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A dynamic Analysis of Social Entrepreneurial Organizations (SEOs)

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Abstract: In the light of economic and financial crises, social innovations have been looked at and analysed from new point of views. This thesis has run an analysis of two social entrepreneurial organizations (SEOs) to shed light on how actors from vulnerable communities, like Rosengård and Persborg from the city of Malmö perceive complexities embedded in social innovations and institutional change. The analysis of these organizations has shown that uncertainties in concepts like social innovation and institutional change are embedded in the social needs and positions of actors. By analysing Yalla Trappan and Malmö Connectors, which are organizations that serve some social and economic needs within vulnerable communities in innovative ways, this thesis came to the learning that social innovations are dynamic processes that are embedded in a bigger and indeed an ambiguous whole where the relationship between institutional change and actors of change is an ever changing one. Yet, social innovations can be systematically analysed and modelled for the purpose of peeling off ambiguities embedded in the social and economic positions of actors of change.

Key words: Social innovation, institutional change, and social position of agents of change.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In a world like ours, we find millions of people left behind and marginalized without a fair chance to shape or even challenge the rules of the game that sustain and perpetuate social and economic imbalances. In the times of economic crises, discoveries of new ways to generate new jobs, new activities and services is a key not only for the survival of big and corporate enterprises, but also to keep local communities afloat in such times. New and innovative ways and ideas of creating jobs are necessary to break through the status quo, and inject new impulses in societies. It could sound as a cliché, but such economic crises that bring enormous negative impacts alongside, do also offer new opportunities for a wide range of individuals, groups and communities. There is a consensus that is getting stronger day by day that we are, more than ever before, living in the age of services. Customers have, among other things, their own distinct preferences, attitudes and beliefs that exist within socio-economic contexts. A popular saying like "customer is the king" is a metaphor that is increasingly focused on, and used in all types of enterprises and open innovation styles where customers contribute in the design and the quality of products and services illustrate new ways of thinking of how to provide services and products. In the times of economic crises, competition becomes tougher, and appealing for the diverse ranges of customers´ choices becomes a major challenge for the survival and growth of enterprises, small and big. Therefore, integrating end-users in the production of services and products is becoming a value in it self, and customers' experiences are embraced as undiscovered mines for a continuous process of co-creating new services, products, and values that pave the way for the creation of new jobs.

During economic crises that are characterized with budget cuts and tougher competition, Lennart Schön (2011) argues that the infrastructure of organizations as well as entrepreneurial activity at large, particularly on service will most certainly get affected. Further, Schön, who is considered a Schumpeterian Swedish economist (Affärsvärlden, 2008), argues that economies are circular; meaning that after a structural crisis that follows economic and financial crises, economic growth is to be expected thanks to new discoveries and innovations. During the crises, businesses vanish and jobs get lost, and among those who are severely affected by economic and

structural crises are the already vulnerable small businesses and economically marginalized individuals and small communities in general.

It is expressive and suggestive that the European Commission report "Guide to Social Innovation" (2013) opens with the following statement:

> In the eighties and nineties, the innovation agenda was exclusively focused on enterprises. There was a time in which economic and social issues were seen as separate. Economy was producing wealth, society was spending. In the 21st century economy, this is not true anymore. Sectors like health, social services and education have a tendency to grow, in GDP percentage as well as in creating employment, whereas other industries are decreasing. In the long term, an innovation in social services or education will be as important as an innovation in the pharmaceutical or aero-spatial industry.

This evokes the notion that social policies are becoming a burning issue in Europe and the rest of the world. With such general understanding, this study takes a departing point from the notion that social innovations and institutional changes are more than just buzzwords, but rather serious issues that concern the every-day life of people and societies as a whole.

> A narrow interpretation of 'social' would suggest viewing the social dimension as complementary to the economic or business dimension. 'Social' would refer to the needs of those groups, communities or segments of society, which are more vulnerable and less able to be involved or benefit from the value generated by the market economy. The main rationale behind the need to pursue social innovation is that today the effects of the financial and economic crisis on social change are uncertain (BEPA, 2010).

Concepts like social innovation, social entrepreneurship and institutional change are not new as such, and people have in all times aspired to find new ways to tackle pressing social and economic challenges. Yet, social innovation is seen as the "new black", especially by policy-makers. Fortunately for our study, literatures and studies about these concepts have been rapidly mounting in the last 20 years and so. These literatures provide diverse views on social innovation and institutional change, and these diverse views stems from different resources and backgrounds. A core issue of this study is the significant role of uncertainty that is embedded in the social position of actors in the two interconnected processes of social innovation and institutional change. I have chosen to approach these two processes by analyzing two cases from

the city of Malmö that strongly, but not exhaustively focus on the issue of empowering vulnerable individuals and small communities. In 2010,Yalla Trappan, which is a case study of this thesis, received funds from the European social fund. The other case study, Connectors Malmö, won a competition announced by the municipality of Malmö and the housing agency MKB. I have chosen to analyze two cases to give an in-depth study about complex fields like social innovation, institutional change, and the uncertainties embedded in the social and economic position of actors. Social and economic challenges such as the ageing of population, climate changes, social exclusion, migration, gender and economic inequality are major concerns in our world and some of these burning issues has inspired me to look beyond the mainstream economy, which led me to conduct this study. Another source of inspiration to target a European context in this study is "the fact that Europe is ideally placed to take a lead and capture first-mover benefits when it comes to implementing social innovations by pro-actively and effectively trying to fully (and fairly) realize both economic and societal benefits (European Commission, 2013a).

1.2 The study

The relatively new interests and willingness of policy makers to invest in social innovations have been aligned with substantial public spending in the form of building infrastructures such as social innovation centers and hubs, arranging competitions, grant offering, and so on. As a result of so many interests from diffident actors in social innovation, the enthusiasm of researchers about social innovation and institutional change has blossomed; yet it is highly important to bear in mind that political and academic interests in these fields vary across countries, regions and cities even in Europe. Such variations indicate and suggest the need for more studies of social innovation cases. That said, this study aims to analyze two social entrepreneurial organizations (SEOs) from the city of Malmö in the southern part of Sweden in the light of a dynamic approach; the distributional approach to institution (Mahoney&Thelen, 2009). The aim of this thesis study is to shed light on complexities embedded in concepts such as social innovations and institutional change and to provide a dynamic analysis SEOs.

1.3 Developing Research Questions

The process of developing the research question has been a demanding one, and the trials to concretize it before contextualizing a theoretical and operational framework

have been characterized by back and forth maneuvering. Yet, the subject matter of this thesis has progressed as I have been working with available materials and data. In other words this progression was not given from the outset. Initially interested in social innovations as a culture of survival and change, I gradually developed an apprehension for the many contexts and ways that different social innovations work in and by. This has helped me to differentiate between cases that represent concepts that this study is interested in. The choice of analyzing two case studies instead of one came thus as a natural move in the progression of developing the research question. By analyzing two cases, the chance for rich and comparative data and interpretations to emerge is bigger. At the same time, the compelling force related to social change and its practical ramifications led me to become more interested in how institutional change can be continuously, but systematically, interpreted in contesting ways. Due to the vast scope of complex aspects involved in this thesis, I recognized the need for a concrete and straightforward research question that is linked to a dynamic theoretical and operational approach. By linking the question to a theoretical and operational framework, I limit the range of the study, but also open the opportunity for an in-depth analysis. Hence, the question of my thesis is:

In the light of the gradual institutional change theory by Mahoney and Thelen (2009), what mode/s of institutional change do the two social entrepreneurial organizations Connectors Malmö and Yalla Trappan represent?

1.4. Limitations of the study

This study is limited to the analysis of social innovation and gradual institutional change, and it has no interest in entering the endless debate of defining these concepts despite the serious effort invested in drawing adequate theoretical and analytical framework in relation to these concepts. In addition, this study is not interested in the endless debate about weather institutional change and social innovations matter or not, and instead sees both concepts as forms of social struggles over resources and power. In-depth discussions in regards to these issues will be presented throughout the study.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

Though concepts like social innovation and institutional change are becoming buzzwords in public and political debates and policies, a profound challenge exists in the lack of consensus about what these concepts mean, and how they happen and what value they serve. At present, it is difficult to relate institutional analysis to innovativeness because theories of both areas are poorly developed (Hollingsworth, 2000). There is a plethora of questions, out there, that are related to social innovation and institutional change. However, it is crucial in the current of this study not to mix such questions with the research question of this thesis. Therefore questions such as weather social innovation is the same thing as institutional change? Is the role of agents or individuals necessary for social innovations to happen? Such questions are only used to highlight complexities related to the concepts that this study is engaged in. Therefore it is crucial to keep in mind throughout this thesis that such questions do not represent the concrete thesis question of this study. This distinction is totally necessary, because this study aims to analysis two specific cases.

2.2 What are institutions?

This study acknowledges that limiting the spectrum of chosen literature for this study has been a real difficulty due to the fact that institutional economics has long and diverse established traditions, but also because the disciplinary fragmentation of the modern university is considered a major barrier to the theoretical advancement of the study of institutions and innovations as well as most other hybrid fields of research (Hollingsworth, 2000). That's said, nearly all definitions of institutions treat them as relatively enduring features of political and social life (rules, norms, procedures) that structure behavior and that cannot be changed easily or instantaneously (Hollingsworth 2000). In line with this, Mahoney and Thelen (2009) argue that the idea of persistence of some kind is virtually built into the very definition of an institution, and that this is true for sociological, rational-choice, and historical-institutional approaches alike.

In his book Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance (1990: 3), Douglass North defines institutions as 'rules of the game in a society'. To North (1990), institutions are constraints, which shape human interaction and the way that societies evolve through time. In other words, rules define what actors can do and

not do. Game and rational-choice theorists, on the other hand, argue that rules are more than just a source of constraint; they provide actors with creative leeway. Further, one of the best examples of this creativity, according to game theorists, is in the game of chess, where fixed and clearly delineated set of rules gives rise to an ever-evolving array of opening moves, attacks, defenses, gambits and endgames (Lantz and Zimmerman, 1999). Hollingsworth (2000), however, argues that even if scholars were to agree with North that rules and norms are institutions, they would not necessarily agree on what a rule is.

