discussion environment, rather than through formal interviews. On the other hand, the presence of participants and their interaction were expected to create a

¹⁰ Castoriadis, C. 1975, *L’ institution imaginaire de la société*, Paris : Seuil

¹¹ This is a method used in marketing as well as in the social sciences and is considered to have high apparent validity. See, among many, Marshall, C., Rossman, G. 1999, *Designing Qualitative Research*, London: Sage. Lydaki, A. 2001, *Qualitative Methods in Social Research*, Athens: Kastaniotis (in greek). Lofland, J. 1984, *Analysing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*, Wadsworth, Belmont.

different dynamic and bring out issues that perhaps had not been considered on an individual basis, either by 'users' or by the research team.

A discussion outline had been pre-circulated, allowing participants to prepare about the issues to be discussed; but the discussion was rather loosely structured, encouraging interaction among 'users' and the free flow of ideas. Members of the academic team acted as moderators of the discussion (as is foreseen for this method), reminding occasionally the topics that had to be covered. Not all issues and questions proposed in the initial outline were regarded by 'users' as being important/ relevant for the description and analysis of their own experience, while others were introduced by them, thereby modifying the initial outline. The discussion was recorded, and later transcribed, and many photos were made. In addition, moderators examined more than spoken words: who spoke, body language, expressions, group dynamics were also considered. These were also written down and helped interpret the transcripts. The relative disadvantage of having less control over the flow of the discussion (than would perhaps be the case with a one-to-one interview) was compensated by the development of a group dynamic, which brought out interesting aspects of the discussed topics and clarified many context-related practices.

Questions of methodology

The experience presented in the previous section of the chapter raises complex methodological issues concerning the 'representativeness' and relevance for further research and policy formulation. It is clear from the constitution of the 'population' (or number of 'cases') that the focus is not on statistical representativeness, comparative study or general theoretical claims. The interest of the process lies rather in the micro-events and in difference (or otherness), while lived experience plays a key role in the formulation of truth claims¹². Validity and credibility are judged in different terms than in quantitative methodologies: the process of the research is important (and hence its transparency), self-reflexivity of the researcher and consciousness about context and positionality¹³.

The choice of a focus group discussion in which bottom up initiatives are brought together transposes the interest to the group dynamics and to possibilities of experience exchange. In such a group, situations and relations develop which are very interesting to register and describe; in fact, dense description yields rich findings and contributes to new knowledge.

¹² On this, see Horkheimer, M. 1983, *The Eclipse of Reason*, Athens: Erasmos (translation into Greek)

¹³ See for example, Lydaki, A. 2001, *Qualitative methods in social research*, Athens: Kastaniotis (in Greek).

Diversity is an asset for the purpose of the project, providing a broad range of ‘cases’ from which to approach creativity and social innovation in different contexts. Prior knowledge/contact is an extra asset, in that it establishes a level of trust, which is necessary for the deployment of methods based on personal interaction.

Qualitative methods also support the effort to uncover relations which are not readily visible, but nevertheless guide socially creative initiatives. Physical co-presence of the ‘users’ in the focus group, the possibility of verbal expression of arguments, ideas and beliefs and the dynamics of interactive functioning among participants of various backgrounds all contribute to the same end: The dilemmas, problems and difficulties which the ‘users’ often face (and handle in socially innovative ways) seem to gain a renewed impetus when expressed in relation to other similar ones; their active involvement leads to understandings which would otherwise be difficult or impossible, given the diversity of the issues raised. On the other hand, direct meetings and interaction in dialogue forums and network meetings are practices that organisations like the KATARSIS ‘users’ choose themselves as appropriate ways to exchange experiences, increase visibility and empower their participants through coalition building. The role of researchers is then to acknowledge and take advantage of this rich source of material that can inform both research questions and policy proposals.

The differences in socio-political histories and systems, in welfare state regimes and in civil society formation define in different ways why, where, when and how socially innovative initiatives develop, or what is innovative in each case. In this sense and apart from the many forms and the wide spectrum of these initiatives, their main differences are context-related. Even within the western European common philosophical heritage and historical deployment of social movements there are variations echoed in their different focus, their degree of politicisation and their social affiliations. Those variations are further pronounced when southern European traditions of civil society and state organisation are also included.

What is most important then in order to draw useful lessons from such multiplicity of examples is to develop tools which will help understand the details of their constitution and functioning and the context in which they operate, including the different terminologies and traditions of thought. A process like this, which ultimately highlights differences rather than looking for similarities, would enrich knowledge and help identify more relevant questions to be further investigated.

Prospects and limitations

The project from which this paper draws, KATARSIS, has been a practice-oriented one - towards practices to cope with conditions of social exclusion, which are guided by a multiplicity of factors. Hence the methodological inclination to describe relations and dynamics that lead to praxis, meant as political intervention. Moreover, Katarsis aimed to promote more efficient ways of communication among researchers, policy makers and socially active persons and groups. Thus, to contribute to the 'invention' of a new shared language and to the definition of common terms for the groups involved. This aim can only be realised by reaching a consensus over a shared convention on a commonly accepted field of action, in this case 'overcoming social exclusion'. The dialogue over such convention cannot take place among institutionalized representatives, nor through standardized practices. Here, individuals and ad hoc created groups may have a decisive role, while multiplicity and diversity are at the same time an asset and a limitation of the process.

Acknowledging and working with multiplicity and diversity brings out a number of issues which would otherwise remain hidden; but requires methodologies that will incorporate and build upon multiplicity and diversity in order to formulate further research questions and policy guidelines. Regarding policy development, the issue is how to suggest diverse organizational forms that will correspond, in the different contexts, to various aspects and forms of social exclusion and to self- and community empowerment. Policy guidelines cannot be uniform as this could lead to the narrowing and bureaucratisation of areas of activity, which draw from bottom-up creativity. An institutional environment for innovative initiatives, including funding mechanisms and assessment methods, should try to support open space for imagination and creativity rather than lead to a standardised model/frame.

As individuals and groups subject to situations of social exclusion multiply, in the EU and beyond, innovative bottom-up initiatives are actively proposed for civil society to cope with, and perhaps overcome, marginalization and deprivation. In this context, it becomes methodologically opportune to promote qualitative research and multiple ways to disseminate its findings and at the same time 'invent' processes which favour interaction among different environments and initiatives, thus contributing to the production of new knowledge. To this end, practice oriented research and qualitative methods not only enrich academic knowledge but also contribute to develop connections, new ideas and practices among those involved in the field.

Table 2. Factual information on Katarsis Users and cases

	Organisational form:	Activity- relation with arts and culture	Territorial range:	Duration:
Arsis, Greece	NGO / social workers and volunteers	For the support of the youth facing difficulties. Therapeutical and socialising art methods	Local bases in five Greek cities and one in Albania	Expanding activities since 1992
Pedestrians, UK	NGO / loose network, volunteer directors board, professionals and volunteers	Supporting emerging urban art forms/ addressed to young people/ social intervention projects	Local base in Leicester, Network	Since 1998
Freire Centre, Austria	Research centre	Reflection on the role of developmental politics	Vienna	Since 2001
Olinda, Milano	Social Enterprise: Social cooperative and Voluntary association	Reform to the mental care methods, cultural and social space for the city	Local base in Milan	Open and expanding activities since 1994 (mental reform)
Promo Cymru, UK	Co-operative and Social Enterprise Agency	Development of young people through artistic, cultural and media production and activities.		It has a tradition of more then 30 years, recently developed a new branding
Afip, France	NGO	Supporting young graduates from ethnic minorities to access the labour market	Paris	
Laurens-Stiftung, Hamburg	NGO	Working against exclusion at various levels, supporting socially and economically sustainable development	Hamburg	Since 1986
SMAK, Belgium	Municipal Museum of Contemporary art in Ghent	Developing social art projects	Ghent	
City-Mined, Brussels, London, Barcelona	Multi-local NGO	Developing and supporting local art interventions and projects	Multi-base: Brussels, London, Barcelona	Since 1997
Ateneu Popular de Nou Barris, Barcelona	Cultural non-governmental organisation	Enable creativity and promote artistic training	Local base	Since 1977, new form 1994
Montemoro-o-novo	Municipal agencies	Implementation of a local developmetal strategy based on culture and arts.	Alentejo, Portugal	Since 1974
Casa Joao Cidade	Private institution of social solidarity	Building alternative socio-therapeutic communities for people with mental deficiency.	Alentejo, Portugal	Since 2007
Kypseli Market	Grassroots/ informal collective	Creating open cultural and political space for the neighbourhood	Athens	Since 2006

3.2 Social economy research and methodology: the case of the European research on social enterprise (Jacques Defourny and Marthe Nyssens)

Whereas a dozen years ago the concept of social enterprise was rarely discussed, it is now making amazing breakthroughs on both sides of the Atlantic, especially in EU countries and the United States. It is also attracting increasing interest in other regions such as Eastern Asia (especially Japan and South Korea) and Latin America.

In Europe, although it may have been used elsewhere previously, the concept of ‘social enterprise’ as such seems to have first appeared in Italy, where it was promoted through a journal launched in 1990 and entitled *Impresa sociale*. The concept was introduced at that time to designate these pioneering initiatives for which the Italian Parliament created the legal form of ‘social co-operative’ one year later. In 1991, the Italian parliament adopted a law creating a specific legal form for ‘social co-operatives’ and the latter went on to experience an extraordinary growth

Various driving forces could be observed across Europe, which paved the way for an increased explicit reference to social enterprise. In several countries, new forms of social enterprises whose main aim is to integrate through a productive activity people excluded from the labour market were set up outside any legal framework; they were sometimes even completely illegal. In this field and in others (e.g. care), these social enterprises built platforms and federative bodies to advocate for a better recognition of their specificities. The need for more professional skills and for more effective management methods also drove non-profit organizations to adopt some more business-like behaviour. As a result of these evolutions, laws were passed to promote new legal forms, better suited to social enterprises, and public schemes were designed to target more specifically work integration social enterprises (Defourny & Nyssens, 2008).

As soon as 1996, i.e. before most of the public policies were launched, a major research program funded by the European Commission was undertaken by a group of scholars coming from all EU member states. Named the EMES European Research Network,¹⁴ the group first

¹⁴ The letters EMES stood for "EMergence des Entreprises Sociales en Europe" – i.e. the title in French of the vast research project carried out from 1996 through 2000 by the network. The acronym EMES was subsequently retained when the network decided to become a formal international association and went on to conduct other research projects on social enterprises and, more broadly, on the third sector as a whole. Nowadays, the EMES European Research Network brings together ten

devoted itself to the definition of a set of criteria to identify organizations likely to be called ‘social enterprises’ in each of the fifteen countries forming the EU at that time. After this first research project, as the concept was spreading in different parts of Europe, they decided to continue their research efforts. The objective of this chapter is to trace the methodology which has underpinned this line of research developed by the EMES network.

The construction of the concept based on an ideal-type

From the outset, the EMES approach gave priority to the choice of various indicators which would help identify social enterprises according to a concise and elegant definition. The main goal underpinning this methodological choice was to identify new dynamics towards more entrepreneurial behaviour inside the third sector. Key features of this approach include the fact that it derived from extensive dialogue among several disciplines (economics, sociology, political science and management) as well as among the various national traditions and sensitivities present in the European Union. Moreover, it was guided by a project with both theoretical and empirical ambitions.

The EMES conceptual framework is based on two series of criteria, some being more economic, with the others predominantly social.¹⁵

To reflect the economic and entrepreneurial dimensions of initiatives, four criteria have been put forward:

a) A continuous activity producing goods and/or selling services

Social enterprises, unlike some traditional non-profit organisations, do not normally have advocacy activities or the redistribution of financial flows (as, for example, many foundations) as their major activity, but they are directly involved in the production of goods or the provision of services to people on a continuous basis. The productive activity thus represents the reason, or one of the main reasons, for the existence of social enterprises.

b) A high degree of autonomy

Social enterprises are created by a group of people on the basis of an autonomous project and they are governed by these people. They may depend on public subsidies but they are not managed, be it directly or indirectly, by public authorities or other organisations (federations, private firms etc.). They have both the right to take up their own position (‘voice’) and to terminate their activity (‘exit’).

c) A significant level of economic risk

university research centers and individual researchers specialized in these fields throughout Europe (www.emes.net).

¹⁵ They are presented here as in the introduction of the first EMES book (Defourny, 2001: 16-18). This set of criteria had already been identified in the interim reports to the European Commission (EMES European Research Network 1997 and 1998) as well as in a short unpublished paper (EMES, 1999). It inspired the OECD as early as 1999.

Those who establish a social enterprise assume totally or partly the risk inherent in the initiative. Unlike most public institutions, their financial viability depends on the efforts of their members and workers to secure adequate resources.

d) A minimum amount of paid work

As in the case of most traditional non-profit organisations, social enterprises may also combine monetary and non-monetary resources, voluntary and paid workers. However, the activity carried out in social enterprises requires a minimum level of paid workers.

To encapsulate the social dimensions of the initiative, five criteria have been proposed:

1) An explicit aim to benefit the community

One of the principal aims of social enterprises is to serve the community or a specific group of people. In the same perspective, a feature of social enterprises is their desire to promote a sense of social responsibility at the local level.

2) An initiative launched by a group of citizens

Social enterprises are the result of collective dynamics involving people belonging to a community or to a group that shares a well-defined need or aim; this collective dimension must be maintained over time in one way or another, even though the importance of leadership - often embodied by an individual or a small group of leaders - must not be neglected.

3) A decision-making power not based on capital ownership

This criterion generally refers to the principle of 'one member, one vote' or at least to a decision-making process in which voting power is not distributed according to capital shares on the governing body which has the ultimate decision-making rights. Although the owners of capital are important when social enterprises have equity capital, the decision-making rights are generally shared with the other stakeholders.

4) A participatory nature, which involves various parties affected by the activity

Representation and participation of users or customers, influence of various stakeholders on decision-making and a participative management are often important characteristics of social enterprises. In many cases, one of the aims of social enterprises is to further democracy at the local level through economic activity.

5) A limited profit distribution

Social enterprises not only include organisations that are characterised by a total non-distribution constraint, but also organisations which - like co-operatives in many countries - may distribute profits, but only to a limited extent, thus allowing to avoid a profit-maximising behaviour.

It was clear that those criteria should not be seen as conditions to be met to deserve the name of social enterprise. It has to be underlined that rather than constituting prescriptive criteria, these indicators describe an 'ideal-type' that enables researchers to position themselves within the 'galaxy' of social enterprises. Without any normative perspective, they constitute a tool, somewhat analogous to a compass, which can help the researchers locate the position of certain entities relative to one another, and which may enable researchers to establish the boundaries of the set of organisations that they will consider as the set of social enterprises.

In spite of this, EMES criteria have often been seen as the EMES definition of social enterprise in a rather traditional way. In its first book, EMES had probably contributed to such

a misunderstanding as those criteria were presented as a 'working definition' which proved to be fairly robust and reliable although it was also stressed that social enterprises were appearing in each country as a wide spectrum of organizations for which the fulfilment of those criteria varied greatly (Defourny, 2001).

The EMES approach proved to be empirically fertile. For example, when J.-F. Draperi (2003) studied 151 organisations subsidized over a twenty-year period by France's *Fondation Crédit Coopératif*, he found in varying degrees most of the features outlined above. Although originally he did not intend to adopt the 'social enterprise' approach, this is what he finally ended up doing; with reference to the EMES approach, he underlined the capacity for social innovation demonstrated by these organisations. In a similar perspective, EMES researchers made an inventory of the different types of social enterprises working in the field of on-the-job training and occupational integration of low-qualified individuals. This survey, which covered 12 EU countries, combined the indicators to which we have referred above with criteria peculiar to this field and came up with the concept of the 'work-integration social enterprise' (WISE). This conceptual framework allowed identifying 39 categories or models of WISEs in the twelve countries surveyed.¹⁶

Paving the way to a theory of social enterprise

This first wave of research carried out by the EMES network also presented an initial attempt to outline a theory of social enterprise: an 'ideal-typical' social enterprise could be seen as a 'multiple-goal, multi-stakeholder and multiple-resource enterprise'. These theorised features remained untested, though; they thus paved the way for further research. On that basis, another major research project PERSE (in 2001) funded by the European Commission was also carried out to test empirically various hypotheses which may be seen as the first building blocks of a European theory of social enterprise (Nyssens, 2006)¹⁷.

The main objective of the PERSE research project was to explore more deeply such hypotheses and to further develop a theory of social enterprise through a comparative analysis of social enterprises in Europe.

¹⁶ The country studies were published in the EMES *Working Papers Series*. For a synthesis, see Spear and Bidet (2003) and Davister, Defourny and Grégoire (2004).

¹⁷ Named PERSE, this project focused on the "Performance of Social Enterprises" in the field of work integration. Funded by the 5th Framework Programme of the European Commission (DG Research), it was carried out in twelve EU countries from 2001 through 2004.

More precisely, the research project was articulated around three main theoretical axes:

(1) Social enterprises usually have a complex mixture of goals (Evers 2001). The first hypothesis put forward in this research project regarding social enterprises' mission was that the latter would include at least three different categories of goals: social goals, connected to the particular mission of social enterprises to benefit the community; economic goals, related to the entrepreneurial nature of social enterprises; and socio-political goals, referring to the fact that social enterprises are often rooted in a 'sector' traditionally involved in socio-political action.

Moreover, regarding these multiple goals, another hypothesis had been put forward: multi-stakeholder ownership (Bachiega and Borzaga 2001) might be an efficient way for social enterprises to achieve their overall mission, and the representation of different types of stakeholder on the board might be a way to combine the various goals of the enterprise, thanks to the various sensibilities of the stakeholders.

(2) The second hypothesis put forward in this project was that social enterprises mobilise different kinds of market and non-market resources to sustain their public benefit mission: they trade goods and services in the market; public financing generally supports their public benefit mission; and finally, social enterprises can also rely upon volunteer resources. By following Polanyi (1944) and his 'substantive approach' to the economy, we argued that social enterprises combine the economic principles of market, redistribution and reciprocity and hybridise these three types of economic exchange so that they work together rather than in isolation from each other.

(3) Social enterprises are embedded in the political context. Public policies in the field of social enterprises are the result of interactions between the promoters of the latter and representatives of public bodies. We put forward the hypothesis that this dynamic of institutionalisation can lead to the development of innovative public schemes and at the same time to a movement of 'isomorphism' on the part of social enterprises, towards public organisations or for-profit enterprises.

Social enterprises are active in a wide variety of fields, including the fight against the structural unemployment of groups excluded from the labour market, personal social services, urban regeneration, environmental services, and the provision of other public goods or services. However, in order to develop our analysis on a reliable empirical base, we have had

to focus on a rather limited field of activity, which has allowed meaningful international comparisons and statistical analysis. In this perspective, we have chosen the field of 'work integration', which is emblematic of the dynamics of social enterprises and constitutes a major sphere of their activity in Europe. The major objective of 'work integration social enterprises' (WISEs) is to help disadvantaged unemployed people, who are at risk of permanent exclusion from the labour market. They integrate them back into work and society, in general through productive activity.

Empirical evidence on work integration social enterprises in the EU countries existed, but almost all available information was limited to basic quantitative data (number of enterprises, of workers employed, of consumers). Unfortunately, very limited information was available on the way in which social enterprises operate, on how they mobilise and mix productive resources, on their mode of governance and on the quality of the jobs provided. To develop our research questions, 162 work integration social enterprises, located in 11 European countries, were selected.

The sampling of work integration social enterprises for the PERSE project

For the empirical research of the PERSE project, we selected a subset of 15 work integration social enterprises (WISEs) to be studied in depth in each country.

Former studies (such as Borzaga and Defourny 2001) have clearly shown that the field of WISEs is more complex than the ideal-type of social enterprise depicted by the EMES criteria might suggest. Given this heterogeneity, the choice of the 15 cases was guided by the following rationale:

The first criterion was the representativeness of the WISE (even though it did not fully reflect the EMES criteria) in the whole landscape of WISEs of the country. Far from being rooted in statistical theory, such a representativeness could be linked to the fact that WISEs of this type:

- were numerous or were growing in number or social importance;
- represented a major path of organisational development;
- were typical with respect to national or regional labour market policies or social actors' strategies.

A second criterion was the closeness of the WISE to the ideal-type of social enterprise described by the EMES criteria, although it appeared necessary not to be too rigid in applying these criteria: for example, an organisation could (still) be close to the EMES criteria, but it could also happen that some distinctive elements, that had been present in the beginning of the organisation, had subsequently faded away.

The sample constituted in this way is not statistically representative. It includes, in addition to WISEs typical of each country, some WISEs which are not necessarily typical but which appear to be good examples of the ideal-type of social enterprise.

One of the results was that the WISE-specific public schemes or the more general labour market activation policies used by WISEs, shape (at least partially) their objectives and practices. However, Bode et al. (2006) conclude that there is no overall tendency, among European WISEs, towards isomorphism understood as an evolution in which WISEs

completely lose their initial identity. This being said, external pressures however generate strained relations between the different goals of WISEs. The simultaneous pursuit of various goals often constitutes an essential challenge for these organisations.

Does the ‘multiple stakeholders’ and ‘multiple resource’ character of social enterprises constitute a channel to fulfil their multiple-goal mission and therefore a bulwark against isomorphism, or is it rather a threat for their identity, embedded in different, contradictory logics? The presence of various stakeholders constitutes a channel for developing links and trust across different types of stakeholders. Empirical analysis tends to show that this multi-stakeholder nature can in turn be a resource for WISEs to pursue their complex set of objectives. The reliance on a variety of resources, both from the point of view of their origin (e.g. from private customers, from the private sector, from the public sector, from the third sector) and from the type of allocation (e.g. the sale of services, public subsidies, gifts and volunteering), also appears to be a key element for WISES to fulfil their multiple-goal missions. Managing hybridity constitutes a daily challenge for social enterprises, but this character also appears to be a part of their identity linked to their multiple-goal mission.

These empirical results highlight the collective and hybrid dynamic of social entrepreneurship and contrast with the emphasis that social entrepreneurship literature generally places on individual social entrepreneurs and on the sole market resources (Defourny and Nyssens, forthcoming).

