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The role of the urban context in the emergence and development of social
innovation:

The case of labour inclusion initiatives in Malmö and Medellín

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Abstract

ENGLISH

From a human and community development perspective, social innovation is understood as new or disruptive socio-political processes that attend basic needs and improve quality of life of disadvantaged groups. Social innovation is the manifestation of resistance to social exclusion mechanisms. In the case of the labour market, many inclusion efforts exist but have limited effect, as unemployment and socio-economic inequality keep soaring. Their challenge is to transcend benevolent actions to long-term social change.

This thesis studies social innovation at the local level in two very different cities: Malmö (Sweden) and Medellín (Colombia). The three-layered empirical analysis uses the C.S.I (Context, Strategies, Initiatives) framework to account for the historical and political context, examine five urban strategies for social inclusion, and then zoom into one labour inclusion initiative in each city. The initiatives are analysed using the ALMOLIN model and their social innovation features are compared using radar charts. The overall results yield the formulation of an 'ideal' three-stage evolution path for socially innovative initiatives that none fully followed.

This research produced two theses. First, that the transformative potential of initiatives is more complex than the vehement advocacy for scaling up/out suggests. It resides on their capacity to recognize and attend causes of exclusion, their social innovation features, and their development on a three-stage evolution path here described. The second thesis re-examines urban governance relations and suggests the consideration of a forth element in the city's power struggle. Such supplementary view can devise the theoretical link between social innovation and peace-building. Throughout the study it is shown how the urban context is fundamental in determining these outcomes.

Key words: social innovation, inclusion, exclusion, labour market, social innovative initiatives, ALMOLIN, urban context, empowerment

GERMAN

Soziale Innovation wird aus menschlicher und gemeinschaftlicher Sicht als neuer oder disruptiver gesellschaftspolitischer Prozess verstanden, der den Grundbedürfnissen Rechnung trägt und die Lebensqualität benachteiligter Gruppen verbessert. Soziale Innovation ist die Manifestation des Widerstands gegen soziale Ausgrenzungsmechanismen. Auf dem Arbeitsmarkt gibt es viele Inklusionsbemühungen, die jedoch nur begrenzte Auswirkungen haben, da die Arbeitslosigkeit und die sozioökonomischen Ungleichheiten weiter zunehmen. Die Herausforderung besteht darin, wohlwollende Aktionismus in einen langfristigen sozialen Wandel umzuwandeln.

Diese Arbeit untersucht soziale Innovation auf lokaler Ebene in zwei sehr unterschiedlichen Städten: Malmö (Schweden) und Medellín (Kolumbien). In der dreischichtigen empirischen Analyse wird das C.S.I-Modell (Kontext, Strategien, Initiativen) verwendet, um den historischen und politischen Kontext zu berücksichtigen, fünf urbane Strategien für die soziale Eingliederung zu untersuchen, um dann auf eine Initiative zur Eingliederung von Arbeitskräften in jeder Stadt zu fokussieren. Die Initiativen werden mit dem ALMOLIN-Modell analysiert und ihre sozialen Innovationsmerkmale mit Hilfe von Netzdiagrammen verglichen. Aus den Gesamtergebnissen ergibt sich die Formulierung eines „idealen“ dreistufigen Evolutionspfades für sozial Innovationsinitiativen, dem kein Beispiel vollständig gefolgt ist.

Diese Forschung hat zwei Thesen hervorgebracht. Erstens, dass das Transformationspotenzial von Initiativen komplexer ist, als es die vehemente Befürwortung von „scaling up“ und „scaling out“ nahelegt. Es beruht auf ihrer Fähigkeit, Ausgrenzungsursachen, ihre sozialen Innovationsmerkmale und die konsekutive Erfüllung des dreistufigen Evolutionspfades zu erkennen und zu begleiten. Die zweite These untersucht die städtischen Verwaltungs- und Regierungsbeziehungen (Governance) und schlägt die Berücksichtigung eines vierten Elements im Machtkampf der Stadt vor. Eine solche ergänzende Sichtweise kann den theoretischen Zusammenhang zwischen sozialer Innovation und Friedenskonsolidierung aufzeigen. In der gesamten Studie wird gezeigt, wie grundlegend der städtische Kontext für die Bestimmung dieser Ergebnisse ist.