This endless struggle over definitions turned my attention to look for a dynamic framework that provides a space for different meanings and interpretations of institutional changes and change agents. We can now see that there is no consensus as to what is meant by institutions, despite that fact that the word "institutions" is widely and differently perceived and used (Hollingsworth, 2000). Nonetheless, talking about rules calls upon the role that actors have in the game in a society, but explaining the rules of the game through individual behavior cannot be done in isolation from the social and cognitive conditions that lead to compliance or non-compliance with rules (Hodgson, 1998). Moreover, it should be emphasized that this study does not take institutions (values, norms, beliefs, organizations, morals, individual and collective habits, etc.) for granted, because this study seeks, conceptually and operationally, to analyze the impacts that social positions of actors have on the process of fostering social innovations and institutional change. From a local context, this is a study of two cases of narratives of institutional change and agency. By adapting the distributional approach, the embeddedness of SEOs in the local communities which they work is conceived as a process that help us to understand how social entrepreneurs define social needs and how they spot opportunities that exist within communities (Seelos, et al; 2010). Change agents are not fixed identities and the unintended outcomes of relations among agents or actors are dynamics of the "ambiguous compromises among actors who coordinate on institutional means even if they differ on their goals (Mahoney&Thelen, 2009). Thus, the complex issue of intentionality or the question about which come first -individuals or institutions- is henceforward not problematic for this current study.

2.3 Institutions: A matter of definition or not?

Mahoney and Thelen (2009) pointed out some basic questions such as: Exactly what prosperities (Qualities)[1] of institutions permit change? How and why do the change-permitting prosperities of institutions allow (or drive) actors to carry out behaviors that foster changes (and what are these behaviors)? How should we conceptualize these actors? And further they argue that answering these basic questions are critical to theorize the sources and varieties of endogenous institutional change. The varieties of these basic questions and the lack of consensus about the definition of institution, uncover the depth of complexities and uncertainties embedded in institutional analysis. Nonetheless, this study argues that the disputes among scholars on whether institutions reduce uncertainty or not (because what matters is geography, technology, culture, population characteristic and not institutions) is a debate that the current study have no interest in, not because they are irrelative, but due to operational reasons that stems from the adapted framework in this study.   In he operational framework of Mahoney and Thelen (2009), norms, rules and values are quite durable; thus play an important role in shaping path-dependency without neglecting the role of embedded ambiguities in networks and social contexts.

2.4 The Distributional Approach of Institutional Analysis

Individuals and communities that are not benefiting from or constrained by existing institutions face the issue of compliance. According to Mahoney and Thelen (2009) dynamic distributional approach, compliance is a main source of ambiguities associated with institutional change. In other words, why should those who are left vulnerable by institutions comply with rules, morals, beliefs and values that constitute institutions that do not serve there needs? How can vulnerable individuals and communities turn institutions into facilitator by using or misusing ambiguities embedded into the very fabric of institutions? How can actors transform the way institutions allocate power and authority in the distributional approach of Mahoney and Thelen (2009) while being aware that "one important reason for the existence of institutions is that people live in an uncertain world that is in constant flux" (Reinstaller, 2013). Indeed, actors who face information processing limitations cannot anticipate all of the possible future situations in which rules written now will be

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[1] My own research method is qualitative case studies. Inspecting types of qualities embedded in the the services that Social Enterpreneurial Organizations SEOs serve.

implemented later (Mahoney&Thelen, 2009). In general, these complexities are embedded in social life and in the social positions of individuals who produce, change, or reproduce the rules of the game in societies. But again the research question must not be lost in the hybridity of these complexities, and by focusing on the varieties of qualities and some specific characteristics of institutional change and change agents, new spaces emerge while I try to interpret some aspects of the uncertainty embedded in social innovations as an agent for institutional change. Or as Mahoney and Thelen (2009) argue that "institutional change often occurs precisely when problems of rule interpretation and enforcement open up space for actors to implement existing rules in new ways. Ignoring to observe this is what leads most institutional analysis to overlook incremental change."

In order to develop a dynamic framework, Mahoney and Thelen (2009) point out that the basic prosperities of institutions contain within them possibilities for change. Further, the issue of ambiguity in rules, norms, beliefs and values that constitutes institutions could be used as an analytical tool because it open up a space for ever lasting flow of new interpretations of rules and institutions. Thus, and in line with the adapted distributional approach by Mahoney and Thelen (2009), this study see ambiguity as a permanent feature of institutions that are henceforth conceived as distributional instruments rather than self-enforcing properties.

The distributional approach to institutions consists of four model types: displacement, layering, drifting, and conversion. These models are associated with four types of change agents: Insurrectionaries, Symbionts (either parasitic or mutualistic), Subversives and opportunists. I now turn to represent each of the varieties or modes of institutional change:

1- Displacement means the removal of existing rules and the introduction of new ones. This model takes place when change agents are powerful and influential enough in their capacity to set up alternative institutions.

2- Layering refers to the introduction of new rules on top of or alongside existing ones. In other words, with layering, institutional change grows out of the attachment of new institutions or rules onto or alongside existing ones. This model differs from displacements in that no new wholly new institutions or rules are introduced. Yet, this model should not be underestimated in its ability to bring substantial change by altering the logic of existing or original institutions or rules. Process of layering happens when institutional

challengers work within the existing system by adding new rules on top of or alongside old ones.

3- Drifting occurs when institutions or rules stay formally the same but their impact changes as a result of shifts in external conditions. In this case, institutional change grows out of the neglect of an institution or a rule. Meaning that the failure to update a rules or an institution in accordance with changes in the surrounding setting leads to a degradation of the significance of such rule or institution, which in turn make individuals neglect it.

4- Conversion takes place when institutions or rules remain formally the same, but are interpreted in new ways. Conversion creates a gap between what institutions or rules stand for and how actors interpret such a stand. This gap produces ambiguities that provide, in return, a space for active exploitations of existing institutions by change agents. In conversion (as true with layering) individuals lack the capacity to dismantle existing institutions and instead redirect it toward more favorable functions and effects (Mahoney&Thelen, 2009).
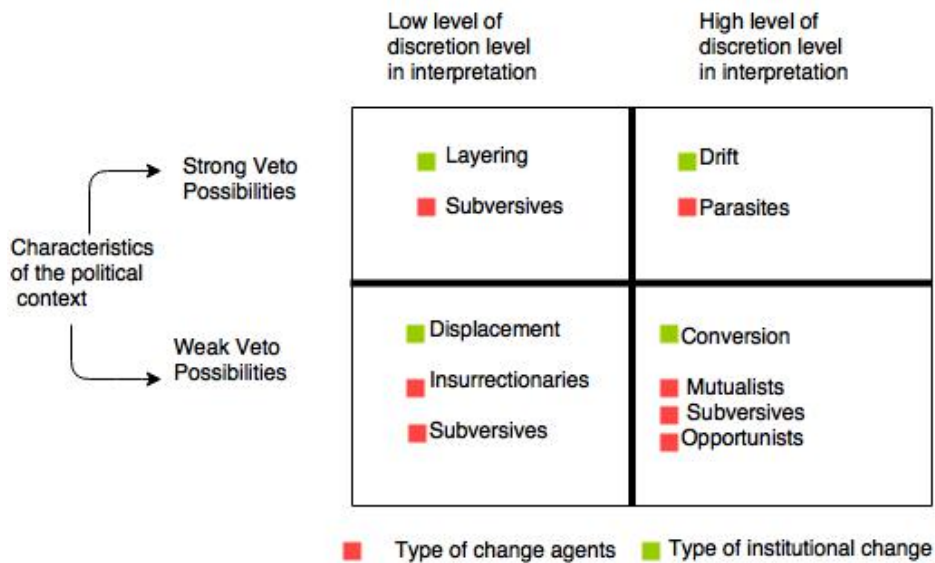
In order to complete our understanding of the distributional approach, identifying change agents is necessary, because different types of change agents emerge in different institutional contexts. Mahoney and Thelen (2009) identify four basic types of change agents as:

1- Insurrectionaries (linked to the displacement model of institutional change): They intentionally seek to eliminate existing rules or institutions, and they do so by actively and visibly mobilizing against them. Insurrectionists reject the institutional status quo, and do not always abide by its regulations. This type of change agents are likely to emerge when groups of individuals are disadvantaged by multiple institutions that reinforce one another to perpetuate the status quo. Therefore, insurrectionaries are linked with radical institutional change.

2- Symbiots (are associated with the drift model of institutional change): They come in two versions - parasitic and mutualistic- and in both cases they rely and thrive on institutions and rules that are not of their own making. Parasites exploit an institution or a rule for their own private gains even if this means undermining or eliminating those institutions or rules that they rely on. Parasites flourish in setting where expectations about institutional conformity

are high, but the actual capacity to realize those expectations is limited. In their mutualistic incarnation, symbiots also derive gains from rules that they did not write or design, but without compromising the efficiency of the rules or the survival of institutions that they rely on.

3- Subversives (linked to both the displacement and conversion models of institutional change): This type of agents actively seek to displace rules or institutions, but without breaking the rules of the game in society themselves. They instead effectively disguise the extent of their preference for institutional change by following institutional expectations and working within the system. What is interesting with this type of activists or change agents is their ability to exploit crucial institutional gaps to set up actions at the local level with the purpose of putting in place a more decentralized and completely different system alongside and within the existing and prevailing system. Therefore this type of change agents is also associated with gradual institutional change through layering.

4- Opportunists (aligned with the conversion model of institutional change): They adopt a wait-and-see approach to institutions or rules while pursuing conversion when it suits their own interests. Opportunists are actors who have ambiguous preferences about institutional continuity. They do not actively seek to preserve institutions. However, because opposing the institutional status quo is costly, they do not try to change the rules. Opportunists instead exploit whatever possibilities exist within the prevailing system to achieve their ends.

With the help of the above-described distributional approach, the current study aspires to analyze and discuss what types of institutional changes and change agents are characteristics of the two SEOs from the city of Malmö- Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö. And to make this approach clearer, I provide and operational framework below.

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                    Low level of              High level of
                    discretion level          discretion level
                    in interpretation         in interpretation

                  ┌─────────────────────┬─────────────────────┐
    Strong Veto   │  ■ Layering          │  ■ Drift             │
    Possibilities │                      │                      │
                  │  ■ Subversives       │  ■ Parasites         │
 Characteristics  │                      │                      │
 of the political ├─────────────────────┼─────────────────────┤
    context       │  ■ Displacement      │  ■ Conversion        │
                  │                      │                      │
    Weak Veto     │  ■ Insurrectionaries │  ■ Mutualists        │
    Possibilities │                      │  ■ Subversives       │
                  │  ■ Subversives       │  ■ Opportunists      │
                  └─────────────────────┴─────────────────────┘

        ■ Type of change agents      ■ Type of institutional change
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2.5 Social Policies of Social Innovation

From a distributional perspective on institutions, actors are embedded in multiple institutions, which leave them winners in some arenas but losers in others. Thus moving beyond the binary classification of winners and losers, the significance of the social position of actors become hard to ignore in the process of institutional change. Now the significance of the social position of actors does not imply that individuals´ actions are the only source of institutional change (Battilana, 2009). Individuals´ actions are necessary, but not sufficient to claim superiority in the context of institutional change. Or as Mahoney and Thelen (2009) argue that we need to be mindful that institutional change need not to emerge from actors with transformational motives since institutional change can be an unintended by-product that grows out of distributional struggles in which no party explicitly sought the changes that eventually occurred. Though this study is not seeking to enter an endless debate on the issue of intentionality, I do realize that the issue of human agency is linked to the social position of agents. Those who benefits from the existing institutional logic have no incentive to change the rules of the game in a society. In contrary, those who are in a vulnerable social position and do not benefits from the existing institutional logic have an urge to do something about the status quo. The problem is that, because they are less advantaged by the existing institutional arrangements (i.e. market, state, corporate hierarchies, networks, associations, communities) individuals who belong to lower status social groups are likely to have

difficulties accessing the key resources necessary for conducting divergent change (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996).