Toward a dialogue with other schools of thought

If in Europe, the EMES network has developed an approach to the concept of social enterprise, the concepts of social entrepreneur and social enterprise met with a very positive response in the early 1990s in the United States. In 1993, for instance, the Harvard Business School launched the ‘Social Enterprise Initiative’, one of the milestones of the period. Since this early period, the debate has expanded in various types of institutions. Major American universities have developed research and training programmes. The Social Enterprise Knowledge Network (SEKN) was formed in 2001 by leading Latin-American business schools and the Harvard Business School.

However, what is striking is the fact that the debates on both sides of the Atlantic took place in parallel trajectories, with very few connections between them, until the years 2004-5. These last years have witnessed a growing mutual influence of each side of the Atlantic upon

the other, probably with a stronger influence of the US on Europe than the other way round. More precisely, various authors from European business schools, such as Mair and Marti (2006), Nicholls (2006), Mair, Robinson and Hockerts (2006), among others, contributed to the debate, relying on the concept of social entrepreneurship as it took roots in the US context, although they of course brought in their own backgrounds as Europeans. Kerlin (2006) also made an interesting attempt to compare the concept of social enterprise in the US and in Europe, and discussions began to develop within the newly created, world-wide University Network for Social Entrepreneurship.

In this context, our third step in our analytical adventure has been to compare the different schools of thought in the field of social enterprise and social entrepreneurship in order to deepen the dialogue between them. In Defourny and Nyssens (forthcoming), enriching the typology of Dees and Anderson (2006), we distinguish between the earned income school, the social innovation school and the EMES approach and contrast them around key dimensions: the place of the social mission in the enterprise, the production of goods and services and their relation to the social mission, the conception of economic risk, the structure of governance and the channels for the diffusion of social innovation.

This analysis shows that what seems really at stake beyond conceptual debates are the place and the role of social enterprise within the overall economy and its interaction with the market, the civil society and public policies. So, our objective, through this last paper, was to show that re-embedding social enterprises in their own specific contexts for a better mutual understanding is one of the best ways to raise issues and suggest further lines of research which do not appear clearly when sticking to specific national or regional contexts.

In this perspective, we can understand the recent work carried out by the EMES network in Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC). With support of the UNDP, EMES has recently developed an overview study on the potential of social enterprises in CEE and several countries of the CIS 18. Combined with some earlier works 19, that study allowed to highlighting some general trends. Despite the problems associated, inter alia, to the process of

¹⁸ Borzaga, Galera and Nogales (2008). That study was carried out in collaboration with local researchers and it covered six new EU member countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovenia), two Balkan countries (Macedonia and Serbia) and four countries of the Community of Independent States (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine). It also included a more detailed analysis for three countries selected from those subgroups (Poland, Serbia and Ukraine).

¹⁹ In particular Borzaga and Spear (2004) and Borzaga and Galera (2004).

economic transition in which CEEC are engaged, social enterprises in these countries are showing significant growth potential. Co-operatives are regaining ground in some of their traditional roles, and the new associative models that have emerged in Eastern Europe confirm the relevance of the social enterprise model

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3.3 Insights from the connection between popular education and solidarity economy in Brazil: a historical perspective (Ana Cristina Fernandes, Ana Dubeux, Paul Singer)

1. Introduction

We argue that social innovation sometimes emerges due to a specific historical path pursued by social actors over a long time span. The Brazilian experience on solidarity economy which has inspired a lot of social movements over the past fifteen years cannot be understood without noticing its roots in social movements and critical education that emerged in the 1960s in the context of libertarian and socialist movements worldwide. This, in turn, inherits an even older experience accumulated in Brazil along the late 19th and early 20th centuries of fights for democracy, social equity and republican values.

It is worth noting that Paulo Freire's critical *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (first published in 1968) had been developed within a deeply divided society in which literacy was a precondition for voting and can be seen as part of the broader movement that united diverse social and political forces in Brazil, in general, and in the state of Pernambuco, in particular. Intellectuals, artists, urban labour unions, rural workers of the *Ligas Camponesas*, left wing politicians, the Catholic Church (with its *Liberation Theology* and the *Justice and Peace Commission*) were all participants of the creative wave of libertarian initiatives that sprang into life in Pernambuco in the late 1950s and spread to other parts of the country in the first half of the 1960s. The so-called *Popular Culture Movement* and its *cultural circles* impressed the Federal Government – led by the left wing president João Goulart – to the extent of replicating thousands of cultural circles across the country (Coelho, 2002).

Solidarity economy, as it came to be in Brazil, in contrast, can be regarded as having been brought about by the economic recession of the early 1980s so as to provide alternative occupation and income to the former employees of industries affected by the severe debt crisis hastened by the second oil shock. A decade later, disastrous measures to tackle high inflation, including the sudden opening of the national economy to foreign competition after three decades of protection, further encouraged solidarity economy initiatives. In both moments, these initiatives were mostly brought about in the state of São Paulo, the country's most industrialised one, and birth place of the country's strongest labour movement, and especially hit by recessions. In both cases, job losses have been turned into cooperatives and other sorts of initiatives by former industrial workers with the help of labour unions (Singer, 2005). We argue here that, like in the case of popular education, previous experiences

accumulated in the construction of the labour movement were crucial to the development of these alternatives under the solidarity economy.

This argument is further discussed in four sections. The first one brings about a brief historical background of social movements in Pernambuco, followed by a more recent context of Brazilian popular education and solidarity economy. The third section focuses on the principles of popular education and solidarity economy and the fourth one explores the particular experience of the incubators of popular cooperatives of Brazilian federal universities. The last section summarizes the argument.

2. A historical background of social movements in Pernambuco

The Brazilian democracy is a recent social construction that was expected to be introduced along with the republican regime, in 1889, but that has otherwise faced several attacks throughout the 20th century including two military coups (1937 and 1964), several attempts of coup d'état and other assaults on its institutions. The nineteen years from 1945 to 1964 – the so-called '*República Nova*' – was the longest period under democratic rule during the past century. Most of the early 20th century political instability certainly derives from the nation's infant condition. However, it also reflects the deep social divide within an agricultural country formerly based on slave labour where economic and political power used to originate in large land ownership, both rural and urban, usually referred to as '*patrimonialismo*'. As for the majority of both urban and rural population, illiteracy functioned as a way of blocking access to voting.

As such, political representation only fostered the remarkable land concentration to the benefit of a small fraction of society as well as social exclusion of the majority of population. It is not surprising that since the very early times of the former Portuguese colony most of social movements focused on getting access to land and basic civil rights. The right to voting, housing, decent wage and labour condition, land reform, education and self-determination inspired many revolts throughout the country especially in the early 1800s. Pernambuco came to be one of the Brazilian states to house several of these movements of republican and liberal inspiration, such as the Revolution of 1817, that proclaimed independence from Portugal and installed the short-lived Republic of Pernambuco, and the Praiera Revolt (1848-1852), both defeated, along with intense participation on the abolitionist movement, and also

social movements for land reform (the so-called *Ligas Camponesas*) and the popular culture and education movements of the 20th century.

Extreme social disparities and extensive illiteracy inherited from its condition as the first and richest sugar cane plantation place in Brazil under Portuguese rule are certainly at the origin of this struggling character of *Pernambucan* poor and intellectuals. The sugar cane plantation as the Portuguese have created it in the Brazilian Northeast, as Furtado (1958) argues, functions as an extremely vertically integrated production unit with no relevant outsourcing, apart from slave labour thus leading to rather reduced money circulation within its socio-economy. During its golden period, the whole of main supplies needed were provided internally within the firm as an autarchy, since slave labour could be put into all sorts of labour thus paying back the high investment made in their acquisition.

This led to a market constraint to the extent of locking the economy of Pernambuco's traditional regions of sugar production into the same activity since then. Sugar still is the state's main export product. On the one hand, economic diversification, or else division of labour and addition of new labour, as argued by Jacobs (1969) as important source of economic growth, became rather limited. On the other hand, wage labour after slavery remained mostly illiterate and undervalued due to small demand for labour in the regional economy outside sugar production activities, whereas politics and decision making derived almost solely from the sugar landlords. The resulting extreme concentration of income, land and political power led to stagnation and concentration of commerce and other urban activities especially in the capital city, Recife (Singer, 1969). The latter functions as a classical prime city to which population from both declining sugar regions and dry areas traditionally flee in search of job opportunity. In face of low education standards, after a 400 year prevalence of sugar industry, occupations are still concentrated in traditional industries (retail, construction, domestic work), many of which precarious, thus restricting growth of consumer markets as a whole in spite of relatively well paid jobs of some industrial and public sectors (Recife shows, in December 2009, the lowest average wage (R\$ 861.90), the highest participation of military and civil servants in total occupations (10.1%), and the second largest unemployment rate (8.4%) among all metropolitan areas surveyed by IBGE,²⁰

20 IBGE stands for Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística.

as compared to the total averages of R\$ 1,344.40, 7.4% and 6.8%, respectively (IBGE, 2009)).

We understand that Pernambuco owes to the sugar socio-economy its backward condition, deep income concentration and very low levels of formal education (the average number of school years of 15 year olds and above was 6.4 years in 2008, as compared to the national average of 7.4 years, but in some regions the state still presents an average of 3 school years, according to IBGE). The metropolitan area of Recife reached an average of 8 school years in 2008, above the national average. Being Pernambuco's capital city certainly responds for this advantageous situation Recife enjoys, but one can say that it also results from the history of social and political movements that took place especially in the state's capital in line with liberal and socialist ideas brought in from European revolts and revolutions at that time. The importance of popular education within the social movements of the 1960s is certainly a product of the political and social actions accumulated along the time in face of deep social disparities, to which the wave of socialist movements in post-war Europe and Latin America also contributed.

3. Recent context of Brazilian popular education and solidarity economy

During the first half of the 1960s, Brazil was involved with a variety of libertarian popular movements inspired by increasing expectations of social justice and emancipation for the poor that the Cuban experience helped to bring about in Latin America. Among these we point out the so-called Movement of Popular Culture (*Movimento de Cultura Popular* or MCP) created in Recife by a group of artists and intellectuals such as Ariano Suassuna and Francisco Brennand, Hermilo Borba Filho and Paulo Freire. Created in Recife, MCP proposed to educate the poor to social and political 'consciousness' and emancipation through various sorts of popular artistic manifestations. Under the left wing state government of Miguel Arraes, within just three years MCP summed up 20 thousand students (adults, youngsters and children), over 600 classes, 200 schools and radio-broadcasted classes, 450 teachers and 5 culture squares, where a great number of open air theatre sessions, art courses, workshops and exhibitions took place. MCP also produced books and manuals among which the so-called *MCP Book for Adults Reading*, the movement's guide book. Paulo Freire's critical education methodology emerged from this experience. Soon, the movement got national prominence but was soon wiped out by the 1964 military coup.

For several decades popular education was banished from Brazilian schools as well as all sorts of emancipatory experiences. Nevertheless, social activities in rural and urban areas never stopped completely. During the authoritarian regime, urban movements such as the so-called *Comunidades Eclesiais de Base*, in urban areas, and the *Pastoral da Terra*, in rural communities provided forms of access to public services and resistance against persecution by the authoritarian regime in place of political parties and labour unions which have been banished (Kowarick, 1979, Fernandes, 1989), which helped to create the Workers Party later on. By the end of the eighties, several participatory movements helped to establish a new relationship between the state and the civil society out of which the so-called Special Zones of Social Interest²¹ (ZEIS) and the participatory budget stand out, whilst the *Movimento dos Sem Terra* (rural landless movement) articulated the most impressive action for rural land reform throughout the Brazilian territory. Several other movements have strengthened or sprung in the country since then, among which the indigenous peoples movement, playing a relevant role in both the country's re-democratization process and elaboration of the so-called 'Citizen Constitution' of 1988.

The re-democratisation process of the 1980s was brought about amidst the consequences of the debt crisis that followed the 1979 Federal Reserve steep rise in interest rates. This exposed the fragility of the country's external accounts and halted economic growth. Inflation and unemployment rates soured thus compelling workers to find alternative sources of income creation on the basis of solidarity economy throughout the country. As Singer (2005) points out, during the 1980s former employees with the help of the labour unions managed to create cooperatives out of bankrupt firms and slowly developed the ability to take advantage of the legislation so as to purchase or rent insolvent companies and preserve their jobs. In parallel, they also engaged into the process of developing the so-called self-management skills to run the firm cooperatively with the contribution of *Anteag*, the National Association of Workers in Self-managed Firms. This was founded in 1994 and aimed at helping workers to fight for maintaining their jobs and to assist the new solidarity firms.

21 ZEIS correspond to areas occupied by the poor in large cities which have been finally institutionalised under the urban regulation introduced in the 1988 Federal Constitution, in spite of their unmatched urban standards (size of land parcels, internal roads, formal ownership, etc.). This allowed local governments to legally provide these areas with infrastructure, public services and housing. ZEIS is a legal innovation of Recife's first master plan after the dictatorship in consequence of social housing movements with the help of the *Justice and Peace Commission*.

Anteag has helped the creation of solidarity firms in various industrial sectors and different Brazilian states, although most of its competence has been built out of the numerous cases from São Paulo. Yet the most notorious example came to be that of Catende, a 26 thousand hectare sugar plantation and industry in Pernambuco. Catende was the largest solidarity firm of the approximately 160 ones assisted by Anteag in 2001, when even state and local governments were already contracting the Association in order to lessen unemployment in their socio-economies. With the close support of socialist governor Miguel Arraes (the same politician in charge of Pernambuco's government when the MCP was created), the Rural Workers Union (FETAPE), the Solidarity Development Agency of CUT (*Central Única dos Trabalhadores*) and the Cuban government, the workers effort to turn Catende into a self-managed company – the *Harmonia Cooperative* – after its bankruptcy in 1995 allowed 3,200 families to keep their jobs.

More recently, the solidarity economy movement, after the plenary session organised at the III World Social Forum in 2002 succeeded in its claim to create the National Secretariat of Solidarity Economy (SENAES) within President Lula's government. In parallel the National Forum of Solidarity Economy (FNES) was also created to dialogue with SENAES in terms of presenting demands and suggestions, and evaluating public policies for improving solidarity economy in Brazil (Singer, 2004).

4. Principles of solidarity economy and popular education

Solidarity economy projects face considerable challenges though. According to Singer (2005), firstly, it is rather difficult to convince the workers to become partners of an insolvent firm under solidarity principles and devote themselves to turn it back into a normally solvent company. In many cases only part of the workforce agrees to engage into the venture. Secondly, getting the company's patrimony formally transferred to the workers' association or cooperative requires time and complex legal and financial negotiations, which involve many actors from private and public sectors and in several situations may fall back (as it is actually the present situation of Catende/Cooperativa Harmonia). Thirdly, the solidarity economy project must fight for bringing back clients, suppliers and credit of the former company. Fourthly, and maybe the most demanding, there is the ability of keeping the cooperating workers together during the first years of the project, when its return may be insufficient to afford wages paid by regular market firms, especially considering the supposedly lack of skills to run a business. Actually, building a new role different from either being a boss or an

employee, that is, to become their own boss is something rather difficult that needs support and determination. This clearly shows the significant role that actors such as SENAES, the FNES as well as state and local governments play by providing training, credit, facilities for exchange of experiences and other infrastructural and knowledge assistance.

Goals of improving the cooperating workers' self-determination and not only incomes, have led some initiatives to connect solidarity economy with popular education. Inspiration comes from Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy based on what he calls the process of developing someone's ability to interpret the world and give it a meaning in order to orientate oneself, as Novy (2009) points out. This presupposes a radically different concept of education from what he calls the 'banking' concept, in which the student is seen as an empty account to be filled by the teacher. Instead, Freire proposes to think in terms of a mutual learning relationship in which the teacher can learn and the learner can teach. In so being, the individuals – both the student and the teacher – encourage one another to develop autonomous thinking that leads to questioning the world and becoming involved with the problems of the world, for taking part of and transforming it.

This critical attitude is based on a central idea in Freire's thinking. For him, "Nobody educates anybody else. Nobody educates himself/herself; people educate each other through their interactions with the world" (Freire, 2005: 78). On the one hand, this idea presupposes that "there is no individual 'I think' but a 'we think' as a collective act", as Gomez (2009: 41) highlights; and on the other hand it leads to the dialectics of thinking. As long as we think together and teach and learn with one another, we are in the public sphere – as meant by Arendt (1981) – where human beings distinguish his/her selves, recognise diversity and multiplicity of ideas and human differences, thus encountering conflict and contradiction. Interaction of different ideas in the public sphere – where individuals are face to face and recognise each other as equals – fosters the individuals' ability of raising questions, hence developing autonomous thinking, as in the critical pedagogy proposed by Paulo Freire.

This implies that the authority the educator enjoys must not be allowed to degenerate into authoritarianism, hence Freire's strong aversion to the teacher-student dichotomy. To overcome this dichotomy in human interaction as a whole and not only within the classroom experience is something that makes the difference between creating a cooperative in order to solely provide for income and occupation and creating a self-determined collective by means of a solidarity economy initiative. This is the objective of important parts of the solidarity

economy movement in Brazil, among which many of the public universities' technological incubators of popular cooperatives (ITCP).

5. Final remarks

Created in 1995 with the establishment of the first incubator in the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, ITCP is now present in 44 universities in all of the country's geographical regions. They took an important part in the creation of SENAES in 2003 and can be found in a variety of economic activities, from financial to production units, from education and knowledge exchange to commercialisation, concerned with networking and social organisation. ITCP stands for democratisation of knowledge and consumption by generating rent and work opportunities through knowledge exchange between universities and social groups. ITCP stimulates the joint development of specific technologies to productive projects they support. Popular education comes in because solidarity economy is not about profit making but empowering of human beings. In this context 'consciousness' making and emancipation of people are crucial dimensions of the process, otherwise it would be just another income creation experience for the poor. Popular education turns an ordinary economic activity for the poor into a communitarian organisation whose participants jointly search for alternative models of socially just economic development by means of increasing creativity and consciousness and promoting capacities for action of individuals and social groups. Popular education contributes by bringing in operational methodologies for solidarity economy to achieve its objectives.

Not all university incubators are involved in explicitly connecting solidarity economy with popular education, but those involved agree with Paulo Freire that consciousness-raising is a learning process to understand social, political and economic contradictions of contemporary societies and taking action to change repressive life conditions. Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* inspires ITCP: instead of technology transfer, practice is oriented to joint research of the own reality and joint knowledge creation; instead of education and knowledge for wealth creation, practice is oriented to foster creativity and learning to do things together and learning to live together, as Delors points out.

One of these incubators is the Federal Rural University of Pernambuco's INCUBACOOOP whose experience, rather influenced by the lessons of MCP, is presented in another paper of this book. Its experience exemplifies the connections between popular education and

solidarity economy that have been put into practice as well as on their MCP roots. By bringing attention to this connection, we aim at encouraging other groups – particularly university teachers and students – to take action for constructing a better world.

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3.4 Learning from case-study analysis in social innovation: balancing top-down universalism with bottom-up democracy, a call for Neo-fordist governance (Flavia Martinelli)

Introduction: material and post-material claims

A major analytical question in case study research about social innovation (see Moulaert et al. 2010) is the mobilising factor, i.e. the ‘why’ people mobilised for, organised and implemented socially innovative initiatives. The ‘why’ also affects the ‘what’, i.e. which goals socially innovative actions pursue and actually achieve.

There has been a large debate about whether social movements and actions starting at the end of the 1960s in all Western societies – the so-called ‘New Social Movements’ (NSMs) or ‘Post-modern’ movements – could be considered truly ‘new’ and different from previous social movements (see Martin 2001, Martinelli 2010 for surveys). A major discriminating element called in cause to support the ‘post-modern’ thesis was the fact that NSMs were based on ‘post-material’ claims, i.e. were oriented to cultural, existential and moral issues rather than material needs – recognition rather than redistribution, as put by Fraser (1995).

In the last couple of decades, however, the ‘material’ needs are back on stage. The end of the Fordist-Keynesian order, the de-industrialisation processes coupled with the increased immigration pressures, and the progressive retrenchment of the Welfare state have generated new exclusion processes and agencies, that are more reminiscent of pre-Fordist than post-modern times.

Social innovation and socially creative strategies as a means to achieve basic universal rights

In the SINGOCOM and KATARSIS research projects, social innovation involved at least two or more of the following dimensions: satisfaction of basic human needs, empowerment, change in social and power relations. It is difficult to separate the three dimensions and, most often, the satisfaction of alienated needs was actually the vehicle to initiate empowerment and changes in relations. Nonetheless, the many socially innovative experiences examined within the above projects, as well as others drawn from the literature, can be grouped in three main categories of action, according to the prominence of the above dimensions:

- a) Initiatives first and foremost geared to satisfy very basic *material needs*, such as work, decent housing, and basic social services (education, training, child, elderly and disabled care) in areas or for social groups excluded from such basic provisions.
- b) Initiatives first and foremost geared to obtain *visibility, recognition, power and/or citizenship*, such as in the case of people with disabilities or groups excluded because of cultural or political prejudices (e.g. gender, ethnicity, but also marginalised communities).
- c) Initiatives geared to achieve *more democratic governance*, i.e. less authoritarian decision-making processes in urban governance or less bureaucratic delivery of social services.

With reference to the debate on NSMs, only the latter two categories would be considered as belonging to the realm of post-material, post-modern claims, whereas the former would truly correspond to the traditional claims for redistribution. But this artificial distinction does not make sense: all social movements – from the 19th century on (Martinelli 2010) – are about power *and* redistribution, which necessarily involve recognition, as well as satisfaction of material and immaterial needs, as our SII and SCS all show.

In fact SII and SCS are all geared to achieve or recover – starting with bottom-up mobilisation – basic universal rights, i.e. full social and political citizenship, that are not – or no longer – ensured by contemporary institutions.

Recovering a universalistic welfare state

In this chapter, I am especially concerned with the actual *content* of ‘basic needs’ – with a specific focus on *social services* – and their impact on *citizenship*. It is my firm belief that in fighting the post-Fordist neo-liberal order that was progressively established from the late 1980s onward in all European countries, a major political concern must be the recovery of a *universalistic* social policy, the only approach that, through the satisfaction of basic material needs for all, can ensure economic, social and political inclusion and hence full citizenship.