Schlüsselwörter: soziale Innovation, Inklusion, Ausgrenzung, Arbeitsmarkt, soziale Innovationsinitiativen, ALMOLIN, städtischer Kontext, Empowerment

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List of Abbreviations

Acronym	Description
ABF	Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund (Workers' Education Association)
ACI	Agencia para la Cooperacion Internacional (Agency for International Cooperation)
Aii	American Innovation Index
ALMOLIN	Alternative Models for Local Innovations
AMVA	Area Metropolitana del Valle de Aburra (Metropolitan Area of the Aburra Valley)
BID	Business Improvement District
CEDEZO	Centro de Desarrollo Empresarial Zonal (Zonal Business Development Center)
CINDE	Fundación Centro Internacional de Educación y Desarrollo Humano (International Foundation Center of Education and Human Development)
CK	Casa Kolacho (a socially innovative initiative case in Medellín)
COJARDICOM	Corporación de Jardineras de Moravia (Moravia's female gardeners corporation)
CORDIS	European Union's Community Research and Development Information Service
CPE	Center for Public Entrepreneurship (in Malmö)
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EAFIT	Escuela de Administración y Finanzas - Instituto Tecnológico (School of Management and Finance -Technological Institute)
EC	European Commission
EDU	Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano (Urban Development Company)
EPI	Escuela Para la Inclusion (a socially innovative initiative case in Medellín)
EPM	Empresas Publicas de Medellín (Public Companies of Medellín)
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
EU	European Union
FP	European Union Framework Programme
HYF	Hack Your Future (Programming classes for immigrants at Foo Café)
IAD	Integrated Area Development
ICP	Instituto de Capacitación Popular (People's Training Institute)
IDEA	Instituto para el Desarrollo de Antioquia (Institute for the Development of Antioquia)
INDER	Instituto de Deportes y Recreación de Medellín (Medellin's Sport and Recreation Institute)
IT	Information Technology (industry)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual

Los Alamos	Instituto de Capacitación Los Álamos (Los Alamos Training Institute: specially for persons with disabilities)
LTU	Luleå University of Technology
MAU	Malmö University
MINC	Largest business incubator and co-working space in Malmö
MINE	Mentorship, Inspiration, Networking and Education (social enterprise in Malmö)
MOVA	Centro de Innovación del Maestro (Innovation Center for Teachers)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
OMI	Open Model of Innovation
PCD	People-centred development
SI	Social Innovation
SII	Socially Innovative Initiative
SINGOCOM	"Social Innovation, Governance, and Community Building" EU-funded project
SIRC	Social Innovation Research Center
TISS	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
WWII	World War Two
YT	Yalla Trappan (a socially innovative initiative case in Malmö)

Chapter 1

Introduction

‘The Social Innovation phenomenon’ is expanding across geographies, sectors, and fields. It is also pushing the boundaries of academic research and inspiring many to act as social innovators or social entrepreneurs. It is even measured with indicators such as the SI Index by the American Innovation Index (Aii), another one by The Economist Intelligence Unit (The Economist, 2018), or the European Digital Social Innovation Index (NESTA).

There is an increasing number of social innovation (SI) summits and conferences, which also reflect the multiplicity of initiatives arising in every imaginable place. In an attempt to explore this phenomenon, SI-DRIVE, an EU-funded research project “involved 15 partners from 12 EU Member States and 10 from other parts of the world” (SI-DRIVE) to research more than 1000 social innovation initiatives around the world (Figure1) while also developing theory, methodology, and policy (Howaldt et. al 2016).