This dilemma is a complicated challenge not only for those who are disadvantaged by the existing institutional logic, but also for policy makers as well. The European Commission has launched a strategy consisting of seven flagship initiatives with three priority themes of smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth (European Commission, 2010). These flagships are advocated by the European Commission to catalyze progress under the three priority themes:

– "Innovation Union" to improve framework conditions and access to finance for research and innovation so as to ensure that innovative ideas can be turned into products and services that create growth and jobs.

– "Youth on the move" to enhance the performance of education systems and to facilitate the entry of young people to the labor market.

– "A digital agenda for Europe" to speed up the rollout of high-speed Internet and reap the benefits of a digital single market for households and firms.

– "Resource efficient Europe" to help decouple economic growth from the use of resources, support the shift towards a low carbon economy, increase the use of renewable energy sources, modernize our transport sector and promote energy efficiency.

– "An industrial policy for the globalization era" to improve the business environment, notably for SMEs, and to support the development of a strong and sustainable industrial base able to compete globally.

– "An agenda for new skills and jobs" to modernize labor markets and empower people by developing their of skills throughout the lifecycle with a view to increase labor participation and better match labor supply and demand, including through labor mobility.

– "European platform against poverty" to ensure social and territorial cohesion such that the benefits of growth and jobs are widely shared and people experiencing poverty and social exclusion are enabled to live in dignity and take an active part in society (European Commission, 2010)

It is interesting to notice that the strategy starts with a flagship on innovation strategies and close with another that aims to fight poverty and social exclusion. In other words, this indicates the interconnectedness between innovations in one hand

and poverty and social exclusion in the other. Thus, the linkage between social dynamics and social innovations are a core reason behind the many interests that policy makers show in social innovations. Yet, the interest in social innovations does not stem purely from the responsibility that policy makers have towards vulnerable individuals and communities, but rather from the interest in something else, namely economic growth. One may ask, as one of the interviewees by this study did actually ask: why there is a widespread skepticism among those who are vulnerable and disadvantaged toward the relevance and innocence of social innovations? Another interviewee did not hesitate to tell that social innovations are something that is mostly done by "hipsters" for the sake of being socially cool. This study argues that this kind of skepticism to be legitimate and relevant in the light of the theoretical framework explained earlier. Such skepticism sheds light on the aspect of ambiguity involved in the purpose and meaning of social innovations. Moreover, this skepticism is not targeted - as I observed it from more than one interviewee- toward economic growth per se, but rather toward the unbalanced distributions of benefits that social innovations generate. I will return to this point later on in the analysis when of the two SEOs Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö.

What first and foremost concerns the framework of this thesis is the linkage between institutional change and agents of change who do social innovations. The challenge hereby is to represent as concrete as possible definition of social innovations without ignoring the ambiguous characteristics involved in it. Reinstaller (2013) points out that many definitions leaves it to the reader to figure out what social problems, needs or services do social innovations resolve or provide. In addition, Reinstaller (2013) argues that a common shortcoming among definitions of social innovations is the assumption that there is a consensus on what the "public good" is. Reinstaller (2013) goes further and states that normative assumptions should therefore not be a defining element of any generalized conception of social innovation since the notion of what is good or bad public values varies across individuals and cultures. To put it straightforward, this study argues that the majority of definition of social innovations in the existing literature is not helpful in providing a concrete space for an in-depth analysis of social innovations as an instinct phenomenon. Even if I try to be innovative by combining several definitions, the outcome is yet not precise. For example if I try, to the best of my abilities, to combine how two reports, BEPA written by Agnes Hubert (BEPA, 2010, p.24-31) and another report from BEPA

called "Social Innovation: A decade of Change" (BEPA 2014, p.33) conceive social innovations, I argue that the outcome would at best looks as follow:

> Social innovations are embedded in routines, norms and structures. They are about the development and implementations of new –to the context in which they appear; being social, political or cultural- approaches and answers (products, services, processes, rules, and models of local economic development) to the mounting social needs (unemployment, climate change, population aging, growing inequalities, etc.) that are not adequately met by the market or the public sectors. Further, social innovations are innovations that are social both in their ends and means, and their core goal is to improve beneficiaries' access to power and resources. Social innovations refer also to the implementation of new labor market integration processes, new competencies, new jobs and new forms of participations that empower people and create new social relationships and models for collaborations. Social innovations have a high level of uncertainty, and can lead to unintended consequences.

Even such a definition does not provide social innovations with distinct characterizations. One may still wonder if social problems that social innovations are supposed to deal with is at all different from, for example, what the public sector typically try to solve (Reinstaller, 2013). It is thought of that social innovations are better positioned to solve social challenges because it is a decentralized and less bureaucratic. Social entrepreneurial enterprises such car sharing, fair-trade organizations, crowd funding and grassroots micro-credit initiatives are few examples of that. However, issues such as measurement, infusion (the network effect) and validity of social innovations are matters of disagreements and disputes, even among my interviewees, as we will see in the analysis section. Ruede and Lurtz (2012) argue that social innovation is "an umbrella construct that after a phase of excitement now faces validity challenges by being at risk for having too many and various meanings for different people". Recognizing this, this study seeks an adequate analytical framework to develop a systematic understanding of the phenomenon of social innovation. That's said, and despite all these concerns related to the definition of social innovation, this study has arrived, slowly but surely, to the conclusion proposed by TEPSIE (TEPSIE, 2014) that "social innovation is predominantly a practice-led field in which definitions and meanings have emerged through people doing things in new ways rather that reflecting on them in an academic way".

Therefore this study views ambiguities embedded in institutions as a permanent element in institutional change. And because, as I discussed earlier, uncertainty plays a double role- it limits the availability of information but opens a space for endless interpretations of laws, rules and norms that shape human interaction and constitute the central elements of culture- this study takes a flexible and dynamic approach for the analysis of social innovations by adapting the distributional approach advocated by Mahoney and Thelen (2009). Moreover, the fact that social innovation has been embraced by policymakers, practitioners, and academics in spite of the confusion and lack of clarity over its meaning, suggest that social innovation (as in the case of ´social capital´, ´social cohesion´ and ´sustainable development´) is a ´quasi-concept´. By adapting this way of viewing social innovation, this study acknowledges that the concept of social innovations is open for criticism on theoretical, analytical and empirical grounds (TEPSIE, 2014). A quasi-concept could be defined as the joint of use of empirical analysis and scientific methods that make concepts adaptable to a variety of situations and flexible enough to follow the twists and turns of policy. This flexibility is not a mere a buzzword, but rather a useful framing device that provide a space for explaining the myriad of tensions and points of divergence among interpretations, definitions and approaches to social innovations across the policy and academic worlds (TEPSIE, 2013).

At the end of this section that close the theoretical framework of the present study, there is a need to clarify the differences between the closely related and overlapping terms of social innovation, social entrepreneurs, and SEOs. The blurry lines between these terms grow from the fact that there is little empirical evidences to confirm that SEOs are more successful than other organizational forms in generating social innovations, and one way of clarification is to consider SEOs themselves a social innovation (TEPSIE, 2013). Moreover, social innovation is distinct because it aims at change at the systematic level, and "unlike the terms social entrepreneurship and SEOs, social innovation transcends sectors, level of analysis and methods to discover the processes-the strategies, tactics and theories of change-that produce lasting impact" (ibid. p.34). This basically means that not all social innovations are associated with making economic impacts, but rather with the goal of changing the existing institutional logics. A SEO may or may not function as a vehicle for innovations, and it may just confine its activities with combining social and economic and even political goals by continuously producing goods and services. This confirms

that social innovation is a broader concept than either SEOs or social entrepreneurship (TEPSIE, 2013). Still, there is often an implicit assumption that SEOs are by nature new, entrepreneurial and innovative. This present study aims to shed some lights on the conflating discussions of SEOs, social entrepreneurship and social innovation in the analysis section of the two Entrepreneurial organizations Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö. But, before we arrive to the analysis it is necessary to lay down my thoughts regarding the methods that would pave the path towards the analysis.

3. Method and Data

3.1 Introduction

At one phase in my research, it became clear to me that in order to excel my thesis, I would need to master one methodology in research and learning. Uncertainties were easy to notice among fellow students, and I found many of them passionately arguing: do not block your creativity and do not let conventional wisdom frighten you, go a head and undertake a case study. From the very beginning, I was convinced that no matter what research method I may choose, I would be going through a learning process. Or as Hans Eysenck (1976:9) puts it: Sometimes we simply have to keep our eyes open and look carefully at individual cases- not in the hope of providing anything, but rather in the hope of learning something!

3.2 Qualitative method

Though case studies can be conducted both within qualitative and quantitative research methods, the present study pursue to be invited into the private and complex space of social life. Therefore, a qualitative case study is the adapted method here. By using this method, I bid that rich data would emerge from the contexts of the two SEOs of this study. Further, this study intends to diversify the sources of gathered data, and in order to do so, qualitative semi-constructed interviews are conducted and available texts and articles are used. Stake (2005) argues that qualitative case study is characterized by researchers spending extended time on site, and personally in contact with activities and operations of the case- reflecting, and revising descriptions and meanings of what is going on, which in turn inspired this study to bring participant observations a secondary source of information. However, this secondary source of data will be cautiously used because the usage of such method require long experience and more suitable for studies with a wider longitude in time and space.

This study aspires to be transparent and open, and through volunteering in doing ad-hoc work in the case of Connectors Malmö, and on few occasions joining employees from Yalla Trappan on a bike ride to deliver ordered food, I got a unique opportunity to observe and hear stories about the multiple realities of interviewees. In such a context, a qualitative case study method is decent because it offers insights in what motivate behaviors, needs and desires to be involved in work within social innovations and institutional (norms, values, beliefs, structures, and so forth) changes. Indeed, qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world (Flybjerg, 2004), and it consists of narratives that make the world visible and available for interpretations and transformations (Feldman, 1995). In the next subsection, a short methodological reflection on the narrative of the present study is provided.