But it certainly cannot be the same welfare state of old, which, while ensuring universal coverage, was often bureaucratic, authoritarian and indifferent to diversity and specificities. Therefore, in analysing SII and SCS a major question concerns the kind of welfare system that can best serve the purpose of ensuring universal citizenship *together with* the recognition of differences and democratic empowerment.

Here it is necessary to briefly review the debate about social policy and the welfare state, which has developed since the early 1990s. There are three aspects involved: a) whether the state can and should pay for social services; b) which *form* of delivery is more efficient/desirable to supply social services (fully *public* services; more or less subsidised *private* services; or more or less subsidised *non-profit, third sector, or self-organised* services); c) within the public realm, which is the most appropriate *government scale* to ensure social services.

With regard to the first issue, it is well known that with the end of the Fordist virtuous growth phase and the fiscal crisis of the Western states, the public provision of universal social services has been waning and the neo-liberal discourse about the greater efficiency of private services has been gaining legitimacy. On the other hand, criticism of the public provision of social services did not come solely from the conservative side, as strong dissatisfaction with the traditional welfare state provision was vented also from the left, which criticised the bureaucratic, undifferentiated and often paternalistic approach of public services (on the debate about universalistic vs. particularistic social policy see the seminal article by Thompson and Hoggett 1996). Thus, the recent shift to alternative forms of delivery – ranging from ‘direct payments’ to recipients, to publicly subsidised private suppliers, to third sector and social economy organisations – has reflected an odd convergence between neo-liberal policy orientations and bottom-up struggles for self-determination²².

On the pros and cons of the different delivery schemes there has also been a lively debate (see Spandler 2004 for a survey). Supporters of direct payment stress how they free recipients from the paternalistic control of the welfare system, while enabling them to ‘choose’ their services among a diversified private market supply; supporters of the public system stress its universalism and the professionalism of its workers; supporters of the Third sector stress the empowerment dimension and the customisation of delivery to specific needs.

Finally, there is a growing body of literature (see Andreotti et al. 2009 for a survey) about ‘local welfare systems’ (LWSs), i.e. the transfer to local governments and NGOs of welfare responsibilities and the different arrangements experimented in different regional and local contexts. Here too there is a debate about whether the local scale is more efficient than the national in responding to diverse needs and about its impact on social cohesion (Crouch et al 2000; Ranci 2004; Ruzza and Sala 2007).

²² Of which Blair’s ‘Third way’ approach became a popular institutionalised version.

The point is that while the above discussions are potentially very helpful to identify elements for improvements in social policy, they are also a smokescreen hiding the reduction in welfare service expenditures and, most importantly, in universal coverage. In the last twenty years welfare systems across Europe have indeed experimented different restructuring paths, but all involving aggravated selectivism, privatisation and reliance on the Third sector. In this context, discussing about the fine points of how best serve and empower users may actually obscure the fact that welfare services are no longer a right and national State have shed part of their responsibilities to either the private market – for those who can access it – or the Third sector –in those places where the conditions for its organisation exist.

Learning from case studies: analytical keys for creative policy-making

In my analysis of the many case studies examined in the SINGOCOM and KATARSIS research projects, as well as those drawn from the literature, I propose three main analytical keys to make the bridge between social innovation and social policy.

- First, in the study of socially innovative initiatives and socially creative strategies, the inter-related issues of universal *socio-political rights* and *citizenship* are a crucial ‘lens’ for understanding both social mobilisation and social innovation dynamics.
- Second, no ‘local’ initiative can be assessed in isolation, i.e. without taking into account its broader spatial context in a *multi-scale perspective* on governance, i.e. the relationships between different levels of government and agency.
- Third, research on SI cannot be confined to the actual initiatives but must encompass the *historical trajectory* of social movements, their institutionalization, and their governance dynamics within their articulated spatial context.

On the basis of the above ‘reading’ of the cases studies and the general considerations put forward earlier, I then make a strong plea for the resumption of *state responsibility* in ensuring universal access to *social services* – the only way to ensure full social and political citizenship – with three specifications:

- a) It cannot be either the central state, or the local governments *alone* to assume this responsibility. A *division of responsibility* between, first and foremost different government scales, but also different civil society actors, must be engineered, in order to ensure *democratic, multilevel governance*.

- b) The allocation of *public resources* to the provision of universal social services must remain a priority of social policy, but at the same time a balance must be found between resources ensuring *automatic* ‘top-down’ access to *basic* services for all – i.e. not subject to any potentially discretionary form of selection – and resources available for ‘bottom-up’ *context-sensitive* participation in service provision, allowing for differentiation and personalisation.
- c) This means that social innovation and SCS as observed in our case studies must be put to use in innovative and creative *policy-oriented* thinking, i.e. bridging utopian creativity with institutionalised opportunities. In other words, while guaranteeing universal access, *institutionalised spaces* must be provided for innovation to be sustained beyond the volunteerism and spontaneity of social mobilisation.

Let us briefly dwell on each of the above issues.

Multi-level governance. As already stressed, it is clear that, although the state must resume its social responsibilities in ensuring full citizenship through the provision of basic universal social services, we cannot go back to the centralised welfare system of old. Neither can we a-critically accept the idea that ‘Local welfare systems’ are best equipped to ensure fair and diversified social services. Lessons from history and experience must be taken into account and any new system of public social services must involve a multi-level perspective of governance and delivery. A new – ‘nested’ – geometry of government involvement and responsibility must be engineered, between centralised regulation and redistribution and local governance and implementation.

Institutionalising ‘bottom-triggered’ innovation. How can social innovation – which started in reaction to something (material deprivation, in the most dire cases) in order to achieve something else and is generally based on the spontaneous mobilisation of voluntary human resources – become a *durable* social acquisition? In other words, how can a socially innovative battlefield become an institutionalised *space*, i.e. something people do not have to constantly fight/work for, whether it is the satisfaction of material needs (a job, housing, education, healthcare, child, elderly or disabled care), recognition of needs or more democratic governance? Inbetween the typically contrasted extremes – bureaucratic vs. creative, automatic vs. discretionary, passive vs. participatory – associated to service delivery and not necessarily coincidental, it is possible to find intermediate articulations that ensure basic rights together with participation and specificity.

Public funding. A relevant component of institutionalisation, which can contribute to overcoming precariousness and ephemerality, involves access to financial resources. The existence of a *reliable* source of funding can ‘free’ other (human, organisational) resources. In the majority of the observed socially innovative experiences, overwhelming amounts of energy were engaged to look for resources, prepare applications, lobby and bid for financial support; energies that could have been more effectively used for the initiatives themselves. Conversely, the constant uncertainty about, and the competition for funding undermines initiatives from within and often puts one against the many other (socially innovative) bottom-up initiatives, competing for the same scarce resources.

In other words, the ‘shedding’ of the national welfare state’s long fought-for social responsibilities, has not only reduced the coverage, but also puts the burden of organising and delivering social services on family and communities, through voluntary organisations, social economy, or third sector initiatives.

Innovative policy-oriented thinking

In conclusion, we must develop ‘Utopian’ but strongly policy-rooted institutional creativity, making the bridge between social innovation at the local level and universalistic social policy.

This involves working out an institutional balance between: ‘flat’, *automatic* rights, services, funds (universal, undifferentiated) on the one hand, and spaces for ‘extra’, *additional*, context-sensitive, differentiated action on the other. The former would represent the ‘*zoccolo duro*’ of universal access, on which socially innovative ‘value added’ could be grafted.

In other words, we need to apply our imagination to envision *innovative and sustainable multi-scalar institutional frameworks* capable of granting both basic rights and spaces for experimentation, in a *long/medium-run horizon*, as well as diversified – *but highly regulated* – forms of co-production, partnership and responsible divisions of labour between different government scales, different actors (family, community, state, and market), in a context-sensitive way.

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PART 4. SOCIAL INNOVATION EXPERIENCES AND PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

Introduction: social innovation and action research—a particular cross-fertilization (Len Arthur)

The case studies and the analysis that follows in this section are an indication of the rich and varied application that has been made of action research within the context of social innovation. It is clear that action research has evolved through a working out of the tensions between contexts and the scale of progressive or radical change that is being worked toward. All the case studies make reference to key tensions and this introduction suggests that there may be an approach that will help cope with these tensions if the aims of the KATARSIS project are shared by the reader of the report.

The cases identify three categories of action research: action research; participatory action research; and critical action research. There is an attempt in all the chapters to provide definitions and the final chapter – 4.5 – attempts to define and place the first two within an historical context, however the third category is used alone in 4.3 and perhaps requires a separate comment. Critical action research as used in this context appears to be a reference to writers who have sought more explicitly to root the methodology within the context of critical theory of the Frankfurter School and more particularly in the work of Habermas and his ideas of communicative action and opposing the colonisation of the life world.

The cases are rooted in a rich historical experience covering workers education 4.1; the development of the knowledge economy 4.2; community development 4.3; and the development of the social economy and related role of political support 4.4. It is clear that the unifying factor in all the cases is addressing the question of how social innovation is aided by the progressive processes involved in the various forms of action research. As the cases are dealing with a wide range of aims and in the context of social innovation it becomes clear that the actual methodological form has changed and evolved to cope with the specific experiences.

Moreover, a key unifying aim has been the agreed desire of all participants to achieve social and economic change of various degrees. The argument is taken further as most cases indicate that the process of the application of action research in all its forms is best understood as process of an upward spiral: problem and solution identification leading to application then

reflection which in turn leads to a refinement of the possible solutions, and so on as developing process of change.

Whether a research process can still be described as such if it is driven by an ethical aim or a criterion of reasonableness, is referred to within the description of the cases and is covered in some depth in 4.5. Essentially the answer is yes, as the assumption of an unbiased or value-less scientific process, especially in the case of an open system such as the social is in itself questionable.

All the cases, however, point to tensions, contradictions and limitations entailed in the practise of action research as a progressive challenge to existing power or forms of exclusions. These tensions are referred using a variety of categories: blind action; localism; incorporation; scaling up; loss of independence; variation in effectiveness of challenge; and the ability to take account of internal conflict.

In section 4.5 there is a suggestion that these problems can be recognised in a systematic way using the terminology of contained or transgressive contention. Following on from this if an agreed understanding can be achieved among participants in action research as to how the issues that they are seeking to challenge are linked to effects of operation of wider social and economic power, then aims, policies and strategies that are in the form of transitional demands and actions are more likely to emerge out of the process of the application of action research consequently having incremental and transgressive effects.

4.1 Action Research, Empowerment and Social Innovation (John Andersen)

This chapter will (re)introduce and discuss the heritage, dilemmas, challenges and contemporary potential of action/participatory research linked to processes of social innovation - with emphasis on the Frankfurter school and Scandinavian experiences.

The overall argument is that research about social innovation can learn a lot from the dramatic tradition of action research, because this is a research tradition where knowledge creation is part of the process of social innovation itself.

The point of departure is a brief historical sketch and a discussion of the origins of action research in critical European social science with emphasis on the history of the discussion of the paradox in critical theory (CT) in the Frankfurter school tradition (Adorno, Horkheimer and others): Intellectuals in this tradition attempted to deconstruct 'reification' and outline utopian horizons for human emancipation, but in most cases avoided practical commitments in social movements working for alternatives. After the second world war and the defeat of the Third Reich Kurt Lewin and others who were exiled during the nazi-regime and had worked in the US, developed the idea of action research as a way of mobilizing the social sciences against authoritarianism. Later Critical Utopian Action Research has tried to solve this paradox by advocating the role of (action) research as active facilitation of democratic knowledge creation sketching 'alternative futures' (Jungk, 1984)

Action researchers see themselves as co-producers of knowledge based on trust and free agreement with agents of (transformative) social change. (Nielsen and Svensson, 2006). Hence action research underlines the close connection between *understanding* the world and *changing* the world through collective action - unlike for example the sharp distinction between 'sein' (understand what is going on) and 'sollen' (how can conditions be changed) in Weberian sociology.

An example of outstanding scholarship in the Frankfurter School tradition who turned to a kind of action research after 1968 is Oscar Negts work with the IG-Metall union in Germany in the seventies based on the idea of creation of a 'proletarian public sphere' (Negt, 1969 and Negt and Kluge, 1972), which also influenced the discourse and practice in leftist unions about Workers Power in (life long) learning.

This research became quite influential in the post 1968 wave of critical theory at many Scandinavian universities. These ideas were later further developed by Robert Jungh and his scholars in the practical methodology of *future workshops* as a tool for the development of practical ‘utopian sketches’ developed in joint cooperation with researchers (in the role as facilitators) and ordinary citizens (see later).

In the Nordic countries’ action research, the German Oscar Negt (Negt, 1969) inspired joint work with leftist trade unions, students and university researchers for a period. Action research developed a strong position in the students movement and parts of the research community in the seventies. In particular the post 68 ‘reform universities’ with three main bases in Scandinavia: Roskilde and Ålborg University in Denmark and Tromsø University in Norway.

At these universities multi- and interdisciplinary and problem-based learning organized around project groups (linking theory to analysis of concrete problems in the work place, in the neighbourhood, etc.) were the guiding principles. This created a institutional framework, which was open to experimentation with different types of action research. The idea of linking theory and practice in project group work was inspired by Paolo Freire’s pedagogical principles

The Scandinavian trauma

However the action research tradition came under strong attack in the changed political and intellectual climate of the eighties and nineties from (1) politicians claiming that this type of research was politics and not science and (2) powerful research evaluators (Sørensen, 1992) in the academic community, who (in a highly controversial evaluation report) argued that the scientific quality and performance of action research was low and not meeting acceptable mainstream standards The operation traumatised the research community for years.

The result was fewer grants and lower prestige for action research. Hence the Scandinavian history also clearly demonstrates that action research can be viewed as highly controversial in research policy as well as within the research community, where power struggles over what is regarded as ‘real and best’ science is always taking place.

However after the power struggles over action research, the tradition has in the last decade been reintroduced and revitalised – not the least due to the growing interest and research in

social innovation. In Denmark in particular action research materialized in the fields of urban regeneration, community empowerment and work life studies with trade unions.

Structure of the chapter

- The roots of action research
- The characteristics of action research
- The future workshop movement – a powerful methodology
- Challenges, risks and dilemmas in action research
- Future perspectives

Roots and principles of action research

Perhaps the ontology that is adopted in action research is best summarized in Kurt Lewin's classical phrase: "*The best way to understand things is to change them*" (Lewin, 1946). The ontology of action research has several sources of inspiration.

From a European perspective critical theory and the Frankfurter school is very important. Ernst Blochs and Herbert Marcuse (1941) for example argue that history has 'utopian flows', which are essential to mobilize actors in order to overcome 'reality power' (Marcuse 1941). Or the Norwegian sociologist Dag Oesterberg, (1971), who inspired by J.-P. Sartre emphasized the 'existentialist dimension of society', where reification is never absolute and reality is to be seen as 'unfinished'.

Another source to day could be Aristotelian Phronesis which highlights the challenge and value of practical, contextual and ethically grounded knowledge - rediscovered by the Danish planning researcher Bent Flyvbjerg (Rationality and Power. 1998) who links to a Foucauldian framework.

With regard to epistemology the point of departure in the European tradition for action research was among other things to overcome the *paradox* among classical critical intellectuals who would deconstruct reification and outline new horizons, but avoided *practical* commitments in movements working for alternatives.

In Action Research critical academic work is supplemented by advocating the active facilitation of democratic knowledge creation sketching ‘alternative futures’ or ‘utopian opportunity structures’.

Kurt Lewin’s - who is often considered as the ‘founding father’ of the action research movement - point of departure was criticism of the positivist tradition of ‘the controlled experiment’ (e.g. the Hawthorne workplace experiments in the US). The *socio-technical school* at the Tavistock institute in the UK became the base for development of alternatives to the dominating taylorist and fordist scientific management in the workplace.

In the Scandinavian countries the socio-technical school was most developed in Norway in the 1960’s with a broader scope: Industrial democracy (Thorsrud and Emery) and Action research as advanced innovative practically negotiated progressive ‘left corporatism’. Some good experiences were lived but the problem was their diffusion inside and outside the workplaces (Nielsen and Svensson, 2006).

In the seventies the movement was split between (a) a consensus and system oriented trend - the forerunner of modus 2 and (b) Left Radical Action Researchers working directly with workers and leftist trade unions. For them Industrial democracy was a reformist illusion...

The characteristics of action research

- Knowledge, Social change and Empowerment

- Action research makes claims to challenge power relations addressing the need for:
 - *Knowledge* as a resource which affects decisions
 - *Action* - which looks at who is involved in the production of such knowledge; and
 - *Consciousness* - which looks at how the production of knowledge changes the awareness or world view of those involved
1. Action researchers see themselves as *co-producers* of knowledge with social actors, thus democratizing or recovering the power of experts.
 2. Action research underlines the connection between understanding and changing/transforming ‘the order of things’ ‘Truths’ become products of a process in which people come together to share experiences through a dynamic process of action, reflection and collective investigation. At the same time, they remain firmly rooted in the

participants own conceptual worlds (Gaventa and Cornwall, 2001 in Sage Handbook of Action Research).

3. Action research supports collective action and change (social innovation) while at the same time producing new knowledge.

The future workshop movement

- the German and Roskilde tradition

“The greatest advantage treating Workshops (1981). of social experimentations... is the reduction of fear of social change” (Jungk, 1975)

Future workshop (FW) :

- (1) a methodology where local stakeholders/citizens/workers are driving forces in the production of future visions scenario building and plans for action;
- (2) the FW is facilitated by specific rules of communication in order to eliminate the influence of power relations within the group;
- (3) the FW is facilitated through specific rules of visualization and creativity. The FW is organized with plenary and group sessions. Statements are presented and commented upon by using posters.

The FW has 3 phases:

- The *Critique* Phase: What’s wrong? We are consequently negative. First there is a brainstorming session, where critical statements are listed. Then the participants vote about the negative statements. The facilitator finally summarizes prioritised themes.
- The *Utopian* Phase: Where would we like to go? In this phase we are situated in a perfect world, everything is possible. Dreams and visions are shared through the same procedures as in phase 1.
- The *Realization* Phase: We keep our dreams – but ask how can they become reality. First the utopia groups develop the ideas into concrete proposals, which are commented upon in plenum (Devils advocacy). In a second step, the groups make agreements about plans of action for the future.

- The outcome of FW is a typed protocol with concrete ‘utopian sketches’ and a plan of action, which participants have committed themselves to work on in the future – facilitated by the team of Actions Researchers acting as *mediators and facilitators*.

In the following steps more ambitious plans for social experimentation can be developed and implemented - e.g. the *Industry and Happiness* project, where the creation of a self-managed Ecological Workers Cooperative became the concrete objective of cooperation with female workers in the fishing industry (Olsen, Nielsen and Nielsen).

Challenges, risks and dilemmas in action research

The most important and difficult rule in action research:

1. *Knowledge* must be embedded in *cycles of action-reflection-action over time, moving from practical problem solving to more fundamental social transformation*: development of strategic capacity skills and orientation.

2. *Action* may represent ‘*blind*’ action rather than action which is informed by self-consciousness. Powerless/underprivileged groups may start to speak in a way that ‘echoes’ the voices of the powerful. This resonates Bourdieu’s symbolic violence, which Paulo Freire’s Pedagogy of the oppressed addresses.

Participatory processes must be aware not to overlook differences among participants and not to replace one set of dominant voices with another in the name of participation. Emphasis is placed on the value of social learning in action; if experimentation fails, action must be moved to higher levels (vertical empowerment).

3. *Reflection* must be embedded in *practice*. Therefore pure ‘consultation’ (e.g. Citizens Jury’s and other participatory methodologies) is not sufficient. The World Bank and others use participatory methodologies for consultation, but this usually does not create space for the action-reflection-action cycle.

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- Scandinavian web site : www.aktionsforskning.net

4.2 Partnership-based Research: A Mode of Production and Transfer of Knowledge

Jean-Marc Fontan, Denis Harrisson, Juan-Luis Klein

Introduction

Partnership-based university research has an important place in today's knowledge society. Even though concern has been raised about the classic practices and the implication of the 'community' factor of partnership research in regard to knowledge production and transfer, the success of the knowledge economy is now recognized to depend on the mutual recognition of needs, a definition of the shared problems, and a common search for solutions by the university and community sectors (Sajani & Mendell, 2007; Wiewel & Broski, 1997, p. 2). This model is largely inspired by the codification of contemporary research models such as 'Mode 2' or 'Triple Helix,' which make links between science, technology, and industry, in turn allowing for links to social science research and groups seeking solutions to different social problems. From that perspective, Godin et al. (2000) conducted a study on the changes of university policies regarding innovation in five countries: United States, Denmark, Canada, United Kingdom, and Norway. Results from that study show that research is gradually adopting a vision that is "more pertinent, closer to the users, more interdisciplinary, more collective" [translation] (p.33, cited in Lesemann, 2003). Etzkowitz et al. (1997 and 2000) contend that the university of the future will rely on sharing resources from private businesses, government laboratories, and universities (2000, p. 237). Also, the OECD sees the future of the university in its capacity to adapt to the demands of business.

The challenge then is to decide between a reorientation toward university research or a stronger connection with society. This chapter aims to show the impacts and stakes of partnership research starting with the Quebec experience (refer to other chapter). We begin by providing a summary of the different research models. Then, we present the origins and the development of partnership research, followed by a discussion on the collaboration between universities and the social economy in Quebec as well as its applications for local development. We conclude with a reflection on the conditions of success for that research model.

From the classic model to action research

It is useful to reconsider the two main classic forms of research: basic research and applied research. The first consists of producing new knowledge on social or organizational phenomena by referring to theories selected on epistemological or paradigmatic grounds. The second aims for an understanding of the problems and to provide a solution in order to contribute to the decision-making of the participant (Harrisson, 2006) and is often founded on theories or guidelines established for achieving that objective (Miller, 1991). The two forms are complementary rather than opposing. However, in the context of the knowledge society, a new research model has evolved, namely that of partnership research.