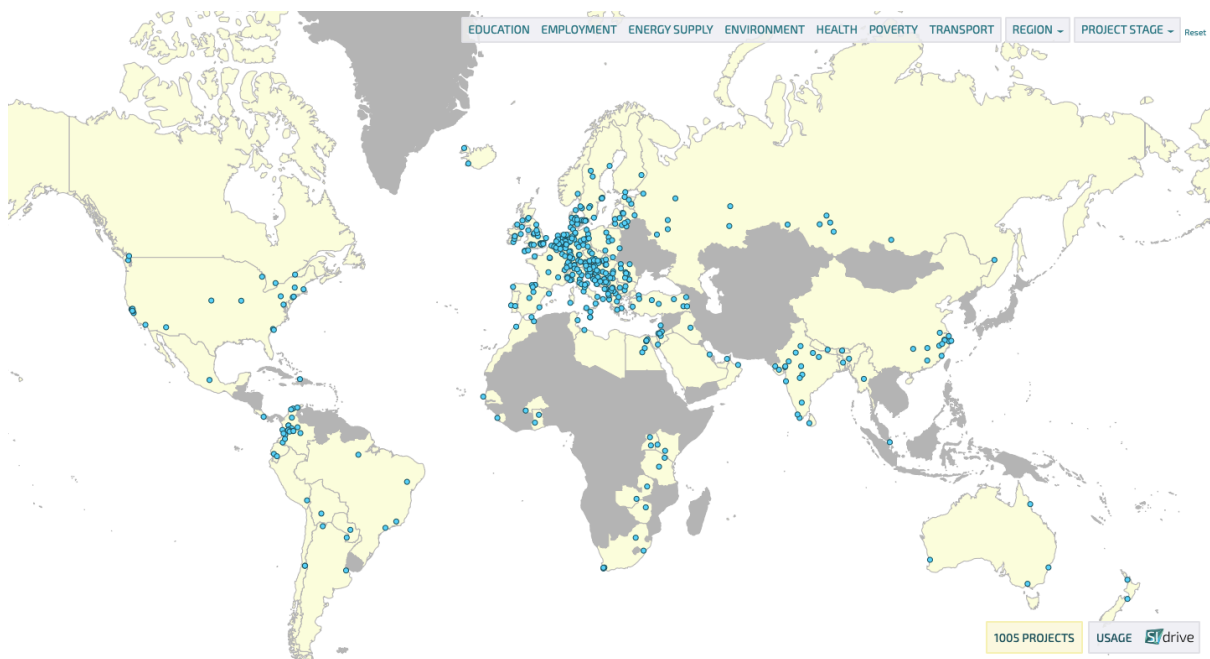


Figure 1 - 1,005 social innovation initiatives around the world surveyed by the SI-DRIVE project. Source: Howaldt et. al 2016

Many research institutes have joined the effort: e.g. Swinburne (Australia), Social Innovation Research Center -SIRC (U.S.), CRISES (Canada), ZSI (Austria), Somos Mas (Colombia), just to name a few. In Europe alone, there are more than 300 EU-funded projects related to social innovation since 1990 (EC CORDIS). The recent interest, or rather a revival of social innovation, has also contributed to an expansion on academic research and advancement on theoretical formulations (Caroli et al., 2018; Dro et al., 2011; Leubold et al., 2017; Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019; Rüede and Lurtz, 2012).

The usage of the ‘social innovation’ term is widely popular in all three sectors. In academic research, SI is mostly related to urban studies, sociology, human development, and economics. In the private sector, it is associated with information technology, business, human resources, and organizational science. And in the public sector, SI is relevant to policy fields like education, employment, environment, energy, transport, healthcare, and poverty reduction (SI-DRIVE).

The velocity at which the SI concept is adopted across varied fields, industries and geographies, make its definition nebulous. Among many, a general ‘fits-all’ definition could be: “a process that results in a new and better solution (products, services, models, markets, processes) to

meet social needs” (Krasnopolskaya and Minnigaleeva 2018). But “the unsatisfactory status of conceptualization” (SI-DRIVE) and ambiguity poses a challenge to find common ground.

The mapping of initiatives by the SI-DRIVE research project revealed that “there is no shared understanding of a desired outcome by the initiatives... [nor] how the outcome can be measured” (2016). This is due to the varied approaches to respond to social issues, yielding a wide range of (fuzzy positive) impact (Figure 2). Undeniably, the proliferation of these initiatives helps fulfil immediate needs and improve the quality of life of many, but can such socially innovative thinking and the multitude of initiatives around the world, not just alleviate, but *resolve* social problems?