3.3 Theoretical perspective on method

General sayings like society is a text and knowledge are socially constructed-or so constructivists' believe- initiated my curiosity about the learning processes of gaining knowledge about cases like Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö. Social contexts are, of course, vital in such processes, because these social contexts open fields of possibilities for analysis. Therefore, social constructivists argue and conclude that no method can make claim about objective social "truth". I think that the dilemma of generalizations from case studies, and the questionable role of researcher on the outcome of quantitative research are grounded in the fact that subjective and objective social "truths" are dynamic- continuously and rapidly changing. This study has invested enough space and time in developing the method section of this study, because this study has no doubt that trust in the method, any method, is essential in analyzing social phenomena. This study aspires that trust in the analysis could be established by building a rigorous and effective method accompanied with a commitments to respect the social position of interviewees. This study makes no claims about objective social "truths", and only aspires to offer a dynamic analysis of some core complexities associated with social innovations and institutional change. Trust in the analysis is achieved, I would argue, if the studied subjects are given voice throughout this study, and not only in the concluding notes.

Constructivists further argue that in recognizing that the realities of today depend on the agreements of today, researchers realize enormous possibilities for

methodological innovations (Feldman, 1995). That's said; I need to take in consideration the aspect of ambiguities involved in the social positions of agents of change. This study is not about ambiguity as such, but I find it necessary to contextualize such aspect. The interest of this study in taking the social position of individuals seriously brought my attention to the aspect of ambiguity (Battilana, 2006). The question then became how should I deal with these ambiguities, rather than spending endless effort wondering about the nature of these ambiguities. I needed a way to deal with these ambiguities, and I landed on the method of deconstruction. Deconstruction is a process that rest on several assumptions, and it is achieved through several specific ways of looking at, and interpreting a text, a verbal exchange or an action. Deconstruction is able to reveal ideological assumptions in a way that is sensitive to the suppressed interests of members of disempowered, marginalized groups (Martin, 1990). The growing awareness of the aspect of ambiguity during the research process, which was exhausting and a source of frustrations at times, turned to be of much value. In choosing a tool of analysis that could give this study access to what is written, said, or done, but also to what is conceived, hidden or ambiguous in what is written, said or done has enriched the quality of my critical thinking in regards to concepts like social innovations, institutional change and ambiguities embedded in the social position of agents of change. This study is going to use the concept of deconstruction as an instrument, not to uproot individuals or communities from the social context they exist within, but to enrich the analysis with diversified interpretations of the narrative produced by Yalla Trappan and Connector Malmö. It is essential to bear in mind through out this study that the social position of individuals is always present. I will only use the method of deconstruction in one section of the analysis; namely the deconstruction of stories gathered through interviews but also from informal interactions with key individuals of this study.

The concept deconstruction offers an innovative way out of the dilemma of generalization attached to qualitative case studies by allowing multiple interpretations of a text, a story, or an action without claiming to represent the objective truth about which interpretation is correct or what the author intended to say (Martin, 1990). Further, Martin (1990) highlights that deconstruction starts from epistemological premises that are radically different from those held by most organizational researchers since deconstruction requires subjectivity, reflexivity and

acknowledgement of sources of potential personal bias. Using the method of deconstruction stems from the commitment of this study to be transparent and open. Acknowledging my presence in the process of undertaking this study is unavoidable, and the most effective way, I believe, to limit my impact on the output starts with acknowledging my presence without denying that the social position of key individuals could be understood and interpreted differently.

3.4 Research Approach: Case studies

This study deals with several complicated aspects because the topics that are under research are rooted in social realities. The nature of my research questions is embedded in social and economic complexities and contexts. Battilana (2006) argues that the controversy revolves around the ability of actors, who are supposed to be institutionally embedded, to distance themselves from institutional pressures and to act strategically. In order to conduct adequate social and institutional analysis, Battilana (2006) emphasizes the necessity to take all three level of analysis (i.e. the individual, the organizational, and the societal levels of analysis) into account. This indicates the need to use a research approach that allows in-depth investigation of phenomena like social innovation and institutional change. As mentioned by Flybjerg (2004), social science has not succeeded in producing general, context-independent theory and thus in the final instance has nothing else to offer than concrete, context-dependent knowledge, and therefore the case study is especially well suited to produce this type of knowledge.

Though there is no consensus on the basic characteristics of case studies, qualitative case study researchers advocate in depth strategies such as "thick description" and "process tracing" (Blatter, 2008). However, from the literature on case studies, I found it necessary to highlight three types of case studies in order to be able to strategically position the interests of my study. Robert stake (2005) distinguishes between intrinsic, instrumental and multiple case studies. Intrinsic case studies are undertaken if the researcher, first and last, seeks better understanding of the particular case, while instrumental case studies are undertaken primarily because they provide insights into an issue or represent other cases. The case in instrumental case studies is of secondary interest, but it plays a supportive role and facilitates our understanding of something else. Thirdly, multiple case studies are conducted when there is even less interest in one particular case, and a several cases are studied jointly.

Our current study is taking a departure point by analyzing two cases, Connectors Malmö and Yalla Trappan. Though the selection of these cases was done carefully as we will see during the analysis, this study want to use these cases as instruments that could enrich our comprehension of something else, namely, the interplay between social innovation, social position of agents of change and institutional change. These aspects are complex, and this study has chosen the case study approach, because it aims to link, as Battilana (2009) put it, the individual level of analysis back to the organizational and societal ones. Further, I find it important to bear in mind that though I aspire to provide an in-depth description as of the cases, the prime focus is instrumental and this present study aims to pull off a dynamics analysis of SEOs. There are, of course, advantages and disadvantages in using a case study approach to study such grand and complex social questions and contexts. Advantages and disadvantages of case studies that are linked to issues such as the reliability, validity and ethics will be discussed in depth in a separate section later on before starting the analysis. I turn now to represent the cases studies.

3.5 Case selections: Why Connectors Malmö and Yalla Trappan?

We know by now that this study is an instrumental case study. Learning in-depth about phenomena like social innovations and institutional change, require an explanation of my selection of Connectors Malmö and Yalla Trappan, Malmö is a city with a plethora of social innovations, and choosing two representative cases was not an easy task. To mention some social innovations or organizations that work with social innovations in the city of Malmö, we find the living lab The Neighborhood (a co-production and innovation environment for collaborative services and social innovation anchored in a geographic environment in Malmö that today seldom is associated with social and economic growth), Fabriken Stpln (a do-it-yourself workspace), Rörelsen Gatans Röst och Ansikte (RGRA, a youth grassroots movement), and Drömmarnas Hus. This study has chosen to study these two cases of Connector Malmö and Yalla Trappan because I personally had general access to these cases through individual actors from my personal social networks. These networks have been very helpful in facilitating the process of choosing interviews as a method. Moreover, my own voluntary participation in some activities undertaken by Connector Malmö became of high value in regards to my engagement in the field of my study. Last but not least, during the period of reading and learning about social

innovation and institutional change, I became curious about the relevance of these cases. As I went more in-depth in the process of developing this study, I became convinced that these two cases could offer an opportunity to learn about social innovations and gradual institutional change. This relevance will be contextualized under the analysis section.

3.6 Interviews

3.6.1 Introduction

Due to the fact that both Connectors Malmö and Yalla Trappan have rooted their works on implementing and running projects, conducting interviews was seen as an opportunity to acquire first hand information about those who are involved in these projects. Stake (2005) argues that the praxis of doing case study research is dominated by the challenges of collecting empirical evidence. Fortunately, with challenges come opportunities, and conducting interviews gave this study the chance to validate some data gathered through written texts and available articles about the cases. Moreover, the interest of this study in the social position of those who are involved in social innovations is a sensitive topic. By conducting semi-constructed interviews (see Appendix), interviewees are offered space to use their own words and express their own thoughts. This provided me with a better chance to capture new insights about the social position of interviewees. This is important because the social position of those who are involved in social innovations is one of the main focal point in the present study.

3.6.2 Construction of Interviews

As mentioned above, semi-constructed interviews were found suitable for the current study due to their flexibility toward those who are being interviewed. It is significant, in this respect, to clarify that such flexibility did not overshadow going in depth about the main topics that is of interest to this study. In the contrary, giving the interviewees space to express their thoughts and emotions enriched the narrative of interviews. I asked all interviewees before starting if they wish to have interactive flow of the process of the actual interviews or rather have a one-way activity with me asking. They all preferred an interactive style, which indeed provided space to tell and share informal stories. Questions were pre-designed, but in the actual interview other and even unexpected questions emerged. In contrast to survey studies, the majority of

the pre-designed questions of all interviews are of an open-ended nature, which supported the commitment of providing flexibility and space for interviewees to express their thoughts and emotions.

3.6.3 Criteria of selection interviewees: Consent, anonymity and control.

The target group of the present study is primarily individuals who are involved in the work of SEOs. The range of these individuals is wide, and includes co-founders, social entrepreneurs, volunteers, employees, and individuals from the local community that Connectors Malmö and Yalla Trappan work within and aspire to impact or serve. The present study aspired to interview individuals who could offer unique insight about the cases. The process of selection in the case of Connectors Malmö was much easier than in the case of Yalla Trappan. Connectors Malmö, as we will see in the analysis section, is an emerging social start-up. Thus interviewing the two co-founders of Connectors Malmö, who also act as social entrepreneurs, was necessary. In the case of Yalla Trappan, I first thought of interviewing someone from the leadership level, but after my first individual meeting with my supervisor, I became convinced that interviewing some employees would give this study a bottom-up knowledge about Yalla Trappan. These employees are representative of the social targeted group that Yalla Trappan aspires to impact.

3.6.4 Presentation of interviewees

The three employees that I interviewed in the case of Yalla Trappan are all females, with age range 27-35 years old. They have different backgrounds (Poland, Syria, and Iran), and they evolved a closed friendship over time. Within Yalla Trappan, they work with catering and cleaning services, and all of them are new comers to Sweden, with a range of 1 to 2,5 years. They are all finished with their secondary school, and two carry bachelor degrees in social sciences. They all go to Swedish language classes, but they communicate mostly in English.

In regards to the case of Connectors Malmö, I interviewed the two co-founders Julieta Talavera and Joshua Ng (usage of names comes with a consent). Both of them came to Malmö as international students, and they initiated their cooperation to co-create Connectors Malmö during their studies. Julieta is Argentinean and finished her education in Malmö Högskola last year and now she works as a project manager at Glokala Folkhögskolan beside Connectors Malmö. Joshua is Asian American and is expected to finish his education this year. Joshua plans to stay in Sweden after school

and is determined to continue his work and engagement in Connectors Malmö. They are in their mid-twenties, and met for first time in 2011. Both speak fluent English, and go to Swedish language classes. On the official website of Connectors Malmö, they describe themselves in a humoristic, but indicative manner as follow:

- Julieta has a background in sociology, activism and social entrepreneurship. She is passionate about change. She is into documenting and creating new ways to help us get together and do things for the common good. She is part of Connectors to learn, to create and to be part of something bigger.