Partnership research is guided by a new paradigm that promotes a transdisciplinary, heterogeneous, and ephemeral mode of knowledge production (Gibbons et al., 1994). In that model, called Mode 2, the researcher is socially responsible and receptive. It includes a set of heterogeneous practitioners who collaborate to solve a defined problem in a specific context. The solution to the problem thus comprises empirical and theoretical components. The model focuses on the ties between academia and industry as well as between science and technology production, and is responsive to the social sciences and their respective research challenges. Many variants are thus possible. Action research, which we shall address later, is one of them.

Partnership research is a creative, methodological approach based on a dynamic matching of expertises between academia and social organizations (Hackney, 1994 and Walshok, 1995, cited in Fontan, 2007). It adopts a specific modality of knowledge production where the barriers between the researchers and actors of the organizations are, if not entirely eliminated, less pronounced. These two parties work together in a research approach characterized by a synchrony between knowledge production and transfer (Klein, 2007). Production of knowledge is made with the participation of actors, who apply new knowledge in their organisations and in their projects immediately after producing it. So a dialectic process of research and action is implemented. This change of attitude by the researcher promotes the exposure of knowledge, in turn allowing to coproduce new knowledge and initiate actions for development (Fontan & Bussières, 2003; Benson & Harkavy, 2000). In that approach, university research obtains a role that is more complex as well as stronger. Contrary to

fundamental research—which anticipates the action—and applied research—done for the actor—partnership research is conducted together with the actor (Klein, 2007).

The revival of partnership-based action research

The participation of university research in the development of communities goes back to the 19th century (Wilson, 2004, cited in Fontan, 2007). However, another 100 years had to pass until ties between university research and civil society were being established in earnest. In the beginning of the 1970s, the innovative ‘science shop’ system was implemented by Dutch student movements aiming to help non-profit organizations meet scientific challenges. Subsequently, science shop was adopted by Dutch universities and some dozen European countries, creating links between civil society and scientific groups (European Commission, 2004²³). It also strongly inspired countries beyond European borders, such as Canada, Israel, and the United States.

Science shops are at the interface of science and society and aim, with ambitious and direct research approaches, to channel the focus of research organizations to the needs of the collectivity.¹ Under the impetus of the emerging knowledge society during the 1980s, universities sought community involvement from a new angle. Especially in the United States, activities between society and university experienced a new vigour (Soska & Butterfield, 2005; Vidal et al., 2002, cited in Fontan, 2007).

In Quebec, partnership research is strongly supported by the government. The document of the *Conseil de la science et de la technologie du Québec* (1998) entitled ‘L’université dans la société du savoir et de l’innovation’ (The university in the knowledge and innovation society) regards the university as the most crucial resource of the new economy as well as one of the key actors of the innovation networks. “[The network] intensif[ies] the exchanges and collaborations between universities and employers” (p. 10) and “promote[s] liaison and collaboration mechanisms between university research and industry as well as the use of the results of university research by industry.” [translation] (cited in Lesemann, 2003).

²³ *Science Shops, Knowledge for the Community*. European Commission, 2004.

Action research in local development—the case of Quebec

The development of the collaboration between academia and the social economy in Quebec

Partnership research in Quebec is linked to the expansion of the social economy and the organizations representing it (Sajani & Mendell, 2007). For half a century now, university researchers have contributed to building the social economy, which has its roots in the 1960s when the models of knowledge exploration and production were developed by scholar-practitioners who linked academia with the cooperative sector.

From 1960 to 2005, the collaboration between academia and the social economy in Quebec was marked by two big waves (Fontan, 2007). The first occurred from 1960 to 1980 and is distinguished by the thematic and sectorial works realized by committed activist researchers from various social movements. From 1965 to 1975, important organizations and associations were created by researchers and practitioners to stimulate the development of the collective economy. Among these are the Centre interdisciplinaire de recherche et d'information sur les entreprises collectives²⁴ (CIRIEC-Canada) and the Institut de recherche et d'enseignement pour les coopératives²⁵ (1966). In 1970, the Université du Québec à Montréal created the Service aux collectivités (SAC), launched in partnership with unions, women's groups, and community and interest groups to give them access to university resources. During the same period, diverse research groups oriented toward partnership research emerged in the region, in particular the Groupe de recherche et d'intervention régionale (GRIR) in Chicoutimi and the Groupe de recherche interdisciplinaire sur le développement de l'Est du Québec (GRIDEQ).

The second wave, from 1980 to 2005, is characterized by government funding programs for new research structures at the federal and provincial levels. Research teams (1980s) and larger centres (1990s) were supported by the funding agencies. The first public organization to finance the development of partnership research in human sciences was the Fonds des services aux collectivités, with the support of the Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec. It was in that context that the Centre de recherche sur les innovations sociales (CRISES) was

²⁴ CIRIEC-Canada : <http://www.ciriec.uqam.ca/presentation.html>.

²⁵ IRECUS : <http://www.usherbrooke.ca/irecus/>.

founded in 1988²⁶—the first Quebec research centre with a mandate to focus exclusively on the social economy.

From the early 1990s up to 2005, in a spirit of the coproduction of knowledge with sectorial actors, Quebec was able to build a ‘global pole of excellence’ [translation] (Fontan, 2007) in partnership research. The research groups aligned with this research model comprise more than 250 Quebec, Canadian, and international researchers and work on social innovation, social development, and the social economy on multidisciplinary, interuniversity, interregional, and partnership-based levels.

New modes of funding

In Canada and Quebec, research in human and social sciences is mainly financed by public funds, and these were subject to major reforms over the last decade. New programs are now more oriented toward partnership research that aims to reconcile the interests of researchers with those of participants from the public and private sector, the community, and the social economy. We mention here the CURA program of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the objective of which is to create research alliances between universities and communities, as well as concerted action programs by the Fonds québécois de recherche sur la société et la culture. These new programs promote a type of knowledge production that seeks to respond to the needs and concerns of society in innovative ways (Harrisson, 2006).

With that goal, the development of social innovation is identified as a priority research domain in Quebec (Klein and Harrisson, 2007). In 2001, the government adopted a key strategy—*Politique québécoise de la science et de l’innovation* (Quebec science and innovation policy)—which aims to encourage the economic and institutional actors to develop a national system of innovation.

Action research in local development

On the level of local development in Quebec, partnership research plays a crucial role in socio-economic projects. For example, Technopôle Angus in Montreal led to direct research

²⁶ CRISES : <http://www.crisis.uqam.ca/>.

collaborations between community actors and researchers of the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) (Fontan, Klein, & Tremblay, 2004 and 2005). The project was initiated by Corporation de développement économique communautaire (CDEC), a community organization in Montreal's Rosemont borough, with the goal to encourage industrial diversification for the borough and to create local jobs. The CDEC and UQAM set up a research team of researchers and community representatives that was to examine which local development models would be the most appropriate for the borough and the site targeted for Technopôle Angus—a brownfield of a former large locomotive manufacturing company. To finance the research, the CDEC obtained funding from Canada Economic Development, the subsidy of which was administered by the Service aux collectivités of UQAM.

Thanks to the synergy and concerted efforts in regard to funding, structuring, and the active participation of the actors, the team was able to produce an important research report at the end of the project (Lévesque et al., 1996). The report, based on the 'industrial district' model, allowed to analyze the initiatives for converting or reconverting the local industrial zones and provided the actors with a new framework and proposed new avenues of action that could be applied to other experiences. Most importantly, however, the actors and researchers participated in all research stages and research results were applied immediately. Subsequently, the final report consisted of a summary of a body of knowledge that was, for the most part, already in application.

Partnership research offer pragmatic advantages. Encompassing a wide range of actors from the economic, political, cultural, and social sectors, the model offers a means for researchers to pursue the objectives of basic research all the while responding to utilitarian goals (Harrisson, 2006). To that end, it imposes essential conditions to assure that the research is efficient in terms of a) producing knowledge that is socially relevant and b) guaranteeing the immediate effect of the production/transfer process. Importantly, these conditions also call for a sufficient level of trust between the academic and non-academic members of the research team. Finally, they presuppose not only the stability of the administrative and financial framework, the pursued objectives, and the logistical support, but also a flexible and open attitude to collective learning by the team members (Klein, 2007).

However, the model's utilitarian orientation elicits reactions and concerns. Some researchers argue that a 'utilitarian and instrumental logic' of organizations poses a threat to the independence of university research (Pelletier, 2006). Care must therefore be taken such that the research model is not sacrificed for the benefit of business (Harrisson, 2006). That is why the partnership research model only evolves if it is also part of an institutionalized development process that meets the expectations of those who collaborate in the realization of a project, be that the government, the university, or associations and the community. In order to prevent the undue instrumentalization of research, researchers must strive to maintain their academic freedom, independence of thought, and freedom of action necessary for critical reflection on the research topic—this is a key condition of success of partnership research.

4.3 Research strategies for Asset and Strengths Based Development Community (Nola Kunnen)

Introduction

Among the community development approaches adopted recently in Australia and overseas are those emphasising recognition of the skills, resilience and knowledge within local communities as a key principle guiding research and development activities. These approaches draw on a variety of theoretical and practice approaches. Research strategies are integral to assets and strengths based development practice. Those most commonly used derive from qualitative, critical action research methodologies (Craps et al 2004; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005) or appreciative inquiry methods, a strengths oriented research approach derived from action research (Dick, 2004 & 2006; McNamee, 2004).

This paper is informed by community research practices enacted by the author and colleagues at Curtin University with the aim of enhancing individual and community capacity through the research process (Kunnen & Martin, 2008; Stehlik & Buckley, n/d). It provides a brief introduction to asset and strengths based community development, outlines the key research tasks and processes and concludes by identifying cautions relevant to research practice within these emerging approaches. Selected examples from a limited literature review are included.

Overview: Asset or strengths based community development

For clarity a short explanation of terminology is required. Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) is the terminology applied by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) from Northwestern University, Illinois. Strengths based community development perspectives draw on strengths-based theories and practice within mental health and social work (Saleebey, 1996) and share many similarities with ABCD. These approaches comprise varying perspectives that lack clear and concise distinctions however, two underlying principles are common. Firstly, that all communities and the people and organisations within them, have assets, skills, capacities and networks. Secondly, that effective community development begins with the identification of those assets, the building of relationships with and within communities and the use of assets and relationships in achieving the visions and plans emerging from the process. Irrespective of the terminology and origins of these approaches, a common emphasis is on capacities and abilities rather than shortcomings. This paper does not attempt to resolve the current overlap or lack of clarity within these approaches. The term asset or strengths

based community development is used as an all encompassing term and the following points are accepted as relevant to the focus of this paper.

Hughes et al (2007, p.113-114) explore a variety of strengths oriented community development approaches concluding that a resilient or strong community is not only safe (for residents), welcoming, environmentally aware and sustainable but also:

- A learning community – where knowledge, skills and confidence can be gained through community activity
- Fair and just – upholding civic rights, and equality of opportunity and recognising and celebrating diverse cultures
- Active and empowering - involving people in local organisations and having a clear identity and self-confidence
- Influential – consulted and providing input into decision-making
- Caring – aware of community members requirements and providing good quality services
- Economically strong – creating work opportunities and retaining a high proportion of its wealth.

Both ABCD and Strengths based perspectives recognise that communities where marginalisation and exclusion occur will require external resourcing. Beilharz (2002, p 4-6) and Young (2006) describe strengths based community development as characterised by recognition that justice, fairness and equality are essential components of healthy human society. Asset and strengths based approaches are characterised by a shared critique of community development policies and practices 'focusing on a community's needs, deficiencies and problems' (McKnight, 1997, p.168). They argue that such ideas inform a 'mental map' held by policymakers, practitioners and professionals interacting with communities. A problems focussed attitude contributes to marginalisation and exclusion by becoming embedded within local community members who then enact a deficit oriented perception of themselves, their neighbours and communities (Gardner & Jamieson, 2000; Young 2006).

Research Process

An asset oriented process comprises four key activities Green & Haines (2008 p. 12-13 citing Kretzmann & McKnight 1993). On occasions, additional steps may be required alongside those noted below. In a case study of a three year project, Beilharz (2002, p 14-26) reports

that a process of rapport building and information dissemination about the proposed project was undertaken for six months prior to the asset mapping or other activities, during which time a steering group was convened. While generally undertaken sequentially, some activities overlap. A brief description of the four activities follows, as asset mapping is a key research activity it is then discussed in more detail.

Asset mapping: The asset mapping process commences with a multi-layered and comprehensive inventory of a community's capacities, resources, networks and organisations and infrastructure. The process of identifying information that otherwise remains unrecognised assists in building interest, involvement and confidence that capacities and assets are available within that community.

Relationship building: The aim is on establishing and cultivating rapport, confidence and trust. At all stages, relationships remain strengths rather than deficit focused. In combination with motivation and capacity building, an asset based approach seeks to continually build relationships with and within communities and to engage people, through these relationships, in the processes of developing visions, priorities and action plans.

Motivation and building capacity: To varying degrees, asset based processes create opportunities for community members to increase their involvement, build skills and capacities, extending networks, using identified skills, talents and abilities to respond to identified needs, whether this be via voluntary or paid activities. Mathie & Cunningham (2003b, p.478) propose that one explanation for the capacity building potential of asset based perspectives is that 'communities and organisations move towards what gives them life and energy. To the extent that memory and the construction of everyday reality offer hope and meaning, people tend to move in that direction.'

Mobilizing resources: The purpose of the mapping process is twofold, firstly to identify resources that are readily available within the community and secondly to identify assets, such as connections, networks and knowledge that can assist in securing the required external resources.

Asset Mapping

The 'core' of any community's assets (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003b, p 477) are its formal and informal associations, networks and links. The process brings to the fore information about assets and knowledge of networks unlikely to be identified by needs or problems focussed community profiling or survey methods (Greene & Haines, 2008, p 10; Kretzmann & McKnight 199) particularly 'social assets, the particular talents of individuals, as well as the

social capital inherent in the relationships that fuel local associations and informal networks' (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p.474).

A comprehensive understanding of assets compiled from several sources (Building & Social Housing Foundation; Making HeadWay, 2003; Department for Victorian Communities; Green & Haines, 2008; Kretzmann, McKnight, & Sheehan 1997; Michigan State University, 1999; Thompson, 2003) for research purposes would comprise:

1. **People:** The knowledge, skills, talents, experience and expertise of individuals. Asset based perspectives emphasise the importance of gathering knowledge from and identifying the skills and talents from all groups and sub-groups within a community. This includes all age groups and specifically people most likely to experience exclusion and marginalisation.
2. **Places:** The places, natural resources, physical assets such as community buildings and meeting spaces, and the services and programs where people live, work and visit
3. **Networks, informal links and gathering places:** places and networks where people can interact informally, particularly those where people discuss and explore ways of responding to local issues
4. **Partnerships and networks:** Collaborative organisations or local partnerships, connections and networks that link the community and its members (i.e. stakeholder network groups, youth networks, local adult or community education networks, regional social or economic development forums; regeneration or revitalisation partnerships). Of particular importance are those organisations that promote and facilitate positive changes
5. **Association, groups, institutions and services:** Local associations (i.e. local commercial, professional or business networks, community centres), community groups, committees, recreational groups, clubs, residents or tenants organisations and institutions and services (i.e. schools, local government, community health, churches, emergency services).
6. **Local Business:** Economic linkages, local businesses and business leaders
7. **Culture:** mapping significant places, customs, behaviours, activities that have meaning to people and groups within the community.
8. **History and/or heritage:** Not only the chronological history, but also sites and stories of particular local significance because they help communicate the lived experience and local knowledge. These include previous processes, plans and efforts in community and economic development, such as community campaigns, community planning proposals,

community economic development projects, previous community visioning activities, other community development/involvement activities.

An inventory of individual assets can be completed by engaging people on an individual basis, as well as through contact at household, street by street, or employment level.

A short case study, *The Balingup Model*, included at Figure 1 summarises a capacity building research process in which community researchers and community input strategies were facilitated using an action research process.

Figure 5. Scenario – The Balingup Model

Research Task	<i>The aspirations of elderly residents, now and into the future.</i>
Background:	Research focussed on a small rural town in the south west of Australia. Requirements were for a rigorous research process emphasising community input, with a short timeframe with small budget. The researchers wanted to develop a process that would enhance capacity among all participants and build a positive research relationship with this community. Researchers' previous experience highlighted: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the importance of minimising the demands on community resources and time whilst devising strategies to ensure that local skills, knowledge and assets were integrated into the research process 2. caution about relying on limited community input given the multiple interests and opinions that are inevitably present even within small rural communities.
Asset building/strengthening Research aims	Through research practice, the research team aimed to: Build relationships, facilitate wide community input and involvement, establishing and maintain trust, improve research capacity (of research team and community), provide relevant and informed research findings.
Key steps:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Established rapport and connections with community • Community workshop #1: community inventory, input into design • Asset Mapping: identified important background and baseline data • Community workshop #2: test & refine survey tools and information packages • Information gathering: community researchers complete one-to-one and group interviews • Analysis & Results: research team • Public event: report findings and celebrate community researcher's role and contributions.
Strategies:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A local key contact person was identified in the early stages • Community researchers were identified through the initial workshop and the key contact person • Community input into the design ensured the survey was relevant, the terminology was appropriate for the task and that relevant people were identified for interview, • Researchers prepared surveys and information packages for community researchers • Community researchers recruited, trained and undertake information gathering. • Research team undertook analysis and reporting • Honorarium paid to community researchers to cover their costs • Capacity building of community researchers facilitated through training in survey techniques, ethics, confidentiality and informed consent. • Capacity building of research team through ongoing feedback from community researchers and debriefing on their experience • Knowledge about the community contributed through different strategies, community researchers gained new knowledge about their community and the experience of its elderly residents • Community researchers recognised at public event, certificates provided. • Trust and confidence in research process and findings established: good response rate achieved, feedback incorporated for future use.

Stehlik & Buckley, n/d, "Participative inquiry using a community-as-research approach: The Balingup model"

(under review)

Methodological influences & considerations

Four methodological influences are evident in the literature explored for this paper: action research, reflexivity, appreciative inquiry and social constructionism. Action research, and more particularly, critical action research (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005 p.579) reflects dialogical Freirian critical pedagogy and transformative community development traditions. It prioritises ‘macro-social’ research that accesses community knowledge in order to understand how local ‘sub practices are constitutive of lived social realities’ and aims to inform ‘a critical theory of social life’. Such research practices and methods emphasise social change, influencing the distribution of resources towards communities and, as Kemmis & McTaggart (2005, p 559) identify, direct research ‘toward discovering, investigating, and attaining intersubjective agreement, mutual understanding and unforced consensus’ about ways forward for local communities. Key points from research experience and literature review have been incorporated into cautions noted below.

Cautions & Limitations

Community is a ‘slippery’ concept (Green & Haines, 2008 p 1; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p 475) extending beyond communities of locality or place. Community interactions are increasingly fragmentary and diverse, often requiring consideration of multiple communities of interest (Hughes et al, 2007, p.115). The implementation of asset and strengths based perspectives is not limited to communities defined solely as communities of place.

An important caution emerges in the asset mapping process. The asset and strengths orientation within the asset mapping focus is crucial to its success (Gardner & Jamieson, 2000), however asset mapping is not a means for masking or ignoring contested issues or conflicts within communities. The process emphasises the importance of commencing dialogue and research by mapping what is present, rather than what is absent. Commencing with a focus on conflicts, problems, negatives or tensions replicates the deficits-oriented approach that has historically been the starting point of policies and programs. Priority should be given to initially focusing discussion on goals, strengths and potential (Green & Haines, 2008, p.8).

In our experience, developing and retaining a strengths orientation, requires ongoing reflexivity by researchers (Kunnen & Martin, 2008). Capturing and communicating the rich experiences and multiples perspectives of participants requires an analytical approach that

accommodates multiple accounts of shared experiences. Just as community members readily adopt a deficit-oriented perspective in relation to their individual and community skills and capacities, it is essential for researchers to maintain the habit of avoiding a deficits focus. One strategy we have found effective is to incorporate regular debriefings, with community researchers and within research teams to provide space and focus for reflexive process. In a similar vein, McNamee (2004) uses Appreciative Inquiry and advocates social constructionist analysis as it acknowledges the ‘coherent forms of practice and sense-making that emerge from the differing day-to-day activities of participants’ (McNamee 2004, p.407). She also draws attention to the relevance of integrating praxis-oriented and reflexive processes and techniques that aim to facilitate a ‘transformative dialogue’ through the research process. Furthermore and key to inductive knowledge-building process relevant to community development a social constructionist methodology allows for knowledge building through a ‘practical and generative’ process (McNamee 2004, p.408 citing Gergen 1992).

Our experience reinforces the importance of not short-cutting the relationship-building, consultation and planning phases of the research process. For many years, community development theory and practice has grappled with the complexities of tokenistic participatory strategies (Jordan, 2004; Kothari & Cooke, 2001; Kunnen 2005).

Finally, community oriented practices require an awareness that aims, programs and terminology waxes and wanes with shifts in policies and programs. Policies and programs have been influenced by social capital theory, to the extent that ‘community’ has been described as once the ‘modern elixir for much of what ails ... society (Sampson, 2008, p.163). Any community practice requires a caution given the propensity for communities, even those most enthusiastically engaged in mapping assets and developing communities, to exhibit exclusionary and divisive processes from within, in addition to any marginalizing influences arising from external and contextual factors (Sampson, 2008, p.163). It is this tendency that underpins the importance of building relationship with and within community, engaging the diverse range of stakeholders within any community and mapping fully available knowledge, resources, skills and networks as the first stages of research practice.

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4.4 Social and solidarity-based economy (SSE) as a new field of public action for promoting and implementing social innovation (Laurent Fraisse)

Introduction

This chapter looks at the emergence of local public policies dedicated to the social and solidarity-based economy (SSE) in France as a case study for analysing policies and methods that support social innovation.

Social innovation is a broad concept. In this chapter, we refer to the Integrated Area Development definition (Moulaert *et al.*, 2010) as grassroots initiatives based on the satisfaction of basic human needs, the empowerment of excluded social groups and communities for accessing social and citizen rights, and social changes in power relationships as well as transformations of governance practices.