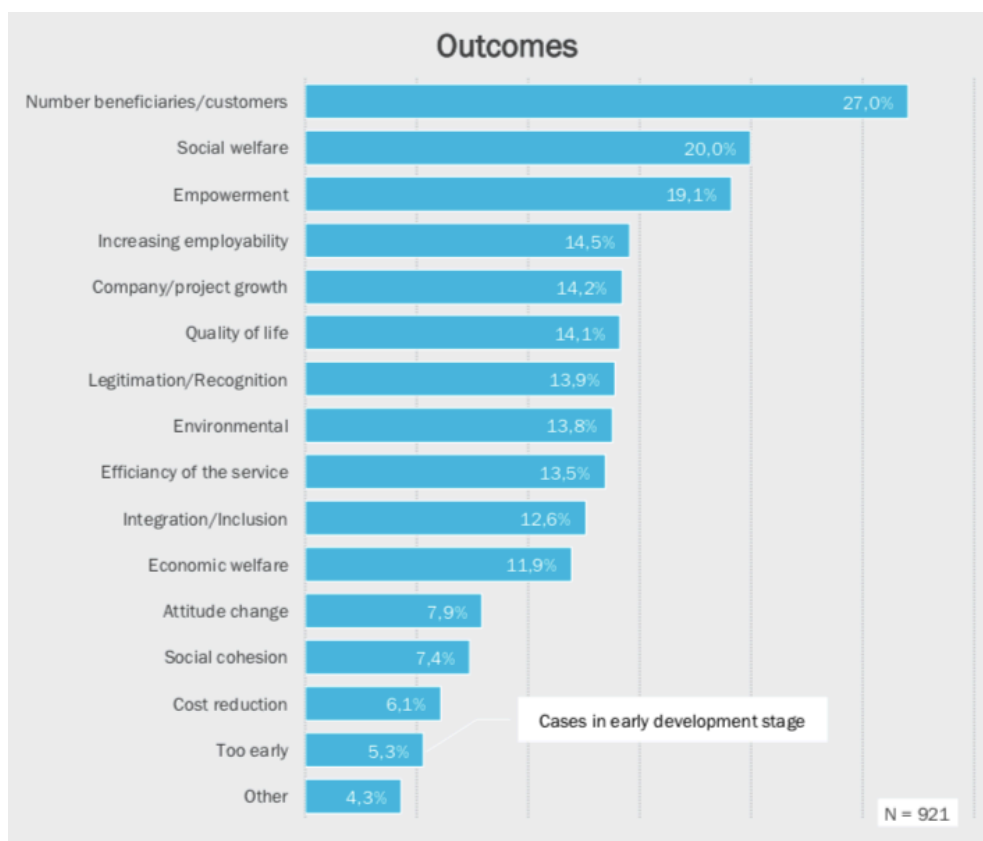


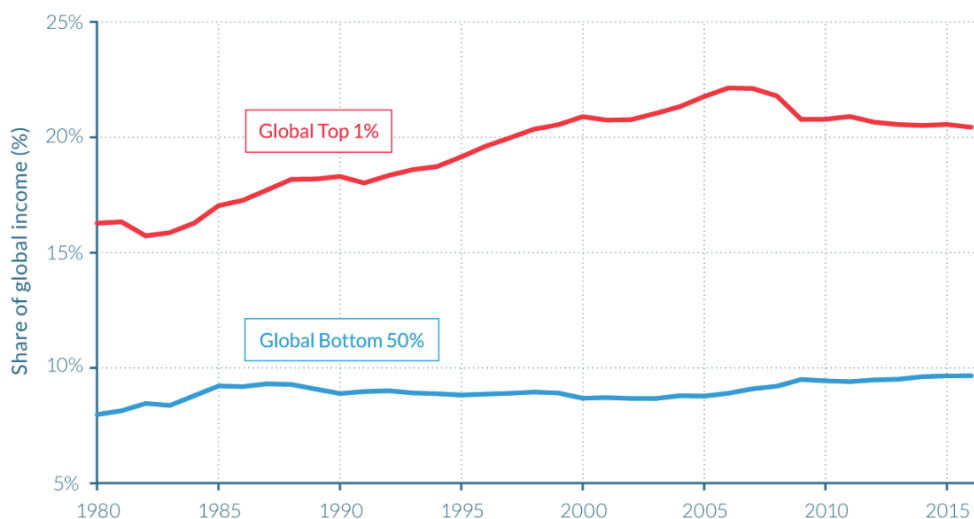
Figure 2 - Outcomes of the surveyed social innovation initiatives around the world. Source: Howaldt et. al 2016

There are still growing inequalities. World unemployment has increased in absolute value and rate since 1990. Considering the exponential global population growth, the rate has proportionally decreased, but since 2009, there remains close to 180 million people unemployed (Figure 3). Along the same lines, global inequality seems to widen since the 1980s given the disproportionate income share of the bottom 50% and top 1% (Figure 4). When inequality derives from the macro-political and economic system with transnational flows of effects, the question is *if* (and how) the SI phenomenon can underpin current unjust structures. When seen as an opportunity for social (global) change, its transformative ability is fully worthy of exploration.