- Coming from a very international upbringing, Joshua studied Journalism and International Relations in the US, UK and Sweden. At Connectors, he is a ping-pong playing, coffee-brewing, music-mixing guy who also deals with PR, marketing and administration on the side.

3.6.5 Conducting Interviews: The dynamics if the interview situation

I'm very privileged in the sense that I have friends engaged in both SEOs. They have positively and professionally answered my e-mail asking them about the possibility of being interviewed for this study. However, in my e-mail I introduced some major ideas about the current study and why I have chosen to interview them. I wanted to diversify my sources and succeeded in interviewing others than friends. I conducted five interviews in total- two with the co-founders of Connectors Malmö and three employees from Yalla Trappan. I attended to the agreed place of meeting ten minutes in advance, and I had used a small notebook as a diary to record the context and the surroundings of each interview. Each interview lasted around 45 minutes, and was recorded. The used language during the process of interviewing was English, and the sitting was informal. All interviews were initiated with listening to a song suggested by the interviewees. It was an icebreaking exercise that helped establishing a relaxed environment before starting. I, then used around ten minutes letting the respondents to know that I'm conducting interviews for the purpose of my master thesis, and I guaranteed them anonymity if wished. In this regard, interviewees from Connectors Malmö had no problem with me mentioning them by their names, while in the case of Yalla Trappan, one of the interviewees asked not to use her real name, which in return made me to decide not to use the real names of the other two interviewees as well.

3.6.6 Reliability, Validity and Ethics (Advantages and disadvantages of case study)

By analyzing relations and processes, new frontiers of knowledge within the individual, the organizational, and the societal levels are introduced. This is essential in the context of this study, because these levels are linked to our analysis. Another strong advantage, which case study approach offers, is that it allows the usage of several types of data resources together with different research methods. Case studies do not only allow, but also call and indeed encourage researcher to diversify resources of data (Denscombe, 2009). Thus, the current study intends to diversify resources of data by using participatory observation of activities within Connectors Malmö and Yalla Trappan as a secondary resource of data as mentioned earlier, and combine it with data from available documents and semi-constructed interviews. In research terminology, this procedure of diversifying data resources is called triangulation. By doing so, I would have a chance to minimize misinterpretations and even misunderstanding of gathered data.

The discussion on data gathering calls upon issues such as the integrity and ability of the present study to produce any generalizations. This study aspires to be transparent and open for criticism in regards to the role, which I personally had on the flow of circumstances during the process of gathering data. I have to admit that the writing process has been chaotic at times, but clarity around how to go forward with the study emerged gradually. In this regard I should mention that talks with friends, fellow students, and of course feedback and criticism from my supervisor was absolutely of high value to bring about such clarity, especially in the continuous process of refining the core research. Yet, I have to emphasis that my curiosity about social innovations and how such innovations are socially and culturally perceived, functioned as a main driving force in conducting this study. Therefore, I find it necessary to stress that my interpretations of any objective or subjective issues in this study are not totally free from my own ways of thinking. Yet, in order to strengthen the reliability and validity of my study, I disciplined my own perceptions within a constructivist epistemology. With that in mind, my moral obligation and words of trust to conceal the names of those interviewed employees from Yalla Trappan stands firm, and all taped interviews will be deleted after the study is finished. Using the concept of deconstruction helped me to raise my own awareness to the diverse realities of individuals involved in the work of the two chosen SEOs. Moreover,

deconstruction as an analytical instrument of narratives challenged me to self-criticize my own perceptions about my own subjective impact on the potential outcomes of the study.

Case studies are also criticized for producing "soft data" (Denscombe, 2009), but this could also be considered oversimplification of the knowledge that could be learned from cases. Or as Stake (2005) put it: Case study is apart of scientific methodology, but it is purpose is not limited to science. In the end, this study aims to provide a dynamic analysis of complexities embedded in social innovations, institutional change and the social position of agents of change. Indeed, case studies are much better suited than large-*N* studies for tracing these ideas because they can invest heavily in in-depth analysis. Anyhow, this study does not seek to confirm or approve any social or institutional theory, and the focus is rather on pulling attention to overseen difficulties embedded in serving vulnerable communities, both socially and institutionally. Even though the research question is linked to the theory of gradual institutional change, by Mahoney and Thelen (2009), it should be clear that this study is not trying to refine, confirm or refuse this theory. The purpose of this linkage is to strengthen the theoretical and empirical validity of this study through the employment of such dynamic theory in the analysis. To achieve even a stronger level of validity in respect to empirical knowledge and data, and in order to make empirical data more objective and less subjective (Stake, 2005), I applied the method of triangulation, as mentioned before.

4. Analysis

4.1 Contexts of analysis

By applying the theoretical and operational framework of this study, I argue that social innovation and institutional change, as intertwined and dynamic processes, can be dynamically contextualized. By adding a weight on the essentiality of the social position of actors, I aim to shed light on different types of change actors that are engaged in social innovations and institutional change. In a working paper "The Embeddedness of Social Entrepreneurship: Understanding Variation Across Local Communities" (Seelos, et al; 2010), the authors pinpoint that social enterprise organizations "arise from entrepreneurial activities with the aim of achieving social goals. These type of organizations have been identified as alternative and/or

complementary to the actions of governments and international organizations to address poverty and poverty-related social needs". Further, the authors highlight that social entrepreneurship are entrepreneurial activities with the aim of building organizations that achieve social goals, and regardless of whether they adopt a for-profit or a not-for-profit legal form, such organizations, referred to as social entrepreneurial organizations (SEOs). SEOs are part of the social economy, but it is crucial in this context to differentiate between social economy and social market economy. The EU Commission in its "Social Europe Guide" from 2013 emphasized "While similar in their name, the 'social economy' and the 'social market economy' are two quite different political and economic concepts that were developed for different purposes. Still, they both play a crucial role in defining the European social and economic model.

> On one hand, the term 'social economy' is used to define a specific part of the economy: a set of organizations (historically, grouped into four major categories: cooperatives, mutual, associations, and, more recently, foundations) that primarily pursue social aims and are characterized by participative governance systems (…) The term 'social market economy' refers to a political-economic model created after World War II in response to the need to spread confidence in a new democratic system. At its heart, it sought to harmonize the principle of market freedom with the principle of social security by giving the State an active role in promoting both market competition and balanced social development (European Commission, 2013b, p: 14)

Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö that work to improve the social or/and economic needs of vulnerable individuals and communities by executing entrepreneurial activities. Therefore, I argue that Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö have a business model that can be analyzed as a model that social entrepreneurial organizations (SEOs) is built on.

Now, I find it interesting and indicative that the report "Social Innovation-A decade of Changes"(BEPA, 2014) highlights that "The Players have evolved: social players have overcome their first negative reaction of seeing social innovation only as a partial privatization of welfare, which is the state's responsibility as a major development in the European social context". As the current financial and economic crisis has triggered profound doubts about the capacity of the single market model of economic growth to meet the mounting social challenges, attention got turned to find

new ways of creating jobs with reduced budgets. In the light of such profound doubts, social economy and social enterprises became a focal point on the agenda of local and national policy makers (European Commission, 2013b).

4.2 SEOs: Infrastructure and Networks

In this section I will first provide a general description of the infrastructure in which Yalla Trappan and Connector Malmö operate within. Then, I will go deeper in giving a description of core elements in the narratives that these two SEOs produce and work by. After that a process of deconstruction of these narratives is developed in the background of the process of applying the distributional approach from Mahoney and Thelen (2009). By doing so, I will generate an in-depth discussion around the research question of this study. The city of Malmö, Sweden's third largest city, is characterized by multi-ethnicity, cultural production, youth culture (more than have of the populations are under 35 years old) and social challenges, such as unemployment, violence instances, increasing social segregation and inequality, gender inequalities, struggles within the public health and education sectors, etc.).
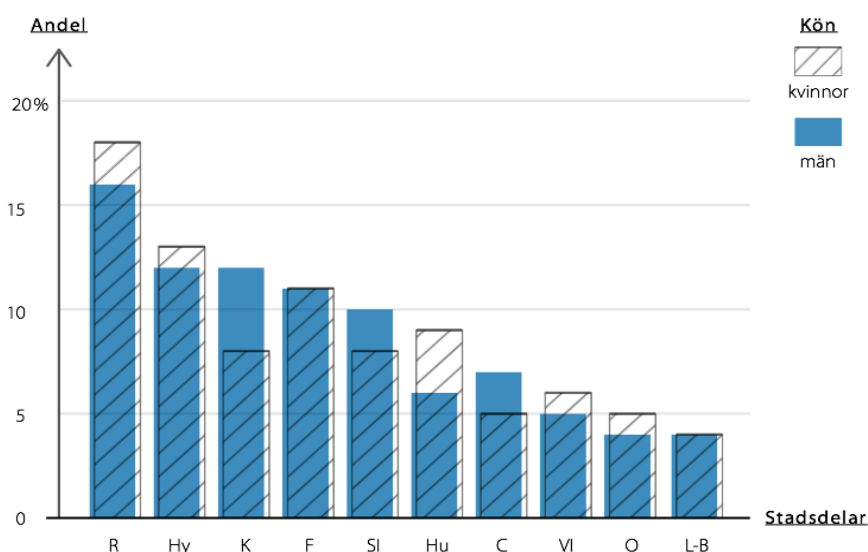

Källa: Lindström et al, 2012

(The diagram above is used in Malmö Commission's report (2014, p. 37) and shows an example of the social challenges that the city of Malmö face. The figure shows the differences on the level of how bad health status among different areas of the city. Rosengård is topping the list with men (18%) and women (16%) experiencing problems.). Abbreviations: R (Rosengård). Hy (Hyllie). K (Kirseberg). F (Fosie). SI (Södra innerstaden). Hu (Husie). C (Centrum). VI (Västra innerstaden). O (Oxie). L-B (Limhamn-Bunkeflo).