Social innovation has often been associated in the literature to social and solidarity based economy (see box 1) (Bouchard, 2007; Levesque, 2007; Nussbaumer, Moulaert, 2007; Richez-Battesti, 2009). Obviously, social innovation cannot be reduced to SSE because it covers a broader spectrum of individual motivations, collective actions, organisation types, social networks and societal transformations that cannot be limited to materials and economic purposes, even if defined in a substantive and non formal sense (Polanyi 1983; Laville, 2006). Moreover, not all SSE organisations are by essence innovative. Researchers have pointed out the permanent risk to SSE initiatives of institutional isomorphisms (DiMaggio & W. Powell, 1983) through market pressures or instrumentalisation by local government.

However, SSE is often presented as a laboratory for social innovation (Levesque, 2007). Several reasons can be highlighted to explain the close links between social innovation and SSE. First, the societal goals of economic action are distinctive characteristics of many SSE initiatives and enterprises. The motivations of entrepreneurs and groups of people to take the risk involved in starting an economic activity is not simply profit-based, and the final aim of the economic activity is often to serve the community. Secondly, throughout its history SSE has invented non-capitalist business statutes (co-ops, mutual societies, not-for-profit organisations) and promoted self-management practices. SSE has continued to innovate during the last 20 years through the dissemination of new legal forms of social enterprisesⁱ (Defourny, Nyssens, 2008) which include an explicit social aim of participatory organisation

and/or multi-stakeholder governance. Third, conceptualised from a plural economic perspective (Laville, 2006) or in terms of the economy of diversity (Gibson-Graham, 2008), SSE has contributed to understanding the crucial role played by non-capitalist economic practices to achieve social well-being and environmental regeneration. The analysis of hidden and alternative economies, such as SSE but also the economy of care, the non-monetary economy, the ecological economy, and local and complementary currencies, are considered as part of a performative ontology of the economy, which emphasises the differences, possibilities, and potential of SSE to produce new representations of the economy based on solidarity, cooperation and democracy.

Social Economy, Solidarity-based Economy, Social Enterprise: definitions

Social Economy

A statutory and legal approach to social economy groups including mutual benefit societies, cooperatives and associations based on shared organisational principles: voluntary participation, membership and commitment; democratic decision-making process in accordance with the one member, one vote principle; the priority of members and work over capital in the distribution of revenue and surplus (not for individual gain) and independence and autonomy from the State. More generally, the ‘social economy’ is the generic term used to designate a society of people (as opposed to a capitalist company) that plays an economic role.

Solidarity-based economy

Not limited to social economy organisations, the civil and solidarity-based economy can be broadly defined as a perspective centred on all production, distribution and consumption activities contributing to the democratisation of the economy based on citizen commitments and a public engagement in civil society (Eme, Laville, 2006). This approach stresses the predominance of the principle of reciprocity over market and redistribution principles within the emergence of economic initiatives, as well as the hybridisation of market, non-market and non-monetary resources in their consolidation and development. This balance can only be economically tenable in systems with an affirmation of public commitment and a critique of prevailing market economy standards.

Social enterprise

According to the EMES definition (Defourny, 2006), social enterprises can be defined as “organisations with an explicit aim to benefit the community, initiated by a group of citizens and in which the material interest of capital investors is subject to limits. They place a high value on their independence and on economic risk-taking related to ongoing socio-economic activity.”

Local public policies in favour of the development of the social and solidarity-based economy in France

Whereas the 1980s were, to a certain extent, the first phase of institutionalisation of the social economy at the national level, with the recognition of some national umbrella groups and the creation of a national delegation for the social economy, the 2000s witnessed the first signs of integration of the social and solidarity-based economy into public action.

Since the short-lived Secretary of State for the Solidarity-based Economy (2000-2002), a significant change has been the emergence of local public policies dedicated to the social and solidarity-based economy (Laville, 2005; Fraisse, 2009), with the election of hundreds of solidarity-based economy delegates in local authorities after the municipal elections of 2001 and 2008, and the regional elections of 2004 and 2010. In many cities (Nantes, Lille, Grenoble, etc.) and most regions (Nord-Pas de Calais, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, etc.), local policies mobilising social and solidarity-based economy organisations and local networks have been gradually implemented.

For example, almost each of France's twenty-two regions now has an elected representative responsible for the social and solidarity-based economy and an SSE department, usually employing 1 or 2 people. Budgets run from 1 to 3 million euros, or from 7 to 20 million if employment support and 'work integration social enterprises' measures are included. Often falling under the responsibility of the department for economic development, SSE themes can also be found in departments dealing with employment, sustainable development, decentralized co-operation, etc.

Social innovation as a strategic field for building a public SSE policy

As with every new area of public action, the social and solidarity-based economy has to forge its own legitimacy within the institutional architecture framed by existing policies, which are characterized by the vertical separation that exists between economic development, employment and social cohesion, environmental protection and sustainable development. *Our hypothesis is that social innovation is one of the primary factors for legitimisation of the social and solidarity-based economy as a new area of public action.*

The visibility of a policy for the social and solidarity-based economy is based on three separate strategies. The first requires a collective mobilisation of stakeholders, entrepreneurs

from various sectors, and other bodies in the public space via the medium of special events (forum, collective exhibitions, social and solidarity-based economy month,²⁷ etc.). The second strategy centres on an enhanced and quantifiable understanding of the social and solidarity-based economy on the different areas. Policies for the social and solidarity-based economy have made it easier to provide statistics²⁸ for the size of the social and solidarity-based economy in terms of the number of organisations and jobs, total turnover and sectors involved for any one region or urban area. Taking into account the performative impact of figures in the public debate, stating that the social and solidarity-based economy represents from 7 to 13% of organisations and employment depending on the region, or that the growth rate of job creation in SSE is twice as great as the average, is a crucial argument to elected representatives and social and solidarity-based economy entrepreneurs.

The third strategy is to *make use of the social and solidarity-based economy as a policy for social innovation in its own right*. Support for innovative initiatives as part of the creation of local social and solidarity-based economy policies is one of the strategic lines²⁹ in place in many territories. This policy is primarily a response to the demands of SSE actors and organisations, which feel that the usual criteria for financial mechanisms and business creation methods are unsuited to the SSE, and sometimes even discriminating. Social and solidarity-based economy projects are often seen as atypical, which means that they are misunderstood. The co-production of services, social entrepreneurship and multi-stakeholder dynamics, the hybridisation of commercial, non-commercial and voluntary resources as well as their outputs and impacts on social cohesion (job creation, internalisation of social and environmental costs, social and community equity, and participation in and renewal of local governance, etc.) are all aspects that do not fit in with local authorities' usual policies in supporting economic and social development.

Support for SSE initiatives is also an issue that concerns the visibility and legitimacy of a new field of public action and relies on the exemplary nature and number of initiatives in an area. Raising awareness of local initiatives and supporting their diversity in terms of sectors and

²⁷ In November 2008, over 900 events were held across 20 regions in France (<http://www.lemois-ess.org/>).

²⁸ For example, the first national atlas of the social and solidarity-based economy, compiled by the National Council of Regional Chambers of the Social and Solidarity-based Economy (CNCREs), <http://www.cncre.org/>

²⁹ In addition to support for local initiatives, the main lines for social and solidarity-based economy policies tend to be: SSE information, awareness and communication; organising and supporting networks of actors; budget and funding capacity for SSE organisations; horizontal inclusion of SSE in common law policies (including, in particular, economic, employment and social policies), and modifying local economic regulations (e.g. introduction of social and environmental clauses on public markets).

statutory forms is primarily a means of making the SSE's presence felt and demonstrating its importance in the public arena. It is also the implicit counterpart in terms of the long-term involvement of stakeholders which are often asked by elected representatives to co-produce public policies. Visiting grassroots initiatives, improving their characteristics and outputs are finally a pedagogical and political tool to convince elected representatives and administrative departments which are unfamiliar with SSE.

Diversity of SSE initiatives

Studies of local SSE policies supported by local authorities in France (Fraisie, 2008) demonstrate the diverse sectors covered by SSE initiatives. This diversity makes it difficult to summarise the variety of new activities developed by SSE entrepreneurs in different areas. This not only includes responsible consumption and fair trade, microcredit and social finance, care and personal services for elderly people, early childhood and inter-generational mutual aids, community and work integration social enterprises, micro and small enterprise creation and development, especially among the unemployed, migrants, women, but also car-sharing and mobility assistance, eco-building, social housing and access to city centre accommodation for young people and temporary workers, local exchange systems and complementary currencies, renewable energy production and energy efficiency supports, community support agriculture and organic foods distribution, waste recycling and reuse, development cooperation and ethical tourism initiatives, collaborative web and free software, and platforms for cultural creation and exchange between artists and residents.

This diversity of sectors confirms that it is impossible to categorise the social and solidarity-based economy in one sector or industry alone. Several elected representatives have been determined not to reduce social and solidarity-based economy policies to the single issue of job creation and social cohesion. This has proved decisive in producing a diversity of forms of socio-economic innovation in the city.

Social utility as a criterion for supporting and evaluating projects

Prioritising the development of local initiatives within local SSE development programmes often means redefining and broadening the criteria for supporting, funding and evaluating socio-economic activities. Local SSE policies do not exist in isolation, and often have to collaborate with existing programmes for supporting business creation, fighting against social exclusion and funding voluntary organizations.

Two strategies for supporting initiatives, sometimes complementary, have been identified. The implementation of specific SSE programmes is doubtlessly the most frequently adopted approach. It often takes the form of putting out calls for projects with specific procedures and allocation and funding criteria. It can also take the form of different activity creation support programmes that, depending on the area, differentiate the project design, start-up and development phases and have different funding methods for each stage. And it can sometimes be more targeted by focusing on one type of new type organisation, such as Société Coopérative d'Intérêt Collectif (SCIC), Business and Employment Co-operatives (BEC), social incubators, or on the conversion of companies into coops.

A complementary strategy consists of integrating the SSE as far as possible into existing policies. This involves making funding allocated to private for-profit companies available to SSE organisations. The goal is to change the elected representatives, local authority workers and other local economic actors' perception of local economic development.

However, defining suitable criteria for calls for projects or obtaining specific budgets do not suffice to promote socio-economic innovation. Altering elected representatives' and the administration's culture and methods of advising, assessing and selecting socio-economic projects, assisting and training social entrepreneurs and taking into account the mix of SSE initiative funding are also necessary.

SSE policies: local and organisational solutions with low institutional impacts on economic framework and representation?

One of the main criticisms of local SSE policies is that they focus only on the emergence of new grassroots initiatives and small- and medium- social enterprises, rather than the development of existing and larger social economy organisations such as co-ops and mutual companies which have to face the upscaling of development strategies and competitive challenges at the national or European levels. In others words, local SSE policies marginally affect global economic players that structurally frame the main modes of production and consumption as well as capital, labour and natural flows.

A similar criticism is based on the ability of local SSE policies to consider only the entrepreneurial and organisational dimensions of social innovation without taking the institutional aspects into account. Promoting social entrepreneurs, supporting local initiatives, allocating a specific budget to SSE, etc., have only marginal impacts on the local economic

system. Social innovation is implicitly viewed as an accumulation of micro changes, a dissemination and reproduction of good practices rather than structural changes to the rules of competition, working conditions, norms of consumption, budget allocation systems or economic representation.

The risk of building a specific policy dedicated to SSE initiatives and organisations is the creation of an additional niche of public action which does not fundamentally modify the main decision-making process of economic and social development policies.

A policy of social innovation through the promotion of SSE is still often presented as no more than innovative solutions for tackling new social problems and new aspirations that neither the market nor the public sector can meet. From this perspective, social innovation is functionally seen as a complementary and subsidiary solution to failures by the market or the state.

Several authors have underlined the limits of this narrow concept of SSE as a collection of innovative initiatives and/or social enterprises without considering its potential and impacts on socio-economic transformations.

From a broader perspective, SSE has been presented as a potential agent for a new social compromise (Bélanger, Boucher, Lévesque, 1994) in a post-Fordist society, a means for economic democratisation (Laville, 2006), and key stakeholder in a local welfare mix system (Evers, Laville, 2004) or in an integrated area development model (Moulaert and Leontidou, 1994; Hillier, Moulaert, Nussbaumer, 2004).

This institutional perspective of social innovation seems to be crucial to avoid the several dangers such as institutional isomorphism (Enjolras, 1995) and localism (Moulaert and al., 2007; Amin, 2007). The recognition of innovative solutions promoted by the SSE through local public policies is not always sufficient to escape them being perceived as ordinary service providers and being co-opted by market pressures or their functional and local integration as instruments of social cohesion policies.

Studies of social innovation have also insisted on the dangers of localism (Hillier, Moulaert, Nussbaumer, 2004, p.149). The long-term success of social innovation depends on the capacity of local SSE stakeholders to be committed in multi-level governance systems, to become part of trans-territorial networks and to mobilise monetary and non-monetary

resources from beyond their immediate geographical area. Thus there is an absence of multi-level governance of the social and solidarity-based economy in France. The lack of European and national policies in support of the social and solidarity-based economy limits the opportunity for disseminating certain territorially-based innovations.

SSE local public policies as an innovative pole of resistance in the face of the expansion of market rules and commoditization of common goods and services

In spite of the persistence of doubts and criticisms of the SSE as an innovative tool for the development of new social and territorial compromises capable of creating a virtuous circle of local development linking creation of economic activities, social cohesion, and participative democracy, the existence of local SSE policies could be considered as an institutional innovation in itself. SSE could be analysed as a pole of resistance in a context of the extension of competition rules and dissemination of new public management methods. In the face of commoditization of common goods and services in particular in health and care, arts and culture, social housing, education and environmental protection fields, SSE policies preserve and foster governance spaces that are amenable to social innovation.

As underlined by González, Moulaert & Martinelli (2010, p.73-74), social innovation supposes transformation in local governance practices and changes in existing power relationships. Without being revolutionary, local SSE policies are a recent but useful institutional mediation for social innovation in local governance systems. Firstly, because many SSE local policies are often the result of co-production and a co-construction of public action (Vaillancourt, 2009) based on inclusive and permanent processes of civil society contributions. This co-construction is not only the consequence of the will of local politicians to democratize public action in conformity with SSE's values and managements principles. It is also vital to the creation of a large coalition of stakeholders able to put pressure on the local decision-making process and change local development priorities. Secondly, because SSE policies have invented criteria and evaluation methods for grassroots initiatives based not only on external evaluation frameworks that strengthen the accounting control of public authorities and limit innovation potential. Participatory and negotiated evaluation processes of projects with the commitment of SSE actors and the public authorities via mixed commissions have been proposed to avoid the risks of administrative instrumentalisation and of discrimination in budgetary allocation of public resources due to dominant managerial and business representations.

From the social and economic embeddedness of the market to the limits of competition

The first generation of policies for the social and solidarity-based economy often comprised the creation of specific mechanisms for supporting socio-economic innovation. To go beyond this requires no longer limiting interventions to the symbolic success of a handful of projects in any particular area, but instead requires changes to local governance and the ability to influence socio-economic development on the basis of the values of democracy, cooperation and solidarity that are both proclaimed and practiced by the social and solidarity-based economy.

Social and environmental clauses on public markets, aid for economic development conditional on social and environmental criteria, responsible and sustainable public purchasing, platforms for multi-stakeholder cooperation and community dynamics, local funds for financing social innovation: these are some examples of socio-economic governance that can transcend the opposition between community competitiveness and local initiatives that compensate for the social cohesion deficit.

Recent experience with social, environmental and even equitable clauses stand as examples of strategies for making the social and solidarity-based economy an engine for a plural and mixed economy. In France, purchases made in the context of public procurements, account for in excess of 8% of GDP. There would be important scale and domino effects following the imposition of ecological and social requirements on these markets. Such a change requires considerable expertise as well as political persuasion targeting elected representatives and the technical services working for local authorities, whose long-term commitment is a decisive factor.

Existing initiatives demonstrate that one of the effective strategies for governance of the social and solidarity-based economy lies in co-constructing supply and demand upstream when setting the specifications, aiming, depending on the sector, to:

- tailor public orders to suit the size of social enterprises;
- change the scale of the offer, by providing technical support and assistance to local producer groups;
- create partnership arrangements with other local businesses, bearing in mind the employment needs of particular areas.

There are several regional initiatives of great interest as far as the conditionality of economic aid to businesses is concerned. In the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region, participation by social and solidarity-based economy stakeholders in discussions about the economic development policy was instrumental in ending the model that provided aid only to large businesses, considering their uncertain impact on local employment, moving towards a model founded on repayable loans.

In early 2007 in the Limousin region, the elected representative responsible for the social and solidarity-based economy introduced an adjustment mechanism — up to double — in the value of aid to business as a function of economic, social and environmental criteria. Every enterprise was encouraged to improve their practices in terms of employee participation in corporate governance and profit-sharing schemes, sustainable job creation and involvement in local and regional development.

But aside from the introduction of societal criteria other than price in the regulation of local markets, *the question of the limits to competition* becomes an urgent issue to address. In a context where organisations in the social and solidarity-based economy are, in the name of so-called 'virtuous competition', increasingly placed on an equal footing with every other public and private (for-profit) operator, without paying attention to their different aims and contribution to the community, to their governance methods and to the limited distribution of surplus, it may well be vital to prove that the market is by no means the sole and unique prospect for local development.

The logics of competition and public service delegation — the restrictive alternative underpinned by the European framework (services directive) — leave little space for local policies for social innovation. Under either regulation, the assumption is that the broad outline of the general interest is known by the local authorities and defined under the terms of specifications that set out in advance the needs, price, public and content of the service to be performed.

In the face of the fact that calls for tender appear to be becoming the norm of public action, including the management of social services of general interest, social and solidarity-based economy policies are reminders that social innovation plays a fundamental role today as it did yesterday in the co-construction and co-production of the common good, based on public interventions and claims of grassroots initiatives as well as collective and self-managed forms

of production and distribution.

Local SSE policies contribute, at their own level, to the preservation of the ability to make direct purchases that by-pass the competitive process, to the establishment of partnerships between public authorities and the local community, to the negotiation of subsidies and other support that are vital conditions for ensuring the funding of social innovation at a time when social enterprises increasingly tend to be considered as simple providers of services rather than partner of public policies.

A future challenge for SSE local policies is to build a space for promoting social innovation as a strategic way to achieve local governance of a plural and mixed economy. Integrated development and social cohesion in existing urban local economies depend on the recognition of plural mechanisms of resource allocation where market mechanisms are regulated and combined with public planning as well as multiple partnership and cooperation between local stakeholders. Developing social innovation through SEE policies can contribute to the preservation of 'economic biodiversity' as a condition for reinforcing the social resilience of local economic and social cohesion to external shocks. The unprecedented economic and social crisis reminds us how those communities and cities that did not place all their faith in financialising their economies and in permanent competition are now more able to adapt and innovate.

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4.5 Considerations of the knowledge and social change value of Participatory Action Research (PAR) and case-studies (Len Arthur)

Introduction

The history of Participatory Action Research (PAR) raises key issues relating to the relationship between the form of social research as methodological processes and its content as phenomena and social context. These form and content issues have, in turn, implications for the wider considerations of Katarsis WP4 and WP5 with respect to the relationship of epistemology and methodology within the context of social innovation. This section will first review form and content issues involved in the historical experience of PAR and then, second, review the epistemic warrant of case studies and the extent to which PAR may make a contribution to this.

Background to Action Research

PAR is a more recent development of action research that evolved from the field of social psychology in the mid 1940s and early 1950s. Kurt Lewin, a German émigré to the USA who had worked with the critical theorists in the Frankfurt School, was commissioned under a New Deal programme in the 1940s to help develop methods of reducing racial tensions in social housing estates. The outcome of this work, which involved forms of participatory activity of those affected in defining the problems and devising change activities became to be described as a process of action research. Similarly, in the UK during the late 40's and 50's the Tavistock Research Institute in London developed research techniques drawn from anthropology which gave a privileged position to the actor's definition and understanding of the situation and how this affected social behaviour. Much of the early Tavistock work was undertaken within the field of a human relations approach to work. Essentially, this was aimed at understanding how actors saw and acted in the world of work, and how improved communications might aid the reduction of conflict at work.

By the late 1950's and in the period of rising workplace industrial action in both the USA and the UK the methodological form of Lewin's and Tavistock's started to emerge as action research and a method that might be used from a human relations perspective to manage conflict and change at work. Lewin's concepts of 'unfreeze' and 'refreeze' as new behaviour seemed particularly attractive as a management technique to improve productivity through a communications process that did not necessarily involve negotiating with trade unions. The

form of action research as a methodological process became incorporated into the top down more manipulative ‘management of change’ approaches. The form thus became separated from its original progressive social purpose content of overcoming racial tensions and improving community relations. The content moved from improving the solidarity between equals to being part of a process of domination by those who had more power at work. As part of the process of action research becoming a management technique there was an associated refinement of its methodological form toward a close relationship being seen with ‘quasi-experimental’ methods, where the change proposed by management would be the independent variable and the acceptance of the change being the dependent variable. In essence the loss of progressive social content and the actor’s understanding of the situation was sealed by a move toward positivism where far from being an involved participant, those being studied became an abstract dependent variable.

Participatory Action Research

Participatory Action Research (PAR) evolved partly as a methodological reaction to the removal of content from action research and to reclaim its roots by attempting to put the researcher and those being researched on a more equal footing; and secondly, as a parallel development by social scientists and researchers who were committed to more contentious and progressive social change than management consultants. In this regard the works of Paulo Freire and the argument of Antonio Gramsci in relation to workers being seen as ‘organic intellectuals’ are quite relevant. However, the tension between form tending to dominate over content has not necessarily been resolved. For example, one of the strengths of PAR is the upward spiral idea of the original circular idea moving forward from reflection; problem definition; develop and application of a solution; then back to evaluation and reflection as the next stage forward. This approach has been adopted as a management technique known as ‘double loop’ thinking and is seen as an essential building block of developing a ‘learning organisation’ where communication is seen to be so effective that all employees – whatever their power – will collectively work toward the improvement of quality and productivity dictated through managerial power.

The Katarsis project and the two previous related projects DEMOLOGOS and SINGOCOM have partially avoided this danger by placing an emphasis on emancipatory social innovation that is firmly located within a political economic analysis of international capitalism. Both of these projects explore how international capitalism creates an unequal society where a large

proportion of the population is excluded from the opportunities opened up by the productive power of the mode of production, despite being central to the process of production. Forms of exclusion have been conceptualised by the projects to describe the denial of opportunities and power in terms of lost rights, capabilities and unsatisfied basic needs: exclusion from social, economic, symbolic and political capitals. The KATARSIS project has explored social innovation as forms of socially creative strategies and processes of social transformations that have developed in response to these inequalities and exclusions.

By defining the social context in this exclusionist manner and subsequently defining social innovation as a way of reacting to the problems of inequality that result, questions can be raised about the validity of the outcomes as the epistemic framework is limited by considerations of values and ethics. The question is to what extent are there grounds using validity as an aid to the process of effective working of social change within the relationship of epistemic warrant and metaphysical necessity.

Max Weber (Shils & Finch 1969) argued the case in 1922 that it was possible to sharply separate factual and ethical questions but also argued that they were interdependent. He proposed that ethical values entered the decision about what the social scientist was to study but that once this decision was made it was possible to employ a methodology that was not affected by the scientist's value system. In terms of methodological practise Weber seems to imply that as long as the social scientist is open about the ethical values' starting point, a methodology can then be employed which is abstracted from these values.

The importance of the Sociology of Knowledge and discourse of Social Realism as possible approach to practically working through this discourse has been proposed within the KATARSIS project. Within the parameters of this discourse Hilary Putnam (2002) has

“... argued that even when the judgements of reasonableness are left tacit, such judgements are presupposed by scientific inquiry... I have argued that judgements of reasonableness can be objective, and I have argued that they have all the typical properties of value judgement. In short I have argued that my pragmatist teachers were right ‘knowledge of facts presupposes knowledge of values’”.

He argues therefore, that fact and value are inextricably tangled in the scientific process and although he does not suggest a simple methodological answer, recognising this relationship is more likely to provide an effective scientific way forward than one that denies the role of

value or ‘reasonableness’ to use his term. It seems to me that the KATARSIS endeavour is working within the parameters of what could be described as a ‘neo-pragmatist’ discourse. It is therefore, ‘reasonable’ to desire social innovation that challenges social exclusion as being ‘unreasonable’; that it is possible to produce warrantable valid data to demonstrate the nature and the extent of this exclusion and, conversely, it is possibly to produce warrantable valid data seeking to demonstrate how social innovation can challenge such exclusion.

Case Studies

As case studies are largely the basis of the information used to explore the effectiveness of social and cultural strategies within the KARTARSIS project it is helpful to give some consideration to their validity or epistemic warrant.

Critical Realism (CR) has re-emphasised the usefulness of a categorisation of the validity of methodology into different underlying logics. Bhaskar (1979) argues that the phenomena of sciences are such that they can be divided into those that are largely amenable to the logic of experimental manipulation through ‘closed systems’ and those that are not so amenable and therefore require to be subject to the logic of ‘open systems’ of analysis. Explore application of this to case studies together with the distinction between population and ecological validity. Over the last 15 years, especially with the development of qualitative research software, increasing consideration has been given to methods of analysing qualitative case study data and forms of presentation. What is becoming clear is that it is possible, if it is desired, to move from descriptive case study presentation to one where possible casual relationships can be identified and indeed established, but operating within the case study context. This can be described using the pragmatist term as a process of ‘abduction’ or analytical induction. More controversially I would suggest that if casual mechanisms can be identified during the process of analysis, then open system research using case studies might be able to claim epistemic warrant through the logic of internal validity as well as that of ecological validity.

Considerations of the analysis of qualitative case study data through processes of abduction or analytical induction, interestingly, also return these comments to PAR and the circular and spiral process of understanding referred to earlier.

Discuss generalisation and contrast with transferability or abstraction and relevance of audience and possibility of valid inspiration or emulation.

Relation to ‘form’ and the KATARSIS project

The content of the KATARSIS project was to explore the extent to which social and cultural strategies of the ‘excluded’ can be seen as forms of emancipation from and beyond the ‘dynamics of social exclusion’ – hence provides context of ‘reasonableness’ for analysis and application of PAR process.

How the form of these research processes and the emancipatory purposes of the content of the KATARSIS project may enhance each other requires issues of social and political power to be taken into account. Essentially the argument revolves around the extent to which a judgement can be made about the direction or trajectory of social change – whether toward emancipation or integration into the existing power structures through incorporation.

Consequently, our argument is that within the purpose of the KATARSIS research to identify the extent to which social and cultural studies are able to contend the dynamics of social exclusion. Form and content can be brought together by asking further questions about the trajectories of the example case studies and whilst using in part PAR processes are they doing so – using the PAR spiral for examples - within the context of a trajectory of degeneration or renewal: toward more contained contention or toward transgressive contention. Recognising these trends and making judgements about them is not easy.

Two examples may help to illustrate the point

1. *Deviant mainstreaming*. Explored as process of making the future now and developing strategies to move from contained contention to transgressive contention.
2. *Transitional actions and demands*. The idea is to develop a demand that would provide a solution to a problem facing people, but if satisfied would reduce the power or act as a defeat for elites: achieving transgressive contention.

In the context of the KATARSIS project, deviant mainstreaming and transitional actions and demands are suggested as concepts that allow form and content to be considered together in exploring the relationship between PAR and case studies. They both direct attention to the trajectory of the aims and strategies of social movements under study and the extent by which the members are working toward maintaining a ‘contained contention’ situation or one of ‘transgressive contention’.

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PART 5. TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY FOR SOCIAL INNOVATION RESEARCH

Introduction: the existential qualifiers of social innovation research (Serena Vicari)

This last part of the report reflects upon the methodology for social innovation research. Earlier chapters have discussed the implications of different ways to establish case study work and on directions (e.g. Action Research) which can help bridge between the ideological political significance, the role of theory, and building coherent methodologies to support social innovation research and action.

The final part, therefore, first stresses the significance of trans-disciplinarity in social innovation research. In chapter 5.1, Novy and Beinstein systematically indicate trans-disciplinarity as a *conditio sine qua non* for social innovation research. Any understanding of social innovation research would remain incoherent unless stakeholders are engaged at different stages of the research process. This means that social innovation research is inherently trans-disciplinary. It is built – and taken together – with the stakeholders. This aspect particularly emerges stronger with the calls for multidimensional approaches to social innovation research.

Any reference to multidimensionality remains unfulfilled without a sound reference to gender and diversity. Not only does this relate to the pragmatic collective action agenda, but also to the ethical issues that have been raised throughout this book. Isabel André in chapter 5.2 therefore, brings the gender, equality and respect for diversity in a solid ethical positioning. This also implies an orientation of collective action in the fields of social and human emancipation in general. It offers an opportunity for new initiatives and socially creative actions. For example, the multi-ethnic entrepreneurship, emerging as a new economic sector as well as an arena for dialogue setting, allows people with different ethnic backgrounds and ideological affinities, to get together for joint actions in building new views of the future.

Chapter 5.3 stresses the holistic research methodology and pragmatic collective action as particularly appropriate for social innovation research. The reason being that holistic research methodology puts the stress on comparative analysis of concrete experiences. At the same time the comparative analysis led by theoretical instructions makes the connection to the ethical judgement, as in the case of ontology in the pragmatic collective action approach put forward by Deleuze. Bridging pragmatism and holistic research leads to the construction of powerful methodology to ensure that social innovation analysis is connected to the collective action, and in a logical way brings into the picture, the ethical discussions which are ever so

important for social innovation. It also offers an opportunity to compare different cases and stakeholder experiences across the various existential fields as covered in this report.

The final chapter frames social innovation research from a Sociology of Knowledge (SoK) perspective, laying grounds for the embedding of social innovation analysis in those societal dynamics wherein the research has been constructed and developed. In other words it asserts that, by using the SoK perspective, we can better understand how specific theories, methodological approaches and the ways of connecting theory to practice have been built in particular societies and communities. Connecting the holistic research methodology with the pragmatic collective action to the SoK enables us to look at any analytical challenge for social innovation research.

5.1 Transdisciplinarity and social innovation Research (Andreas Novy and Barbara Beinstein)

Transdisciplinarity, socialisation of knowledge and democratisation

Democratic and inclusive societies need a form of knowledge production which benefits the whole population. This cannot be achieved without the active integration of different and competing perspectives in the research process right from the beginning. This presupposes a dialogue between researchers and practitioners. The latter have to be included already in the process of defining relevant research questions. This stands in sharp contrast to the common appeal to protect the freedom of science, a basic right that is even protected by constitutional law in several countries. Thus it gets clear that transdisciplinary research always constitutes a dialectical process oscillating between practical relevance and accountability on the one hand and scientific validity and freedom on the other hand. A weak form of transdisciplinarity insists on dialogue and exchange between disciplines to permit that *scientific knowledge contributes to problem-solving in society* (Mittelstraß 2005), e.g. in respect to social inclusion. The difference to interdisciplinary research lies in this case in the emphasis on the need to work on relevant societal problems. More ambitious approaches additionally aim at the *integration of experience-based knowledge into the research process*. This is often done in industrial research on technological inventions and innovations, but is also the approach encouraged by the European Commission in social sciences.

In the research domain of KATARSIS, namely social inclusion strategies, an *inclusive and broad understanding of transdisciplinarity* is of utmost importance. Weak and oppressed parts of the population who suffer from social exclusion have relevant knowledge for creative strategies to overcome exclusion. Their own experiences with social exclusion have sharpened their understanding of main problem areas and have led to the accumulation of knowledge on how and how not to deal with it (Freire 2004). Homeless people or migrants, feminist action groups or trade unions for example are actors and organisations which experience exclusion and fight for inclusion. But they have difficulties in getting heard. For them, the participation in transdisciplinary research may provide an arena for popularising their concerns. Therefore, the setting of research has to be given due importance to permit the inclusion of peripheral groups. This means overcoming an apparently neutral understanding of knowledge production and pro-actively empowering subaltern interests of class, gender and

ethnicity. This calls for settings that embrace written and oral forms of exchange as well as arts and multi-visual representations of problems.

Transdisciplinary research in favour of social inclusion aims at *overcoming fragmentation in society and knowledge production*. It is a concrete utopia of scientific production which is organically related to the socialisation and democratisation of the access to and use of knowledge (Hollaender/Leroy 2001: 234). It is a form of *public knowledge* that should be made available via open-source technologies. Transdisciplinary projects have the potential to constitute “powerful interventions into local systems” (Thompson Klein 2001: 114) by the “taking of ownership” (Häberli et al. 2001: 9) of the results of transdisciplinary processes by involved groups (Häberli et al. 2001: 9). Through the integration of as many relevant actors as possible the chances of achieving “socially robust knowledge” (Nowotny 2003) are enhanced.

From inter- to transdisciplinary research: opening up researcher’s perspective towards real world problems

Transdisciplinarity is a method that is well suited for democratic and dialogue-oriented societies that aim at mobilising knowledge for public decision making. Transdisciplinarity creates places of dialogue, based on a *question-orientated educational approach* that inquisitively declares assumed certainties as problematic: Often enough economists, for example, propagate growth strategies, but how much growth can the earth endure? Natural scientists in fact analyze the environment, but what do they know about political economy? Climate change, water shortage, harvest and agricultural earnings are topics of some; others concentrate on competitiveness and industrial growth and Katarsiens on social inclusion. What do they have to say to each other? What have they learned from each other? Interlinked thinking requires the interdisciplinary exchange of natural, social and economic sciences. Interdisciplinary scientific approaches are committed to *cross-linked thinking*: In economics, for example, approaches that understand economy as embedded in society, like it is happening in *institutionalist approaches*, refreshed by DEMOLOGOS, are particularly interesting (Moulaert/Jessop 2006). In natural sciences, the concept of sustainability alludes that the sustainability of systems are to be understood not only ecologically, but also socially and economically. *Political ecology* offers an approach to deal with these topics critically (Swyngedouw/Heynen 2003). But it is within society that antagonistic interests are clashing

and have to be resolved. Therefore, research has to move beyond its own walls and interfere in power-structured and interest-driven socioeconomic development³⁰ (Novy et al. 2006). Transdisciplinarity links theory and practice in various ways in order to help solving existing problems of social exclusion. This requires the willingness to *experiment with new forms of thought and action – socially creative strategies* -, because problems usually get pigeonholed according to responsibilities, competences and disciplines. Political-bureaucratically this happens through the division of labour between ministries and departments. Academically, the division of universities in disciplines prevents interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research. This fragmentation can likewise be observed in civil society: environmental NGOs fight against climate change, developmental NGOs combat poverty and trade unions campaign for growth and employment. This partition of the world into pigeonholes leads to various detailed responsibilities and ends with no one being accountable for the whole, the very development as a coherent process. Participants in transdisciplinary dialogues are designated to *discover new interconnections* between allegedly different dimensions of social exclusion. This type of reflection aims at coherence and exceeds the horizon of the own, often limited view of problems. By collective cogitation of people with diverse experience and different expertise it becomes possible to enhance, support and facilitate certain processes identified as desirable. Here science can provide valuable assistance, especially if it sharpens and uses its own potentials in the exchange with knowledge of experience. But change should not stop with the diffusion of information, the appropriation of knowledge and consciousness-raising. *Thinking differently requires political rethinking and other forms of political agency* as well: Administratively, to think cross-linked relating to the state for example means a stronger cooperation between diverse ministries and different DGs of the EC. It contradicts an integrative understanding of development if the ministries of finance and of economics, because of their position of power, put the logic of growth and budget politics above the interests of social inclusion, sustainability and poverty reduction. Transdisciplinarity needs specialists who look beyond their own immediate concerns and disciplines, and invites practitioners who are eager to search for exchange and alliances with new partners. This poses organisational challenges.

³⁰ In the field of social inclusion, KATARSIS tries to make available a broad expertise and to harness the same through dialogue and translating work for an integrative understanding of exclusion dynamics and socially creative strategies. Joint research between Austria and Brazil on solidarity economy is an example of knowledge exchange. Katarsiens have been involved in a workshop of researchers and practitioners from Brazil and Europe to discuss the potential of transcontinental knowledge sharing (http://www.pfz.at/index.php?Art_ID=523). INSERT different examples from KATARSIS

Organising transdisciplinary research: a twofold dialogue

Interlinked thinking alone is not sufficient to solve problems. Therefore a dialogue between knowledge generated by science and such generated by everyday life is important. The main defining features of transdisciplinary research are:

- relevant socioeconomic problem as starting point (Karl-Trummer et al. 2007: 5)
- collaboration of researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds and practitioners (Karl-Trummer et al. 2007: 5)
- research question and aims are elaborated jointly (Thompson Klein 2001: 110; Karl-Trummer et al. 2007: 5)
- participatory research process: all partners are involved in all important planning and decision processes (Karl-Trummer et al. 2007: 5)
- recursive research process: regular evaluations of cooperation processes and results form the basis for future work (Karl-Trummer et al. 2007: 5)
- joint endproduct of research and practice (Häberli et al. 2001: 12; Karl-Trummer et al. 2007: 5)

These features differentiate inner-scientific dialogue and interdisciplinary approaches from transdisciplinarity as a form of action research. *Problem solving ability* emerges not until this second form of dialogue. ‘Transdisciplinary research’ denominates research processes in which *researchers and practitioners participate on an equal footing* right from the beginning (Beinstein 2008). Transdisciplinary research is based on settings of *team-work and dialogue*. Democratic exchange of knowledge wishes to link and produce knowledge to enable an integrated perception of development that takes complexity as well as relatedness seriously. Its investigation requires innovative forms of organisations in order to generate such kind of knowledge. The basis of transdisciplinarity is a *twofold dialogue* that does not monopolize knowledge within the walls of university, but that wants to harness the same for practical action. A twofold dialogue arbitrates between disciplines of science and between science and everyday life (Novy 2008). It is particularly suitable for *building bridges between different perspectives* and to *translate between dissimilar languages* of science and to interpret ways of thinking and living. Transdisciplinary cooperation means *learning from each other and building alliances for common aims*. Cooperative and sustainable steps of coordinating action towards social inclusion demand the cooperation of different actors within and beyond the scientific community. Only by means of cooperation, researchers, NGOs and social

movements which promote socially creative strategies to overcome exclusion become competent partners and critics of the state, and are able to criticize the one-sidedness of ministerial-based problem solving and to demand an integral approach. This broad cooperation and alliance building has existed too rarely till now. It is a key organisational challenge, a social innovation for public knowledge production and use. This broad mobilisation of diverse knowledge is essential, because the alleged differences are taking place in the same world.³¹

Transdisciplinary communication strategies

Transdisciplinary research is based on diverse forms of communication and exchange. Although it might only serve the interest of private stakeholders in industrial development, if it focuses on inner-firm problems, it has a huge potential for strategies of social inclusion as well, e.g. in the form of social platforms. Democratisation and socialisation cannot take place without adequate communication strategies which strengthen citizenships and partnerships between equals. Transdisciplinarity is a form of knowledge production based on equal individuals and collective learning.

With regard to team-building and the establishment of trusting relationships between the different project partners regular meetings and occasions for *informal gatherings* (e.g. social dinners etc.) are vital (Häberli et al. 2001: 12). Other helpful, although mostly mono-directional, communication tools might be for example the creation of an *interactive website*, an *intranet*, small *publications in native languages* accessible to regional stakeholders, the *translation* of the executive summaries of deliverables of particular practical relevance as well as the establishment of a stakeholder database in order to keep stakeholders regularly informed about research progress. This does not go together with traditional academic hierarchies. Researchers should not regard practitioners as mere ‘users’ of their research results. Knowledge produced in transdisciplinary research will be used not only by practitioners, but by researchers as well. Therefore, the whole logic of dissemination as a linear process has to be abandoned and substituted by a *cumulative-circular approach of mutual learning*. Researchers should not regard collaboration with stakeholders as a mere ‘feedback mechanism’. Collaboration should be organised as an exchange of ideas between

³¹ An example in this direction has been the Transborder Laboratory of Cooperation from below which took place in Brno in september 2007 (http://www.ipe.or.at/index.php?art_id=67) where members from EU-research projects, other researchers, social movements and NGO-activists discussed problems of transborder cooperation in Central Europe.

different, but equal parties (Smoliner et al. 2001: 263). This bears the risk of having to compromise in order to get results. Those at the top of the hierarchy must not be in a position to dictate their view, but should coordinate and centralize joint decision-making. This bears the risk of having to accommodate very different positions and to create incoherence which might be a hard, exhausting process (Hollaender/Leroy 2001: 228).

The cooperation of partners from different backgrounds always bears conflicts (Thompson Klein 2001: 110). The bigger the differences, the greater the risk of inconsolably differing perspectives. And thus the risk of failing, of not being able to cooperate successfully. But there is another road to failure as well – and contemporary research often falls in this trap: the risk to fail because of the inability to produce relevant or – to use Helga Nowotny's term – '*socially robust*' knowledge (Nowotny 2003). Transdisciplinary research is an attempt at avoiding this trap. It tries to integrate knowledge from different scientific and non-scientific backgrounds in order to become relevant again (Beinstein 2008; Novy 2008). This is an enormous task. It means having to accommodate various different languages, *modi operandi* and expectations. This can never be fully achieved. Transdisciplinary work constitutes a never-ending translation and negotiation process. *The need, to translate and negotiate meanings, methods and desired results is the single most important part of the transdisciplinary research process* (Häberli et al. 2001: 12). In order to be able to respect these features several communication and management strategies should be respected:

- Enough time and space has to be devoted to the establishment of a common language or adequate translation techniques. As currently there exists no 'transdisciplinary metalanguage' this process might result in a pragmatic project-specific pidgin-English (Thompson Klein 2001: 109). An alternative to a unique and universal language, a modern Latin of the educated, is the proliferation of techniques of translation. Translation is an attitude of bridging different context. Therefore, it is more than a mere language technique, but core to all approaches of mutual understanding between different actors, cultures and contexts. This in turn, is crucial to capture the proper logic of different dimensions of social exclusion.
- Transdisciplinary projects require clear goal setting, any 'hidden agenda' has the potential to significantly disturb the process. Transparency is crucial for successful transdisciplinary cooperation. The task and responsibilities of each partner have to be made clear, everybody has to know what will be expected of him/her and what he/she can expect from others (Häberli et al. 2001: 12).

- Considerable time and space has to be reserved for the observation and management of team-building and team processes, as well as for conflict management (Karl-Trummer et al. 2007: 11). “Only a genuine team, which is more than a coincidental gathering of specialists, will achieve the new insights a transdisciplinary process can nurture” (Häberli et al. 2001: 12).
- The appointment of a (professional) moderator in order to facilitate team processes and conflict resolution and to act as a ‘bridge person’ between the diverse interests and backgrounds is strongly recommended (Karl-Trummer et al. 2007: 11; Thompson Klein 2001: 110f).
- Careful attention should be paid to the continuous involvement of all partners. In order to attain this goal it must be made sure that everybody profits from the project. The interests of all involved parties have to be taken into account (Häberli et al. 2001: 16). It is important to choose adequate communication strategies, via conventional media, dialogue fora and platforms for joint learning or other means of dissemination of new knowledge.

To finalize this short introduction to transdisciplinarity as a new technique of knowledge production, we want to remember an outstanding intellectual whose main objective was the socialisation of knowledge: Antonio Gramsci, a left intellectual from Italy who argued in favour of an *organic relationship between intellectuals and ordinary people* (‘the masses’). He insisted on the importance of diffusing existing knowledge – producing social innovations - which might be more useful than new inventions and the creation of new concepts, even of progressive content (Gramsci 1971; 1991ff.).

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5.2 Gender in Social Innovation (Isabel André)

Introduction

Gender equality presupposes the reduction of gaps between men and women but also the change of gender relations, which as other social relations are too often based on domination, but with a particular character given by power ties hidden behind emotions, feelings and sexual liaisons.