Malmö is witnessing a population growth as well, which can be explained by the fact that more are born than those who pass away (between 2001-2010, 45000 child was born), but also because the numbers of new comers from outside of Sweden is

increasing (Malmökommission, 2014). To understand the city of Malmö, one should keep in mind that the welfare system in the city is communal, which mean that the design and implementation of welfare policies and economic policies occur at a local and regional level. Meaning that social and economic growth depends on the cultivations of existing resources and skills in the city and the region of Skåne as a whole. As Malmö Stad recognized that traditional ways and tools are not efficient in dealing with existing economic and social pressures. Therefore, in 2009 Malmö Stad established a commission with the task of producing a comprehensive report about the social pressures that the citizens of Malmö are experiencing. The report (Malmös Väg Mot En Hållbar Framtid) was finalized at the end of 2013, and is currently used as a guide in designing and implementing socio-economic services. The report has been a cornerstone for this study because it acknowledges the bigger picture of the social positions of citizens of Malmö. Secondly, The report does not only provides a holistic view of the services that the public sector need to provide to the citizens of the city, but also emphasize the crucial task of building infrastructures that could foster social innovations. Malmö Commission (2014) argues that the linkages between social innovations, urban integration and citizens wellbeing and health is important due to the fact that these linkages impact the relationship between economic growth and welfare policies. In addition the report is of special important for the current study because Yalla Trappan is one of the SEOs that supplied the commission with information about their model of social entrepreneurship. All in all, the report is a comprehensive one that looks into the socioeconomic positions of individuals in a holistic manner. An overview of conditions and factors that affect the health and the socioeconomic positions of citizens are catalyzed as in the following diagram.

Factors that play a significant role in shaping the social position of individuals.
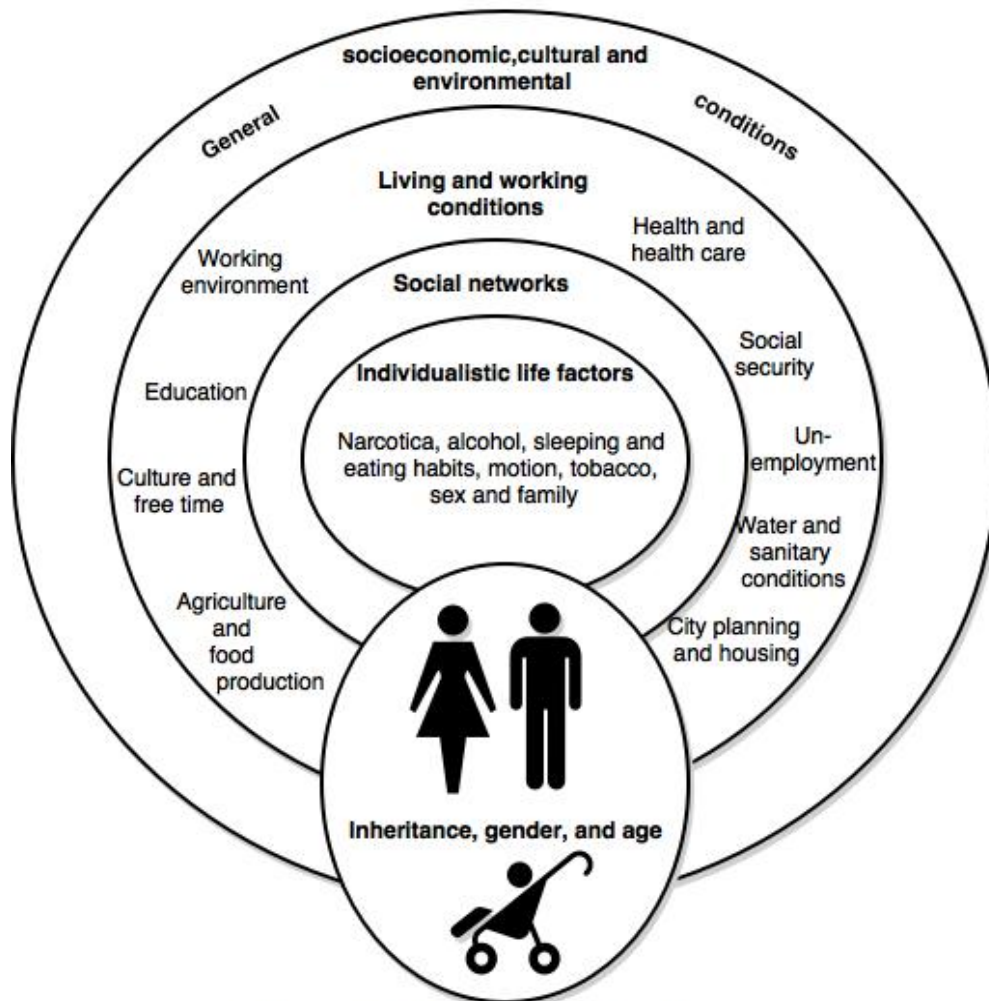

Resource as cited from Malmö Commissions´s Report (2014). Källa: Dahlgren Och Whitehead 1991. (My own translation from Swedish to English)

Another existing infrastructure that facilitates social innovations in the city of Malmö is Möteplats from the university of Malmö. Möteplats was established with funds from Vinnova, Vetenskapsrådet, KK-stiftelsen, the EU and the European Commission, and Malmö University to coordinate and communicate within the areas of social innovations and social entrepreneurship in the city of Malmö. Möteplats is not only a meeting place, but offer six research centers that conduct studies in the fields of social innovation, social entrepreneurs collaborative design, media and communication. One of the related research centers to this current study is MEDEA that brings collaborative media, social innovations and service design together. MEDEA has played a central role in the lifecycle of Connectors Malmö. MEDEA has three living and innovation labs- Fabriken, the Stage, and the neighborhood. Fabriken

and Connectors Malmö have the same working place at a cultural hub called STPLN- a hub that encourages creativity through experimentation.

It is highly important to bear in mind that Connectors Malmö does not only share a working place with MEDEA, but also share and exchange knowledge and ideas that is critical for learning and growing. Though they work on different areas, they still share common values and common visions about how to run a meeting place and how to design solutions for the mounting social challenges in the city of Malmö. Connections and networking is essential infrastructures for the facilitation and fostering of social innovations. Another important infrastructure is the relation between SEOs and the private sectors. The newly developed cooperation between Yalla Trappan and IKEA is an example that shows how important the private sector is for the growth of SEOs. Moreover, the interest in social economy is not new to the Swedish society, and the Scandinavian economic model has strong tradition in facilitating social cooperative and social enterprises. The following figure is from the European Commission guide "Social Europe Guide" (2013b), and it highlights the position which social economy has in Sweden compared to the rest state members of the EU.
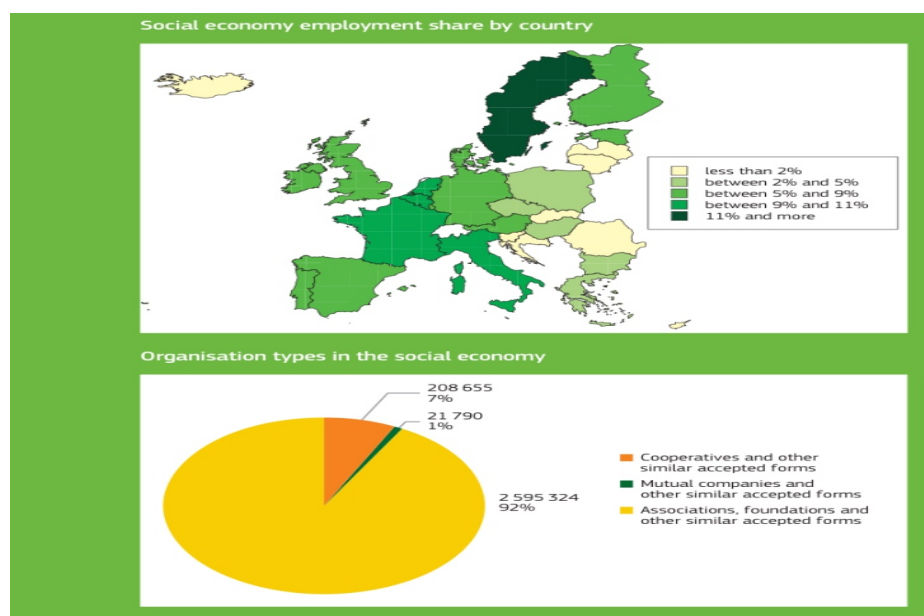
(Social Europe Guide, 2013b)

4.2.1 Connectors Malmö

It is a SEO that aims at crowd-sourcing information by offering a meeting space or a public living room for locals to encourage them to share and co-create ideas on how

they would like to develop their own Persborg neighborhood in Malmö. The crowd-sourced information and the co-created neighborhood-based solutions are then passed to the responsible authorities (Malmö Stad and the housing agency MKB) to take it into account when delivering services to Perborg neighborhood. Malmö Stad encouraged this project of offering a public living room because words has been thrown around that the neighborhood of Persborg was forgotten, while attention was focused on neighboring areas like Rosengård och Augustenborg (Malmö Stad, 2015). The initiative By Julieta Talavera and Joshua Ng, the co-founders of Connectors Malmö, came in its right time while Malmö Commission was still working on its report. Connectors Malmö is narrated as a citizen-driven entrepreneurial initiative that has the needs and social positions of locals in the center of developing a public space. The co-founders gathered information in a playful and engaging way by using a bike they called *fikacykeln* (hangout bike), or as The Guardian (2015) described it: "The Persborg residents don't need a periscope to see what is happening in their living room. They can walk into the square where the Connectors set up their mobile talking point and coffee station: a converted bike trailer with a fold-out table supported by an ironing board stand. Taking the voting and discussions outside has boosted the debate and data collection, which made the process of crowd sourcing of information more dynamic and fun". In a document launched by the Business Innovation Observer-EU Commission (Dervojeda et. al 2014, p. 3), the concept of crowd sourcing is explained as follow:

> Crowd sourcing is a term invented by Jeff Howe, who refers to it as follows: "for the entirety of human history, the crowd was depending on proximity. People had to be together, physically, in order to create a crowd. Technological developments starting with the Internet, allowed people to get together through intent and shared interest. The principle that communities can be formed out of shared interest and passion for a certain theme is a fundamentally new development in the course of human history. Crowd sourcing is put into practice when a company takes a job that was once performed by employees and outsources it, in the form of an open call, to a large undefined group of people, generally using the Internet.

Further, due to the fact that two co-founders of Connectors Malmö are international students, an extra motive for them to start this SEO is that they seek to come in contact with local Swedes. As the co-founders shared with me during the interviews,

the pilot project of making the Pop Up Space or a public living room started in 2012, and is a part of bigger vision. In all available national and international media interviews with the co-founders of Connectors Malmö, they emphasized that the pilot project is a part of a bigger project, and that they aspire to design a platform to be a part of a grassroots movement where entrepreneurs, artists and industries work together to solve local but also global pressing challenges. To achieve that they aim to establish a residency (a living lab home) where local and international social entrepreneurs can come together to serve the neighborhood of Persborg. The funding that Connectors Malmö received through winning a competition launched by Malmö Stad is only related to the process of gathering information and data about Persborg neighborhood. This funding extended till april.2015, but the co-founders continue their engagement in the neighborhood afterward. They launched action-based activities such as urban gardening and furniture co-building in the square of Persborg. Simultaneously, they are developing a plan to open the permanent living lab home after the summer 2015. They have informed me during the interviews that they are preparing to launch a crowd-funding campaign to realize that.