The first challenge in terms of social innovation analysis of gender relations is to understand the foundations and the dynamics of power relations nowadays in Europe. The second is to identify the crucial factors and instruments for the transformation of gender relations towards a fairer society in terms of gender equality. The role of the state, through institutions and through policies, as well as the initiatives of the civil society will catch our attention. Three drivers of change seem to be crucial (Walby 2004): the feminist movements, the elected women in parliaments and local authorities; and the presence of women in public administration with decision capacity.

According to the mainstream view (including feminist mainstream), gender social innovation is a matter of relations between women and men and should focus the way women can change the disadvantage. But, this perspective is contested, as gender issues cover different sexual orientations and not strictly relations between women and men on a basis of heterosexuality.

Then what changes are we talking about? What is the core of this social innovation process? Certainly, at least, a change that recovers all existential fields: employment, education, family, political choices, cultural identities, civic participation, beliefs, affections, sexuality, ...

The promotion of gender equality is really a complex ambition involving different pathways that sometimes stand in contradiction. For instance, positive discrimination can increase the speed of social change but often generates new negative reactions based on the denial of equal opportunities principles. Another apparent contradiction is related to the promotion of equality in a context that encourages the right to difference. How to deal with gender and still respect the balance between enjoying the same rights and opportunities and the possibility to be different?

But the main debate addresses the concept of gender norm. To be equal or different means to adopt a norm. As to gender there are two clear norms – masculinity and femininity that format all fields of personal and social life. In a social innovation perspective, both norms should be reconstructed in order to find a new norm bypassing the way in which masculinity is related to domination and femininity is linked to subordination and exclusion (at least from crucial politics and economic decisions). According to this vision, is it possible to develop a new gender order through EU policies? Does the EU gender mainstream advocate a new order?

Considering that important changes are taking place in Europe forcing new arrangements between capitalism and patriarchy, what the impacts of the EU gender mainstream in general? And in particular fields such as employment, education, health and housing?

Gender analytical frameworks

Very often analytical frameworks of social processes reduce the gender dimensions to light class features – through labour relations or through consumption status. The darkness of gender in social research was highly contested by gender studies since the seventies of the 20th century. These studies have drawn attention to the relevance of the gendered character of social relations. The gender debate in the first period was very pragmatic especially stressing the remarkable gaps between women and men in developed and democratic countries as rooted in the ideals of equality. This research was mainly focused on labour market and family, as the main producers of gender inequality. The theoretical debate came later on.

Gender doesn't correspond to a social group or to a social movement; it refers to or rather is a social and personal relation, combining domination, division of labour, power, and affection. This complexity - where different levels and types of relations cannot be distinguished - makes the construction of the gender social category difficult.

Another difficulty related to the analytical framework of gender is the use of the family category to describe and understand the domestic field. Family is often used as a homogenous unit where individuals cooperate according to common goals. Even if the study of tensions and conflicts inside the family has emerged as a strong topic in social sciences, economic and social policies continue to consider the family as the essential unit, e.g. paying taxes, receiving credit and social subsidies, etc..

But the crucial problem of the gender category is that it crosses all fields of life and society. So what we have are gendered societies as well as gendered places and spaces, as Doreen Massey (1994) clearly stresses.

The debate about production versus reproduction

In the context of the European welfare state gender issues are often related to social reproduction vs. production (Walby 1986, Garcia Ramon and Monk 1996, Duncan 1995, André 1996a, Reay 2004). Analysing 168 papers published between 2000 and 2008, Davis and Greenstein (2009) show the relevance of topics concerning work and employment, conjugality, motherhood and household. But the most interesting (and surprising) is that those “categories are clearly connected to the roles that women and men are expected to inhabit in married and procreative heterosexual relationships” (Davis, Greenstein, 2009: 89). The persistence of this vision in research and consequently in public policies and institutions conveys in a certain way the resilience of the patriarchal system even if sometimes in tension with capitalism, namely in labour market dynamics.

“To the extent that the welfare state prevents women from having to choose between children and employment, it also frees them from economic dependence on men and marriage. (...) This economic independence increases women’s leverage in marital relationships helping them to achieve a greater degree of autonomy and perhaps social equality. This new perspective engenders mainstream welfare-state research by focusing attention on the welfare state’s capacity to provide citizens with greater individual autonomy in all social relationships” (Jordan 2006:1112). Such arguments advanced by Jason Jordan illustrate quite well the conceptual foundations of European policies concerning gender equality. In general they have been based on the idea that the state facilitates women's lives and thereby women become more equal to men; that is the standard citizenship norm.

This political thinking puts strong barriers to social innovation in gender relations. Actually public initiatives or even those promoted by the third sector follow very often the well-known thinking of Giuseppe di Lampedusa "If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change"³².

³² “Giuseppe Tomasi de Lampedusa – *Il Gattopardo*, 1957 (adapted to the cinema by Luchino Visconti, 1963).

Nevertheless, gender analytical frameworks based on social reproduction vs. production stress important gender dichotomies such as private/public, house/workspace, intimacy/publicity and emotion/reason. Moreover procreation and family ties (in terms of economic, cultural and social capital) seem to be the critical factors of gender relations.

Actually family is a multifaceted field where cooperation, competition, tension and conflict are often closely related (Giddens 1995; André, 1996b). Even family formats are more and more a complex issue. The conventional modern family compounded by parental and conjugal ties lost its statistical height giving place to monoparental arrangements, to lonely persons (and not only elderly), gays and lesbian couples, reconstructed families with children from different conjugal relations, etc. The strong diversity in families makes it difficult to maintain the familial cell as a social and economic reference unit.

The development of efficient contraception since the last fifty years, as well as the scientific and civic progress in terms of assisted reproduction in the two last decades have produced great challenges concerning gender relations and stimulating new societal visions including a deep review of feelings' and affections' hidden sphere. The close connection between sexuality and procreation has been broken and the two existential fields gained their own autonomy.

This is not a slight change for society, but a key social innovation as it affects and undercuts the foundations of the patriarchal system. A social innovation that is often triggered by technological innovations (e.g. the contraceptive pill or in vitro fertilization) but that has its highest expression at the level of social relations.

In a context where procreation and sexuality are autonomous life spheres and parenthood can be totally planned, important conditions are met allowing to end the patriarchal system and to change gender relations associated with it. However, gender inequalities remain, weaker, but well marked.

This is one of the major challenges facing gender policy in EU. In Europe and North America, the mainstream arguments clearly point to care work 'de-familialization' as the key issue, transferring it to the market or to the state (Esping-Anderson 2002:18).

The thought of Gosta Esping-Anderson in this regard is very illustrative. "The ongoing gender revolution is both irreversible and desirable. To fully reap its advantages, we must recast the

nexus between work, welfare and the family (Esping-Anderson 2001:18). This argument turns on yet another more pragmatic one: "a huge part of the service economy owes its existence directly to the disappearance of housewifery" (Esping-Anderson 2002:68), underlining that family services' outsourcing has a double job multiplier in terms of female employment, the increasing availability of women in the labour market and the employment growth in care services.

Continuing Esping-Anderson view, the first arguments (advocating the care work 'defamilialization') are not immune to threats. "Women's employment improves family welfare and at the same time helps to sustain future welfare state finances. But it also creates issues that pertain to new social risks, such as greater family instability and new "atypical", often vulnerable, households. If the 'incompatibility' problem is not resolved, it may lock European societies into a longterm low-fertility equilibrium. (Esping-Anderson 2001:18).

Even accepting the convergence of interests between gender equality and the outsourcing of family work, the arguments related to the 'professionalization' of care work are very fragile. Jane Lewis argues that "it is highly unlikely that all care work can be commodified. Care work can be 'active', involving some form of 'tending', but much of it is 'passive', requiring someone to 'be there' (Lewis 2002:347)

This problem may seem minor, but it is central. Probably neither the market nor the state or the third sector is able to respond (well) to the needs of 'passive' care. The ability to "be there" with a strong emotional investment does not meet the parameters of professional work, pointing to solutions based on proximity networks of local communities.

From gender in society to a gendered society

The debates set out above clearly show the difficulty in connecting all existential fields where gender relations are manifest. This suggests the need for a holistic view of gender (Connell 1985, 1987, 2005; Massey 1994, Kraus 2006), from the analysis of gender in society to the understanding the gendered society. "Gender relations are present in all types of institutions. They may be not the most important structure in a particular case, but they are certainly a major structure of most" (Connell 1987: 120).

The notion of gender regime (Connell 1987, 2002; Walby 2004) approaches the holistic view of gender, defending the institutional character (and not just personal) of gender relations. “There is increasing consensus among gender scholars that gender is not primarily an identity or role that is taught in childhood and enacted in family relations. Instead, gender is an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference” (Correll 2004:510).

To identify the main 'gender regimes', Walby (2004) emphasizes the importance of understanding the continuum between domestic and public, set by the market (commodification of household services, especially relevant in the USA), by the state (socialization of domestic work, especially frequent in Scandinavian countries) and through regulation (conciliation between professional work and family, especially relevant in the EU). This shows important links between gender regimes and welfare regimes (Duncan 1995, Sainsbury 1999) indicating points of convergence and tension. “We can no longer focus only on the relation between the market, the state and the family (to understand welfare regimes); we have to incorporate the gender structures that interlink these different spheres” (Bussemaker and Kersbergen, 1999).

‘Gender order’ also conveys the idea of gendered society, linking the various gender regimes. Connell (1987, 2002) supports the gender order on four pillars: (i) the relations of production (including paid and unpaid work); (ii) power relations (as part of a system of domination, patriarchy); (iii) emotional relations and sexuality; and (iv) symbolic relations (based on stereotypes and prejudices).

However, to understand the transformation of gender relations as a process of social innovation driven by different types of socially creative strategies, it seems important to go further by adopting a multilevel view. This allows us to contextualize the gender relations in their socio-geographic frameworks, as it includes patterns of behaviour, cultural beliefs and identities (Correll 2004).

All the arguments above point to the key question of this debate: the ambiguous relations of complementarity and tension or even conflict between capitalism and patriarchy. Considering gender relations as the root of a social system – patriarchy – we shall discuss its relations with

capitalism in order to identify both the contradictions and the synergies. Andrew Sayer (2000) formulates two crucial questions:

- “Do capitalism and patriarchy form a single system or two interacting systems? Is capitalism necessarily patriarchal or only contingently so?
- Are bureaucratic organizations necessarily gendered or only contingently so? Are such institutions, together with markets, neutral with respect to identities?” (Sayer, 2000:707)

Adopting a critical realism vision, Andrew Sayer (2000) associates: (i) associational thinking – the gendered character of capitalism based on evidence (cause-effect relations) and (ii) counterfactual thinking – there is a strong relation between capitalism and patriarchy, but will capitalism survive in a non-patriarchal form?

Equal opportunities EU policies promoting social innovation?

The contribution of EU policies to promote gender equal opportunities in the last few decades has been considerable. Do these initiatives mean significant qualitative changes in gender relations? Or just a progressive decrease in the gap between men and women?

According to Walby (2004), there is no single answer to these questions because two strategies can be identified in European gender policy: the *sameness model* in the 70’s and 80’s anchored in equal pay and equal treatment; the *plural model* since the 90’s stressing family and work conciliation, regulation of time, family policy, fertility, contraception and abortion; sexual preference, and violence against women. This large range of concerns has configured the gender mainstream adopted at the end of that decade.

The most recent phase clearly corresponds to a more integrated vision of gender issues, which does not necessarily mean the intention to promote qualitative changes in gender relations. However, the mere adoption of a policy of gender equality by the EC means the recognition of “women as a disadvantaged group in society, who deserve and require particular treatment and specialist provision in order to rectify their past experience of discrimination, which has become institutionalized.” (Booth and Bennett 2002: 434).

The path followed by the European policy of gender equality involves three main stages (Booth and Bennett 2002, Stratigaky 2005, Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000, Rubery et al. 2004): (i) equal treatment perspective, (ii) women perspective, and (iii) gender mainstream.

In 1957, the Treaty of Rome stipulates in Article 119, the equal payment principle, stating that "each Member State shall during the first stage ensure and subsequently maintain the application of the principle that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work". The sceptics about the ethical nature of this principle (Booth and Bennett 2002) state that the "French government was concerned that differential rates of pay paid to women in the textile industry in other member states represented an unfair competitive advantage. Its objective in arguing for Article 119 was to mitigate this effect" (Rossilli, 1997: 64). However the first EU directives on gender equality - equal pay, and equal treatment regarding employment, working conditions and social security - were not implemented before the late 70's. It is the time of the entry of the UK in the EU and the strength of feminist movements in this country at the time.

The second stage - women's perspective - begins in the early 80's, with the First Action Program (1982-85) but it is only fully adopted at the end of the decade with the presidency of Jacques Delors. Again, this is not just an ethical or ideological issue, but also a reaction to the greater disparities in living conditions of women and men in the EU due to the entry into the Community of the southern European countries - Greece in 1981 and Portugal and Spain in 1986. The European gender policy, begins to adopt a feminist perspective, as demonstrated by the creation of the European Women's Lobby in 1990, which currently includes more than 2,000 women's associations. Following this impetus, both the European Parliament and the European Commission created specific units to promote gender equality (Committee on Women's Rights in the European Parliament and Equal Opportunities Unit in the Directorate for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs of the European Commission).

The various Action Programs for Equal Opportunities of Women and Men, and specific programs such as NOW (New Opportunities for Women) supported positive discrimination initiatives (positive actions) particularly in the fields of training and integration into the labour market.

Although those actions had achieved significant results and impacts in reducing the gap between women and men, they have motivated several objections based on the argument that positive actions contradict the basic principles of equal opportunities.

In such a protest environment the third step of the European gender policy - the gender mainstreaming (GM) - emerged in the late 90's and was founded in arguments advocating a holistic view of gender equality while discouraging the sectoral policies fostering segmentation. This new perspective was presented as an "expansion of the EU equal opportunities agenda, focusing primarily on the potentially revolutionary, yet little studied, principle of gender mainstreaming" (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000: 432).

Theoretically and ideologically, the GM is based on strong arguments. "The gender perspective moves away from the model of women as a homogeneous group by recognizing women's diversity and difference, which relates to factors such as life course, class, age, ethnicity, religion and disability" (Booth and Bennett 2002:238).

The GM strategy also follows the orientations of the UN Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 which confers a strong political legitimacy on it. In general, the GM intends the application of "methods aimed at integrating an equal opportunities dimension into all policies and activities [that] should be developed and promoted by member states. The aim was to bring a gender perspective into all EU policy-making in a 'coherent and systematic way' (COM (96) 650 final, 1997: 12).

Seeming to be a qualitative change in gender relations, a careful reflection contradicts this idea. "While it recognizes the concept of gendered processes on structural, interpersonal and symbolic levels it does not locate these in an analysis of patriarchy" (Booth and Bennett 2002:441).

In addition, the GM is not clear about a strategy of social change or a method to assess the impact of initiatives in terms of equal opportunities. It also excludes an often ignored crucial aspect: those who implement policies and actions require gender- target specific training, since in this area, problems and solutions seem obvious, coming from common sense and actually are not. For an action to be really effective, it is almost always necessary to deconstruct the stereotypes that invade our daily life.

The GM certainly has the ability to promote gender equality creative strategies in many areas of European policy-making, but it is not a significant social innovation capable of transforming the bases of patriarchal relations - the crucial factor of gender inequalities.

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5.3 Holistic research methodology and pragmatic collective action (Abid Mehmood and Frank Moulaert)

One of the privileged methods in social innovation analysis, especially when social innovation is introduced to address social exclusion in comparable situations, is holism (Moulaert, 2010; Moulaert et al. 2003). Holism is a method that was developed in the 1920s, and has popped up once in a while since then for use in comparative analysis. It has natural links with pragmatism as a social philosophy and a scientific approach (Ramstad, 1986).

First of all we would like to say a few words about the links between collective action and holist analysis. Next we will address the role of comparative case study analysis for understanding social innovation as a strategy to overcome social exclusion and conditions of alienation of human beings. In this comparative case study analysis there is a place for different theories which will help to understand which themes are eligible for analysis in holism. In the next step we will explain why holistic theory is so important in the type of research we are doing, and how holistic theory can be used to set up a powerful framework of empirical analysis. In this type of analysis, both qualitative and quantitative data play a very important roll. We will illustrate this by the use of an example from an earlier European project URSPIC (Urban Restructuring and Social Polarisation In the City), which was funded by the Framework Programme in the 1990s.

The link between collective action and scientific analysis

There are some original challenges that we want to address in holistic analysis, such as: What are the links between collective action and analysis? Why do we need analysis to prepare or to pave the way to action? Much has already been said about this in the first chapter on the role of theory in social innovation analysis. In this chapter we will make use of some elements from chapter 1.

First of all let us reflect a little bit on what collective action is about. The base definition of collective action is that it is action coordinated between a number of agents with the objective to change a particular situation, social relations, social conditions or policy programmes that will lead to an improvement of the condition of people in society. Collective action is, to a large extent, rationally based because it has been negotiated between the different participating actors. This is, for example, the case in pragmatism where change agendas, policy agendas, and sheer participation strategies are put forward and set up in a rational way.

Collective actions need leadership to lead them into the right direction. It also involves agencies, modes of behaviour, institutional codes to mobilise people and to share information with people in order to interpret conditions of existence and opportunities for the future. In this way, collective action is very much about social dynamics, movements and policy.

Analysis can play a very important role in the design of collective action. We have already discussed this in chapter 1, indicating that social innovation theory is very important in the design of collective action and therefore should be rooted in its social environment or its social conditions. This explains why in chapter 1 we put so much stress on the role of Sociology of Knowledge (SOK) as a bridge between real life conditions, requiring collectively shared knowledge on the one hand and an embedded theory of social innovation on the other hand.

So, analysis is important for the design of collective action, but also as a tool for problem solving, identifying solutions, and prospecting potential consequences of solutions that are pursued. Analysis also refers to methods to reveal needs and preferences and can be used in a process of norm setting that is important to lead collective action. We can, for example, through analysis understand what the human needs are and what general norms – promoting human progress – can be called upon to satisfy these needs. This does not mean that we are claiming in all certainty that each and every collective action needs analysis. Some collective actions can be quite immediately responsive, and in this respect, should also address immediate needs without much reflection because there is no time for it, or because the needs are too urgent. Thus collective action can be spontaneous and respond to urgent need conditions.

Research in this context can also be considered as problem solving. For example, in research as design, different types of actors are involved in shared research. Transdisciplinary research (which is very important in social innovation research) can be used to negotiate with partners and to understand how different solutions, when introduced at different stages in a problem solving process are more useful than others.

In this whole context, we should stress the role of experience, contextualisation, comparison and part/whole relationships in holistic analysis. These part/whole relationships form the core of holism. The role of experience, contextualisation, comparison and part/whole relationships all refer to the need to learn from the past, to learn from elsewhere and to learn from each

other (e.g. practitioners and scientists). Here there is a very explicit link with social learning as put forward by pragmatism. But there is another link with pragmatism, and that is the role of feedback relationships between analysis and theory building on the one hand and collective action experience, policy and planning on the other hand. One of the main principles of pragmatism, as a philosophy of science, is that no theories should be maintained if they are not robust in the sense that they reflect those aspects of reality that are important for our collective action agenda.

Holism as theoretically structured comparative case study analysis

Now, let us explain what holism is, why we would use it and how we should use it in social innovation analysis and practice. We have already argued that from the point of view of experience based research, it is very important to compare cases, and to compare similar but also dissimilar conditions. It is very important also to confront commonalities and diversities. Context matters, we argued before. And how do similarities relate to diversity while still guaranteeing comparability. That means that we must identify a number of concepts that allow us to make a comparative analysis. In holism discourse, these concepts are usually introduced by the use of themes that are common to particular cases, to particular situations, and so on. For example, the theme of *housing occupation of a particular quality*, how is that analysed across different situations, localities or (as the holist would say) subsystems?

The role of theory

In order to identify particular themes and potential relationships between those themes, theory is needed. In the earlier chapters we have already consecrated and devoted significant time to theory and its role in social innovation analysis. Worth repeating here that for our purpose, it is sufficient to say that theory will help us to understand the relationships between different themes, but that it will also help us understand which theories to select. Remember the discussion in the first chapter about the role of meta-theoretical structures and the role of theory as a socially produced intellectual product.

We should also stress here that within our perspective of social innovation analysis, the relations between the different themes and systems/subsystems (we'll come to that later) should be analysed by using a methodological framework that recognises the intrinsic interaction between Agency, Structure Institutions and Discourse (ASID) (Moulaert and Jessop, 2006).

We have to understand what the particular role is of particular structural dynamics – including strategic agency - in the progress and the reproduction of society. At the same time we should understand what the function of micro behaviour in particular situations. So, we have to make a distinction between structural dynamics on the one hand and on the other hand particular individual behaviours. And we have to understand the relationships between both of them, which implies looking at the mediation of institutions between structures and agency. In this mediation, discourse plays a very important part. Cultural dynamics, in which discourse is central, play a very important part. They explain why people in certain circumstances behave according to particular codes, to particular routines, to particular norms, while in other or similar circumstances they will act in a spontaneous way, in an individual or collective way, in a creative or a codified way, and so on.

How does holism work? And what is a holistic theory?

Holistic theory links the relationship between particular themes across particular subsystems and explains these relationships (or their absence) by use of partial theories fitting a meta-theoretical framework (see Chapter 1). So we could say, in contemporary terminology, that we are in a systems perspective but at the same time, that we accept the role of the particular, the specific, the local, as important parts of our explanatory process, as important as the generic rules or patterns, as they say in holist analysis, which would stem from the systemic analysis. So, in holistic knowledge production, the exceptional, the particular matters as much as the structural or the systemic.

The terms that are used in holistic theory are first of all *systems*, *subsystems* and *analytical themes*. We already gave an example of an analytical theme, namely the condition of housing. It can also be said that the general condition of housing is measured by the provision of a particular housing quality, access to domestic water, sewerage and all kinds of hygienic services.

So we could identify a number of variables that would express this theme. These variables can then be measured, for example, for a particular neighbourhood (*subsystem*). These neighbourhoods can be located in different cities or they can be located in one urban region (*system*). The housing quality condition can now be measured for each neighbourhood. Then, we could make some preliminary statements saying that in neighbourhood system A, the

score of the quality of housing is higher than the score of the quality of housing in another neighbourhood.