The two entrepreneurs, Julieta and Joshua have no intention of leaving Malmö any soon, and the knowledge they have acquired about the socio-economic conditions that shapes the Persborg neighborhood is a first hand knowledge that can be used for new entrepreneurial projects. This knowledge is valuable not only in the context of Persborg, but also in other contexts that resemble it. As Julieta passionately mentioned while interviewing her: `Trust me, if it is possible in Persborg, then it is possible in the rest of the City`. Joshua then added: "And other cities and countries too!"

4.2.2 Yalla Trappan

As the organization define it self in its homepage (www.yallatrappan.se), Yalla Trappan is a work integration social enterprise, and a women's cooperative. It is located in the heart of Rosengård in Malmö, and it aims to provide work for immigrant women who otherwise are unable to enter the labor market. In 2010, Yalla Trappan were funded by the European Social Fund, the City of Malmö and ABF Malmö[2], and grew to become into a self-evolving social enterprise with 15 employees with three commercial branches that include: café, catering, cleaning, conference

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[2] ABF stands for The Workers' Educational Association, and is Sweden's largest adult liberal education association.

services and a sewing studio. Yalla Trappan is partnering with many different actors from all sectors in the city of Malmö. For example, Tillväxt Malmö is in a continuous contact with Yalla Trappan to provide the leadership with economic and administrative advises. Tillväxt is an association that support and consults entrepreneurial start-ups in their efforts to economically grow and create new jobs, and it was established as a form of cooperation between individual entrepreneurs, Malmö Stad and Malmö Högskola. Further, Yalla Trappan cooperates with Arbetsförmedlingen (the national agency of employment) through giving internships for new-landed immigrant women in the period of receiving social benefits and developing their Swedish skills. For the purpose of developing the skills of the Swedish language for their employees, Yalla Trappan cooperate with ABF Malmö in designing language courses with focus on on-job learning.

The success of Yalla Trappan is also associated with its cooperation with the private sectors, especially after they landed a deal with IKEA to produce products like curtains and pillows, which customers will be able to shape and design according to their own taste and preferences (ABF, 2013). Yalla Trappan is expected to grow, and their working model is believed to be duplicable in others areas as well. The new pilot project *Mera Yalla i Skåne*, which is funded by the Social Investment Fund in Region Skåne and ABF Malmö aims to hold a serious of workshops on how the model of Yalla Trappan can be duplicated in the cities of Kristianstad, Landskrona and Malmö (ABF, 2014).

4.2.3 Deconstructing the narratives of the cases.

I have so far acquired an in-depth understanding about the contexts in which the two SEOs Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö operate within. I now go further in my analysis, but before applying the theoretical framework of this study directly to the two cases, I will make a use of the conducted interviews to provide a narrative about social innovations, and institutional change from the point of view of interviewees combined with my own interpretations. As highlighted in the theoretical framework, social innovations as any other innovations such as technological innovations are characterized by uncertainty and ambiguities. In addition, the fact that institutional change and social innovations do not necessarily happen as an outcome of an entrepreneurial effort, make the issue of complying and/or not complying with existing rules and norms even more hard to grasp. Therefore, taking the social

position of individuals in the interpretation of impacts that social innovations have on vulnerable individuals and communities is one of the pillar in the current analysis.

Despite the fact that there is no consensus on what exactly citizens´ wellbeing and social value mean, these topics are still relevant to the current discussion of this study. This study has strategically chosen two cases that have common values such as solidarity, co-creation and participation, but yet with diffident stories and narratives on how to bring about social innovations and institutional change. The notion that social innovations and institutional change are forms of social struggles is not a mere exaggeration. The social position of individuals is a dynamic and multidimensional topic that is involved in power and resource allocations. In such context, I would argue that power struggle is a process of innovating new ways to assure the wellbeing of vulnerable individuals and communities that the rules of the game in a society have failed to serve. The skeptical view that social innovations are part of a restructuring process of mainstream economies- namely the privatizing welfare services- is not totally true, especially in a Scandinavian context. The director of Innovation and Center for Social Entrepreneurship at the university of Roskilde-Denmark Lars Hulgård (2010) argues that " European efforts aimed at the making of a new social economy, with a crucial place for social enterprises, cannot be exclusively considered as being part of what Neil Gilbert consider to be rampant privatization in the form of the ultimate triumph of capitalism (Gilbert 2002:181-2)". The narratives and contexts of the role of social innovations in impacting the social position of individuals is important in relation to how the theoretical framework of this study is applied and interpreted in the next section. Lars Hulgård (2010) draws clear distinction between the narratives of social entrepreneurship in Europe and the U.S. Hulgård (2010) concludes that:

> In the USA, "social entrepreneurship" is first of all a metaphor for addressing the funding problems of the non-profit world through market activities and relations to the corporate world, and a metaphor used to highlight the innovative aspects of social projects (Defourny and Nyssens 2008: 4). In Europe, social entrepreneurship is part of the tradition of the social economy, which links all three spheres in modern liberal democracies in innovative approaches to solving social problems. (Hulgård, 2010)

This distinction minimizes the level of ambiguities and uncertainties embedded in social innovations, and help this study to zoom in its analysis.

I would argue that ambiguities embedded in social innovations could stem from mixing distinct narratives together without being aware of it. That became clear to me during an open and informal discussion during one of the interviews. With growing passion, one of the interviewees (with a bachelor degree in social sciences) from Yalla Trappan argued her views on the power struggle embedded in social innovations and institutional change as follow:

> Nowadays every one wants to help you, but you know too that every one wants something from you. You have to watch out, because it's hard to be yourself nowadays. Because you are vulnerable, it's easy to say yes when they want to offer you something. But then you are caught up in a trap, and freedom, especially economic freedom, is gone. You need to be on awake when your vulnerability is a product or a by-product of the business as usual. My vulnerability is that I'm in a new society that I need to learn how to know, and my vulnerability is not my mistake. I'm well aware, that my vulnerability was been produced in the corridors of U.S. banks. And now, you know, I'm her in Sweden. Isn't that ironic? Maybe not, but the real irony is that they want us (me and those who are in a vulnerable position like me) to participate in alternative ways to reboots the engines of their business as usual. (Interview with Yalla Trappan's employee)

On a related question about how the interviewees feel about their contribution in the process of growth of an SEO like Yalla Trappan, I found a consensus that they all feel just satisfied that they receive income at the end of the month, but they all wish to have a proper and creative job that match their social and educational skills, rather than delivering food or cleaning offices. On several occasions during the interviews, they all emphasized the value of the work they do for Yalla Trappan as interns, but they also recognize that it is a transitory state in their lives, and all their focus is on studying the Swedish language. As one of the interviewed elaborated: "We do what we do here for the sake of something else, isn't that kind of innovative and gradual change?" She then burst into laughter that made every one laugh too.

All the interviewed from Yalla Trappan recognize that the organization has an innovative working model, and wish that more projects like Yalla Trappan exist. In regards to the question weather Yalla Trappan could be associated with institutional changes, the answers varied. Two of the interviewed argued that fighting gender inequalities should be done at all times and in all sectors and types of enterprises, social or not. In other words, they stressed that being a woman should not be a

synonym with being vulnerable. " We are vulnerable because we are new in this society, and not because we are women", they added. The third interviewed, with origins from Syria, answered with a short statement saying: "I fight gender inequality from my current position by studying the language of the new society I'm living in now". I found this diversity in opinions to be very genuine from the point of view of the interviewees. It indicates that the first two interns do not care about the rules of the game in the society and aspire for radical change of norms, values and meanings. The third interviewed plans to follow the rules (by studying the language first), and aspire to fight the dominant institutions gradually and from within. We can clearly see here that the interpretations of institutional change is linked to how actors interpret their own social position, which in turn produce gaps between the two levels of interpretations. These gaps produce ambiguities around the rules of the game that may hinder or facilitate a bettering of the social position of individuals.

By deconstructing the narratives (stories, perceptions, enactment, articulations, interpretations and meanings, etc.), the rules of the game is a society is not what constrains or facilitates change. Rather, the way change agents perceive and interpret the rules of the game is what constrains or facilitates change. Despite the innovativeness of the organization (see also the film "Om Yalla Trappan), I do not find it hard to argue that Yalla Trappan plays by the rules and radical innovations is thus hard to expect yet. Yalla Trappan's new deal with IKEA could be a game changer in terms of the type of innovations produced by Yalla Trappan, but that is yet for the future to tell (Sydsvenskan, 2014). However, this thesis argues that Yalla Trappan is a dynamic SEO that can be placed in more than one category in the distributional approach by Mahoney and Thelen (2009). Through the infrastructure that paved the way for Yalla Trappan to emerge and grow, it is decent to argue that Yalla Trappan have common characteristics with mutualistic type of agents represented in the distributional approach. Indeed, the survival of Yalla Trappan would not have been possible without the support of the existing rules of the game in society. Another interpretation is that Yalla Trappan has similarities with the opportunistic type of agency as they exploit possibilities that exist within or produced by the prevailing system. In other words, the notion that Yalla Trappan has a continuous flow of low paid employees is an opportunity that means a lot for a start-up. The three interviewed from Yalla Trappan get actually paid from a governmental agency and not from Yalla Trappan. And since the prevailing institutions is not able

to serve all vulnerable communities and institutions, spotting institutional gaps and building an alternative system alongside and within the prevailing system with the purpose of reaching out for vulnerable individuals and communities is a characteristic of the subversive type of agents. Reaching out for vulnerable individuals and communities does not always stem from pure ideals, and ambiguities are always there and present. Thus, reaching out could be interpreted with critical lenses as a disguise that satisfies institutional expectations to hide distinguished preferences for institutional change. In the long run-if the business model of Yalla Trappan is duplicated and differentiated- the impact could be multiplied in minimizing social inequalities from within vulnerable communities. From the above analysis, I conclude that Yalla Trappan is engaged either in the conversion or layering type of institutional change presented in the distributional approach by Mahoney and Thelen (2009).