If we consider each neighbourhood as a subsystem within the broader system of cities with specific housing quality features, then for each of these neighbourhoods, we can try to identify particular relationships or *patterns*. Lets first look at one subsystem, one neighbourhood's quality of housing. Quality of housing is theme one. Theme one can be correlated to, or connected to another theme which is relevant for its understanding, or for its contextualisation. For example, you could say that the quality of housing depends on public spending by the local authorities. So public spending by the local authorities could be a second theme. In a very simple way we could make a correlation analysis, saying, for example, the quality of housing across all these different subsystems (or neighbourhoods) will significantly depend on the level of spending by the local authorities for the provision of water supply network, hygienic services, etc.

But of course this relationship by itself is too simple. We cannot explain, in a comparative way, the relative coherence, or the relative incoherence between the provisions of good quality housing just by looking at the public spending of the local authorities. We will also have to look, for example, at the social, professional and the income position of the different households living in these different neighbourhoods. So, step-by-step, we identify significant themes that are connected to each other. In our list we would have quality of housing, public spending of local authorities, social professional position and comparative income level to name a few.

Once we have identified these themes, and the relations between them, we obtain a so-called pattern model. A pattern, or a pattern model includes the validated themes as in our case mentioned above, and the linkages between them. You could say that a pattern model is a kind of complex, bi-directional or inter-directional causal model, because public spending would affect the opportunities to provide high quality housing but also vice versa and in relationship with the other themes. This pattern model will then be examined for each of the subsystems, each of the neighbourhoods we are looking at. At the same time comparisons will be made within the pattern model across neighbourhoods. So, there is a comparative analysis that goes across neighbourhoods, that looks at shared themes and looks at the patterns connecting shared themes.

What is the expected value-added of this type of analysis? First of all, this analysis will reveal and identify universals, such as general patterns that occur across all neighbourhoods. Here, theories as we know them covering the relationships between housing markets and labour markets, between housing markets and income trajectories, between housing markets and the welfare state or the entrepreneurial state and so on, can all help to shed light, to help understand universal patterns. But the specific contribution of holistic analysis is that it sheds light on outliers. And it doesn't only shed light on the outliers, but it gives a very prominent role to outliers. For example, in our illustration here, if we were to find a neighbourhood, which has a low general quality of housing, but high public spending and a more or less qualitative social professional situation with a large proportion of skilled labour employees, for example, we would start wondering why the condition of housing quality is so low in that neighbourhood. Why is it that in a neighbourhood with quite advanced social professional status and probably also a relatively high-income level, the quality of housing is so poor? By looking at this outlier, we will understand that we have a particular situation here that needs more detail, more profound analysis of the nature of the outlier. This is a significant difference with most quantitative methods. For example, in correlation analysis or in cluster analysis or in econometrics, in which one looks to the universals, the general patterns one devotes little attention to outliers; or worse even: in several of these methodologies, one has a tendency to get rid of these outliers which in the practice of social or collective action would be a mistake. Because very often outlying situations and behaviour can serve as learning situations and contribute to change reality for the better.

Social holism

Coming back briefly to the role and relation of pragmatism and holism, they rose at about the same time in the US during the first quarter of the 20th century. With pragmatism being a philosophical and scientific method to accompany collective action, holism was the method to study particular cases and situations in a comparative way to support collective action and policymaking. It is clear that holism, from the empirical point of view is more solid than pragmatism. Pragmatism defines the attitudes, the behaviours of the scientists and the policy makers among them. And refers very strongly to an ethical positioning that would lead to the improvement of the condition of human beings as well as a more humane development of society as a whole. So the link between holism and pragmatism is a kind of natural. The ethics of pragmatism can be a starting position for leading a holist empirical research and to give it a

place in the definition of collective action and behaviour. The ethics of pragmatism offer a gear to collective action. It is an ethics that is solid in the sense that, every collective action that is undertaken, should contribute to the progress of humanity and to the improvement of the well being of as many social groups in society as possible.

Connecting this ethical positioning to holism, we can then say that we are applying what could be called ‘social holism’. So, for example, pragmatism will tell us to analyse the quality of housing because it will care about good housing and decent housing conditions for all people in the neighbourhood. Holism, in complement, will identify the different themes, pattern relations that will help to understand why the quality of housing is guaranteed, or is absent. So the two entries into the quality of housing problematic are complementary here.

Several of the previous Framework Projects (such as, URSPIC, SINGOCOM and Integrated Area Development) have applied this method of ‘social holism’. URSPIC, for example, which stands for Urban Restructuring and Social Polarisation In the City, worked on an international research theme, i.e. the social polarisation impact of urban restructuring in the larger cities of Europe. The theories, the research themes that could help to understand the different dynamics of urban restructuring and social polarisation in the city and the relationships between them were examined. Privileged theories were taken on board to identify the patterns linking the features of restructuring stories. Patterns then appear by the combination of for example the social housing stock in the neighbourhoods we studied with different themes that were drawn from the housing reproduction system such as income, lifestyles, access to financial services, etc.

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5.4 Framing social innovation research: A Sociology of Knowledge (SoK) Perspective

(Frank Moulaert)

If social innovation is about transformation of institutions, turn-over of oppressive ‘structures with power’, collective agency to satisfy non-satisfied etc. needs, etc., one can indeed wonder what leads scientists, who often have a strong theoretical interest and occasionally suffer from *forum phobia*, to social innovation analysis and social innovation practice, as an advisor, a theorist, an activist, a technician, etc.?

Or paraphrasing Groundwork: *How to plant scientists in social change communities? (Or were they planted there from the beginning?)* Carrying on with the horticulture metaphor, my contribution is to examine the soil, the climate and biotopes, the types of trees, the changes in the weather, ...which have affected social scientists’ role in the discursive and practical achievement of social innovation. I want to follow the scientific practice of knowledge making within its multi-layered institutional dynamics. To that purpose, I opt for a ‘Sociology of knowledge approach’, rather than for an analytical framework in which the scientist is the main actor. I will argue however that a sociology of knowledge approach to social innovation research needs at least a meta-theoretical framework hosting the main features of the social relations and cultural dynamics in which the scientist practises; otherwise the SOK approach would be a hit in the sky.

Scientific practice socially embedded, analytically unrolled: sociology of knowledge perspectives

When after several years of theoretical work and grassroots participatory research, questions emerged about the ‘unity’ of the social innovation argument, the necessity or the desirability of ‘a’ theory or ‘a’ paradigm of social innovation, this did not lead our research community (URSPIC, SINGOCOM, VALICORES, KATARSIS, SOCIAL POLIS) to a megalomaniac positioning of the kind, but we started, collectively, to reflect on the role of social science (theory, methodology, social utility) in social change debates, initiatives and analysis. *Through our reflections, a number of concepts that had for a long time occupied a place in the Pantheon of the philosophy of science have now received a real (meta-philosophical?) meaning.*

Epistemology not as a doctrine of scientific knowledge creation but as an inquiry into and a negotiated consensus on the way to develop knowledge; an interactively, unrolled manual on how to connect questions about social change to scientific interrogation (*problématique*), how to lead this interrogation and to decide on the relative ‘verity’ or ‘truth’ of the answers. From the social innovation perspective, ‘truth’ is concerned about the relevance of the scientific answers for the satisfaction of (non revealed) needs, the transformation of social relations, the empowerment of populations and communities. *The criteria for verity are therefore relationally conceived. Or, if we redefine epistemology “as about the achievement of the social legitimacy of the knowledge that is developed”, social innovation epistemology is about the possibility to verify the relevance of the knowledge for social transformation and for the transformation of social relations in the sense meant – i.e. through one or several modes of participation in the scientific practice. This relevance has to do with the recognition of the role of social forces and their discourses in the reproduction of scientific legitimacy and, therefore, with ontology.*

Ontology. Theory of social change has an ambiguous relationship with this concept. *On the one hand* theory of social change needs a view of what exists, the logic of being – even if this view is often only a very static and elementary account of some core features of society. Because if social theory does not have this view - whatever crude and general or basic it may be – it cannot address change – unless in an open-ended way without knowing where change comes from, therefore (in part) in ignorance of where it may go to. *On the other hand* there is a need to have an idea of the desired change – if not the least for reasons of motivation of the so-called change agents: either a view of the alternative (generic or detailed), or a utopia, a *futurible*; or a procedural view of how we can move on for betterment, a genesis of alternative becoming in which all relevant actors are involved (*transdisciplinarity*). This tension between the logic of being and the logic of becoming is an issue in social theories addressing social change, transformation or innovation. A very straightforward example is neoclassical economic market exchange theory, which uses a normative view of “how the market as the ontology of equilibrium” to test how the market actually functions. In the ‘desired’ neoclassical economic world each agent is an optimiser and has the information and behavioural skills to optimise its individual behaviour, thus contributing to the social equilibrium. In empirical orthodox economics, then, this *aspired* ontology is used to test actual economic behaviour in actually existing markets where such optimality principles can

only occasionally ‘exist’, and if they do, only in a socially (structurally, institutionally) mediated way, i.e. in an environment not meeting the assumptions of the neoclassical mental construct.

The following little table summarises relevant approaches to the ‘construction of ontologies’ relevant to social theory and, therefore, to situating the role of the scientist in social innovation analysis and practice, here ‘applied’ to territorial development analysis (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2008, p. 131).³³

A distinction is made between:

- (1) An ontology (of the *existent* or *desired*) as the basis for a theory or meta-theoretical framework.
- (2) Ontogenesis or genesis of the vision of the existent or the desired (images of the future).
- (3) ‘Flat ontology’, either an ontology of a homogenous society, or an ‘open’ ontology which as in e.g. a Deleuzean approach opens itself to a gradual complexification.
- (4) Structural-realist view of social reality: view of society recognising the structure of the economy, the political world, etc. significantly influenced by power relations.

Figure.1 **Ontogenesis, ontologies as applied to theories of territorial development**

Societal Structure Ontological Perspective	Flat ontology (3)	Structural-realist (4)
Ontology (1)	Neoclassical theory of regional growth TIM	Social Region IAD/DTI
Ontogenesis (2)	Deleuzean approach to spatial development Assembly theory ?	IAD/DTI

Source : Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2008, p. 131

Coherent with the socially embedded epistemological stance for social innovation analysis explained before, the four concepts have analytical relevance, but they should be connected to each other. The ontology of the existent and the desired should be filled in through a *transdisciplinary approach* – involving concerned agents and organizations; but also the genesis of both ontologies, as well as their interactivity are part of our scientific concern. The genesis of the views of the world should therefore be approached as a social process, and the

³³ Moulaert and Nussbaumer (2008) : this categorisation is used to talk about the ontological status of theories of territorial development and how they incorporate social innovation.

outcome as socially reproduced, therefore never reaching completion and always critically reinterpreted.

Meta-theory or Meta-theoretical framework. Several observers could argue that by the latter statement about the social production of images of present and future I have revealed to which Masonic lodge I belong, that of critical (structural) realism, ... In fact that may be true, and I will come back to this. Let me first very briefly dwell on this other concept that has popped up in social innovation epistemological discussions: meta-theory as theory of theories; or as a theory of theorising (in sociology); or as an epistemological framework with a common ontology and basic concepts – an overarching theoretical perspective; or more simply, epistemic reflexivity : *are the concepts and theories we are using pertinent to our problematic?* And how can we select ‘ a framework hosting theories’ that would help us to answer this question?

Within a concern of analysing social innovation it is epistemologically coherent to state that a relevant meta-theory should include an ontology and ontogenesis that involve relational complexity as well as the types of agency that are involved in making or seeking social innovation (work). (*Ontogenesis then becomes intrinsically transdisciplinary, putting interested parties at its heart.*) But to avoid conflict with the (many strands of) meta-theorising in sociology, we will abandon the term meta-theory and privilege that of *meta-theoretical structure*. *A meta-theoretical structure can be developed from a structural-realist epistemological perspective, it can be an important element in a methodological deployment and offer a framework hosting our sociology of knowledge approach.*

Sociology of Knowledge

The epistemological stance, the view of ontology/ontogenesis and the introduction of a metatheoretical framework that in my view are appropriate in social innovation analysis come close to the sociology of science approach implicitly or explicitly defended by J. Schumpeter, inspired by Scheler (1926) and Mannheim (1936). According to Shionoya (2004), for Schumpeter sociology of science [...]

‘views science as social activities influenced by the historical, social and cultural context of the time’ (p. 340).

In the epistemological logic spelled out before, the construction of concepts and theories of social innovation must be assessed within the societal framework in which they have been developed. This is best done by integrating them as elements of (scientific) knowledge production. Moreover, extrapolating Schumpeter's arguments, knowledge is not a monopoly of science, but the object of *other forms of knowledge formation and social practice*. Schumpeter develops arguments explaining that development should be analysed not only within a broader or general societal framework, but that the different spheres, dynamics and agency domains of society are entitled to their own sociology which together should allow to better understand the complex(ity) of development and its dimensions (knowledge, culture, economy, ...)

“Accordingly, next to economic sociology Schumpeter also has in mind a sociology of knowledge, a sociology of arts, and a sociology of the political, all of which help understand the energy and the mechanism of development, not just in general but also in each particular sphere. The question how the sociological insights in each particular sphere can be combined into a perspective that conveys the understanding of a modern, i.e., differentiated, whole, was also Schumpeter's central concern when he attempted in TWE (1911) to grasp the overall tendency of the socio-cultural development of a people” (Becker et al. 2005, p. 9)

Obviously, if we accept the reasoning about the role of the sociology of knowledge in (the study of) scientific practice (Scherer, Mannheim, etc.) we also know that there is no unique sociology of knowledge, *and that the terms of a sociology of knowledge are largely determined by the theory of society to which it refers*. Or, from a structural realist perspective, these terms are determined by the meta-theoretical framework of society, the view of scientific practice, the ontology it is related to and which gives a significant role to structural dynamics in explaining change and development, etc.

Still I consider the literature on the sociology of knowledge as a continuum. Mannheim is a precursory voice in a social-scientific process that could be labelled as the (re)making of the sociology of knowledge. He has understood that the relationships between *ideology* and scientific practice cannot only be studied through the lens of philosophy but that a sociological perspective is needed. In simplified terms, Mannheim's 'sociology of

knowledge' approach follows two tracks. One more 'societal track' runs close to the Marxist way of looking at ideology formation; the other one lies closer to Scheler's micro-sociological analysis of knowledge institutions and practices. Knowledge for Mannheim is real, i.e., what is considered to be knowledge: *knowledge that is socially or individually produced, but socially accepted as being knowledge.*

To simplify the debate, following David Bloor (1992) we could make a distinction within SoK between 'a weak programme' and 'a strong programme', with the weak programme addressing the process of knowledge creation in the limited sense: how has the relational process that led to knowledge been unrolled? Which have been the factors that have influenced the relationship between verity and bias? In the weak programme the context of intellectual activity is recognised, the potential ideological bias allowed for, but no room is given to the analysis of the activity of Reason, its deductions and inductions. The 'strong programme' in contrast, in our own words, could be called 'complete embeddedness': the social, political and economic context that nourished the environment in which [the] knowledge was developed, the socio-cultural [including ideological] of the scientists, their belonging to scientific and philosophical communities, the links between scientific practice and collective action, etc.

Of course, more instrumentally or positivist oriented scientist would argue that the strong programme involves everything. This is not so, however.

First, it is clear that, following Mannheim's line of argument, that the 'strong programme' cannot be applied without clear epistemological positioning about how to address the role of knowledge production within society. The position we adopt here, we said, is a structural realist perspective. A structural realist perspective, as summarised by A. Sayer, stresses that "the view of the world is differentiated and stratified consisting not only of events but objects, including structures, which have powers and liabilities capable of generalising events". Other features we stress here refer to the independence of reality from our knowledge; the fallibility and theory-based character of knowledge; the production of any other kind of knowledge as a social practice – realism thus clearly requires a 'sociology of knowledge perspective'. Structural realism (SR) then, as a particular focus within realism recognises a relative hierarchy among the objects of social reality and recognises structures in the form of relatively durable social relations as being of a potentially higher causal order. This does not mean that structures are pre-existing to social phenomena; in fact, structures are institutionally mediated and historically as well spatially reproduced through both collective and strategic

individual action. Still the conceptual nature of structures, institutions and agency is pre-informed by the theory that has analytically conceived them. This means that within a critical-realist perspective several theories referring to the same or affine concepts should be confronted and brought into dialogue with each other. A theory privileging the analysis of structures in social reality can also serve as a meta-theoretical framework, which sets in a way the borderlines within which particular objects and their relations can be analysed. Examples of such approaches are well-known in critical geography and spatial development analysis, where the meta-theoretical framework adopts the social structures analysed in political economy – and often identifies them as a main feature of its social ontology - but, as in radical political geography, attributes them a deep spatial character (Storper and Walker, 1983; Moulaert 1987).

Second, the focus is not on ‘everything’ but on the practices, institutions and socialization dynamics of scientific knowledge production, as embedded within societal dynamics.

Third, we are looking at scientific practices producing knowledge about or related to social innovation. This means that, within the structural realist perspective and the ‘view of the world’ it deploys, interrogations, concepts and theories that address these will be privileged.

Finally (for the time being) we examine these practices within their macro and micro social relations, with a particular focus on the communities, social and cultural environments, political arenas and fields of social integration and exclusion in which the knowledge institutions and scientists are involved.

Sociology of Knowledge approach to social innovation analysis

The following table (Table 2) can be used as a ‘macro’ guide to lead a SoK approach. Let us briefly look on how this could be done for the social innovation theories of the 1960s (for an overview see Chambon et al. 1982). The table gives five dimensions that are relevant to SoK analysis. This is a non-exhaustive list, but at least gives a good impression on what could be done in a balanced SoK approach according to the ‘large programme’.

Social innovation analysis in the 1960s and 1970s should be situated in the context of the social movements and philosophies reacting against the hierarchy of capitalism and the state. The stress was very much on the democratisation of institutions, sexual liberation, gender equality, respect for different cultures (multi cultural society), etc. Quite a bit of the discourses and socio-political considered as typical of the 1960s movements could be considered as anticipatory to the post-modern philosophies, research agendas and collective as

well as individual actions. Typical for the period are the relations between scientific communities (philosophers like Sartre, visionaries like Attali, etc.) and workers as well as student organizations. The diversity of theoretical contributions in the field of social innovation reflects the diversity of the change agendas put forward by these organizations. Their focus is wide, covering transformation of society, aspects of governance, emancipatory practices, institutional change, democratization of the educational system, humanization of welfare services, etc. (see Chapter 5 in this Deliverable).

The intellectual work on social innovation in the 1960s/1970s reflects to a large extent intellectual traditions concerned about individual rights within an equitable society: social liberalism, anarchism, communitarian socialism, ... But at the same time it is concerned about the future of 'big organizations' and 'heavy institutions', making proposal to democratise them. This concern holds the modernist insight that complex societies cannot be governed without human-made governance organizations, other than the market. Thus, in a way, the social innovation analysis of the 1960s/1970s anticipated the badly needed synthesis between postmodern decentralised creativity on the one hand, and the positive lessons drawn from the modernist governance of a complex society with its large scale institutions.

Table 3. Sociology of knowledge on social innovation and local development:
illustration of the approach through three (families of) theories

Dimensions addressed in SoK Theory/School/Approach	Socio-cultural periods : dominant philosophies, political regimes (and scientific themes stressed)	Relations with dominant scientific epistemologies- Problematic addressed	Scientific communities to which the researchers belong	Relations with collective action	Relations with scientific antecedents (continuity, antithesis, synthesis)
Theory of human endogenous development (1970 ...)	End of three decades of ‘golden age’, continuation of the values of the Welfare State at local level Mixed Economy Ideology of human progress Themes : empowerment, mobilisation of endogenous resources, bottom-up development	Respond to the need of unequal spatial development that emerged from the economic crisis (half of 1970s) Refutal of neoclassic theories of regional development	Economists of international development (back to the source...) ‘Spatial’ social sciences ‘Old’ institutionalists (influence of German Historical School (GHS))	Expertise, cooperation with local communities and development agencies...	Continuity : theories of development GHS, years 1960+ (Myrdal, Perroux, Hirschmann) Antithesis : development theory confronted to growth theory Synthesis : integration GHS, theory of development and empowerment, emancipation theory (Friedmann 1992)
Social innovation theories (‘sixties’)	Sixties + large pluralistic and emancipatory movements (progressive liberalism, democratic marxism) Themes : anti-authoritarianism, democratisation of institutions, participation, social rights, social innovations	Reply to the excesses of capitalism and mercantile statism. Try to ways to overcome socio-economic inequalities. Dissent with modernisation theories (economy, state), rise of post-modern theories claiming creation of space for bottom-up emancipation.	Philosophical circles, alternative economists	Workers and student mobilization Reflexion groups on social transformation in different spheres and institutions of society. Participation to social-democratic governments (democratization of education, redistribution of income, , social services)	Continuity: links with social liberalism, anarchist theories, ... Antithesis : postmodernism versus modernism Synthesis: attempt to correct excesses of modernist institutions, growing disillusion
Integrated Area Development	Eighties : rise of administrative decentralization, local social movements focused on life quality, sustainable development, improvement of life quality in deprived neighbourhood. Themes: local democracy, territorial development (instead of functional), inclusion of ‘new poor’	Respond to the needs of deprived neighbourhoods and their disempowered inhabitants. Refutal of theories / ideologies stressing positive effects of globalization, economic deregulation and flexibilization of labour market	Reflexion groups in urban sociology, social economics, spatial planning, political science, urban and rural anthropology. Important role for action research.	Scientists involved in social movements project teams Experts and actors involved in local partnerships.	Continuity: links with social innovation theories of 1960 Antithesis: theories which integrate the different dimensions of territorial development, moving beyond functionalism (Moulaert 2000) Synthesis : integration of TIM elements.

Source: Author

ⁱ Work integration social enterprises, social cooperatives in Italy and Poland, cooperative enterprises for the collective interest (SCIC) in France, social enterprises in Italy and Finland, community interest companies in the UK, social coops in Poland, and others.