In the case of Connectors Malmö, I find the narrative of social innovation constructed in different ways than in the case of Yalla Trappan. First I need to emphasize that the work done by connectors Malmö so far is represented in this study by their pilot project the Pop UP Space that aims to gather data and information about the needs and aspirations of locals at the Persborg neighborhood. Yet the pilot project is anchored to a bigger vision that aims to co-create and co-design solutions with the locals to tackle pressing social challenges. In addition Connectors Malmö aims train a group of local young individuals in leadership and social innovations by co-design. The co-founder Joshua elaborated on the question about the difference between Connectors Malmö and other living-in labs that exist in the city of Malmö saying that: "Places like Fabrikn, Stapln, the neighborhood and the Stage are for everyone and no one at the same time. The living room co-created and co-designed by Connectors Malmö and the locals of Perborg is for the locals of Perborg. And it will be there after Connectors Malmö moves on to new neighborhoods and cities". For connectors Malmö, designing narratives, especially change narrative, are essential in the process of co-creating work identities. On their homepage, they articulate and present the values of their start-up organization as follow:

> Our existence as a grassroots movement is rooted in several fundamental values. These help guide our decision-making processes and the direction of Connectors as an organization:
> **We believe in the power of collaboration:** Collaborative commons is the way forward. Everybody has something to

offer, and everybody has the capacity to use his or her skills for the common good.

We believe in making the most out of our resources: Nothing is more frustrating than excessive conferences with outrageous budgets. We like thrifty ideas and the up-cycling culture.

We act global and think local: Sure, we're based in a small city in the south of Sweden, but we're not limited to Malmö. We're made up of an international crowd in an uber-international city. Many of us hope to scale our ideas and projects from Malmö all over the globe.

We believe in the human element: Solutions for society's problems need to be based on people. Adopting a human-centered approach means we try our best to be real about what problems we try to tackle and create relevant solutions. (Boldness is cited as it is on the homepage www.connectorsmalmo.com)

As we can see from these values and from the earlier description of Connectors Malmö, the narratives of their vision revolve around the concept of co-creation and co-design. Further, the co-founders of Connectors Malmö do not hide or disguise their passion for social change. When I asked about how they perceive the concept they elaborated that: " we do not just design methods, but also live them through the co-creation of solutions with the locals. Connectors Malmö is not only about being opening a meeting place, but also about co-designing new ways of thinking at the local level". Regardless of the garnished rhetoric related to the concept of co-designing ways of thinking, I argue that aiming to co-design new habits of thoughts is an entrepreneurial approach that seeks radical institutional change. Engaging the locals by introducing them to co-creation toolboxes and strategies is associated with the displacement form of institutional change in the distributional approach. My interpretation is that co-designing new ways of thinking transcend the mere participation of citizens is the process of decision making because the impact of such strategy can produce a capacity among individuals to set up alternative institutions at a local level. Yet, achieving longstanding impacts takes time because changing habits of thoughts does not happen over time (Veblen, 1898). Therefore and according to the distributional approach to institutional change (Mahoney and Thelen, 2009), I argue that Connectors Malmö is also engaged in challenging institutional and social status quos by layering. Yet, due to the fact that the distributional approach is dynamic, which mean that change agents can represent different moods of change at the same

time, I argue that the vision of Connectors Malmö to co-create a grassroots movement that aim to set up alternative ways of serving local communities is a dynamic vision that can be associated with change by layering in the short run and change by displacement in the long run. On the question of how Connectors Malmö aims to develop a heterogeneous co-design of change with several stakeholders with different interests and preferences? The cofounders highlighted that Connectors Malmö is building infrastructures for a co-designed grassroots movement that would incorporate local individuals, international talented social entrepreneurs, public agencies, students, and private actors as well. Therefore, I argue that in the short run, Connectors Malmö can be associated with the subversive type of agents, and with the insurrectionist type in the long run.

Co-creation is not, of course, limited to social entrepreneurs, and is rather a concept increasingly adapted and incorporated in socio-economic value creations cross sectors and industries. Co-creation is articulated as a revolutionary design approach where a multitude of stakeholders is actively involved in the design process. Crowd sourcing (the tool used by Connectors Malmö) can be considered a form of co-creation, and it goes beyond partnering with other companies, assembling multidisciplinary teams, or conventional user-designer (Dervojeda et. al, 2014). One of my interests in studying Connectors Malmö is my passion to understand how co-creation work in real life, and I initiated a discussion during one of the interviews with the co-founders of Connectors Malmö about the concept of co-creation. Julieta elaborated on that saying: " You know, it is like entering the unknown. When we started, we had no clue what will happen or how the locals would react. Yet, we believed that a vulnerable community like Perborg has undiscovered human capital. We wanted to discover that. Co-creation is a process of discoveries and experimentations". In regards to the issue of scaling up and transferring their business model to other areas and cities, the co-founders showed awareness of the issue that social positions varies cross neighborhoods, cities. They argued that scaling–up is doable as long as they are capable of implementing the process of crowd sourcing information. The co-founders stressed on many occasions during the interviews that crowd sourcing of information is a revolutionary concept that allow local capabilities to emerge.

I have now managed to analyze main narratives embedded in the two SEOs Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö, which in turn made it possible to position

these SEOs within the distributional approach of institutional change. I now provide an operational framework to sum up the results of the analysis of my thesis.
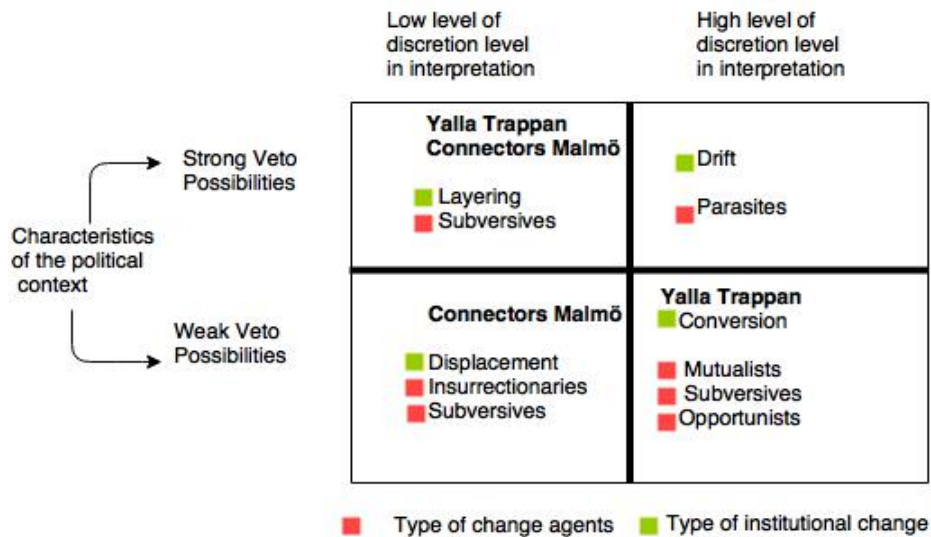
5   Conclusion

There are many ways of writing and interpreting the history of the recent blooming interests in social innovations. I have applied a dynamic approach to analyze the correlations between SEOs that aim to impact the socioeconomic conditions of vulnerable individuals and the outcomes of such impact on the rules of the game in society. Providing socioeconomic services and innovations to help vulnerable communities and individuals to help themselves is a two way process of training and learning. Crowd sourcing information, as in the case of Connectors Malmö, is a process that helped locals to come together to co-think and co-create solutions for their own neighborhood. Yet, as the crowd-sourced information is passed on to responsible institutions, planning the provision of socioeconomic services become more accurate. The co-founders of Connectors Malmö strongly argued that their hand-on experience taught them that Malmö Stad is not fully a ware of the needs and aspirations of the locals from Persoborg, and it is not strange then to find that many initiatives launched by Malmö Stad failed to find a welcoming soil in that very neighborhood. Social innovations can be interpreted as a learning tool that public institutions could use to update/change their priorities and habits of innovating

services. Sitting in an office in an isolated building while planning socioeconomic services is a traditional way of innovating solutions for pressing socioeconomic and environmental challenges. As we could see from the dynamic analysis of the two SEOs (Yalla Trappan and Connectors Malmö), Malmö Stad is doing what it can to facilitate social innovations. Yet, the existing socioeconomic pressures in the city of Malmö are enormous and cannot single-handedly tackle by Malmö Stad. Therefore I argue that there is a need for stronger social innovation systems especially in the times of economic crises. Uncertainties should not be a reason for holding back social innovations by laws and norms of doing business as usual, because uncertainties are not unique for social innovations and is a permanent feature in all economic beings and aspirants of changes that aim to make a city like Malmö a better place to live. A city that is innovative enough to discover its own capabilities and talents

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Appendix

I have conducted semi-constructed interviews, and the questions below functioned as a departing point while knowing that semi-constructed interviews are dynamics and open for changes and modifications while conducting interviews. Many of the questions below aimed to bring about discussions rather than straightforward answers.

Yet, I decided to appendix these questions to give some ideas about the flow and richness of information that interviews provided for this study.

Yalla Trappan

1- How did you get to know about Yalla Trappan?

2- Was learning the Swedish language a reason for you to join Yalla Trappan?

3- Why do think that you were chosen by Arbetsförmedlingen as a suitable candidate to join Yalla Trappan?

4- Yalla Trappan is considered to be an innovative organization. What is the type of work that you do there, and do you think and feel that your work is innovative and?

5- Yalla Trappan has a motto that learning happens by doing? Do you recognize some new skills that you acquired through your work?

6- How do you learn about the impacts that Yalla Trappan has on the lives of fellow colleagues? How they measure changes in their social position in association with being employees at Yalla Trappan?

7- Sweden is a new society for you, and you have new social and economic positions in it. From your own point of view, do you think that Yalla Trappan is delivering services that can change the social position of marginalized and vulnerable immigrant women like you?

8- Do you believe an entrepreneurial organization such as Yalla Trappan is producing a model of social change?

9- Do you feel that Yalla Trappan is paving the way for you to enter the Swedish working market? Or do you consider it a temporary solution for you current solution?

Connectors Malmö

1- The story behind Connectors has been published many places. Why do you think that telling of the story and the narratives behind it to be important?

2- What are the short run and long run visions of your organization?

3- Your organization is doing crowd sourcing of data. Do you consider your work as mediators of infrastructures that may bring about benefits to the community of Persborg?

4- Is community participation enough?

5- Co-creating values is more than a buzzword or a theoretical concept, how do you co-create ideas in practice?

6- You are gathering information and data from the community that you work within to pass it forward to responsible authorities, Malmö Stad. How is the crowdsourcing process going?

7- Do you have examples of other organizations that use the same co-creation instruments as you?

8- Networking is central in entrepreneurial work in general, how do you network? And why?

9- At different places, including your official webpage, you talk about co-creating a grassroots movement for social innovations that could serve social need in the area of Persborg. Up scaling can be a long way of struggle and uncertainties. What barriers do you expect that your organization will face in the process of scaling up?