Figure 3– World unemployment in millions (1991-2018). Source: ILO 2018

Global Bottom 50% and Top 1% income shares, 1980–2016



Source: WID.world (2017). See wir2018.wid.world/methodology.html for data series and notes.

In 2016, 22% of global income was received by the Top 1% against 10% for the Bottom 50%. In 1980, 16% of global income was received by the Top 1% against 8% for the Bottom 50%.

Figure 4 – Global income inequality. Global bottom 50% and Top 1% income shares (1980-2016). Source: World Inequality Report 2018.

This thesis investigates initiatives that aim to improve the inclusion of specific disadvantaged population groups in the labour market. It explores (1) their socially innovative features and (2) their potential for transformation of exclusion mechanisms. Studying the two very distinct cities of Medellín and Malmö sheds light on how the urban context plays a role in determining those outcomes (1,2). The challenge is the magnitude of the causes and the specific conditions of possibility and action that vary considerably depending on the initiative and its contextual sphere. This work helps explain the initiatives' current situation, their challenges, and opportunities and facilitates the identification of their shortcomings and potentials for a more transcendental effect.

The following chapter disentangles the meaning of SI and starts the journey...

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter starts by reviewing the genesis and evolution of SI to position this thesis in the academic dialogue. Then, the definition of social innovation is established along with related concepts such as the territorial dimension in SI theory. Next, the dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion are explored bringing focus to the labour market. Then, the review zooms into the concept of socially innovative initiatives and their varieties. Lastly, the research problem is stated.

2.1 Genesis and Evolution of Social Innovation

There is a misconception in thinking that the term “innovation” is new. While its meaning has a component of novelty, the term itself has a long history. It relates to social progress and creativity which are as older as humankind itself. It is inherent of societies to evolve and *innovate*, to change a certain social reality that has the potential to be better.

For an overview of the evolution of the meaning of “innovation” and then when it is adjectivized as “social”, is important to look into the related concepts and ideas that, even under different names, were used in similar ways to refer to social progress and change. The **chronology of meaning** (Table 1) aims to dust off some of the history from where the current signification is derived, along with its many interpretations. Table 1 shows some important contributors to this evolution. It highlights turning points and important waves of continuity, change, and debate of what we call social innovation today (Moulaert et al. 2010, 2013b).

The archaeological search for meaning can go back to the colonial revolutions (in today’s U.S. and Latin America) from **the 1770s to 1826**, which are acts of social change by definition. At that time ‘social innovation’ as a concept was not even conceived, but it is important to recognize these events as SI by today’s definition and analytical lenses. **The revolutions** represent a social struggle to the point of war, overcoming challenges and uniting people with common goals. They were painful and active processes of building identities and creating new organizations and forms of governance.

In terms of scholastic discourse, in the **19th and beginning of the 20th century**, there are several significant contributions to ideas of ‘**social change**’, ‘social (re)organization’, and ‘evolution of societies’. Exponents are Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Joseph Schumpeter (ibid). This was an era of effervescent academic production and exchange with high political and social significance. These scholars keep inspiring and influencing contemporary ones in social sciences and particularly in SI.

WWII marked a discontinuity in the analysis and, it can be argued, also on the production of SI due to the survival-mode. In the **1970s** there is a renewed interest in SI analysis but this time “more discipline-bound and practice-oriented”(Moulaert et al. 2010, 2013b). Contributors of this time, such as Coleman and Conger, discuss ‘social inventions’ with regards to organizations, new procedures, laws, norms, etc. This **entrepreneurial understanding of SI** could be seen as reductionist, paying attention only to the economic aspect of innovation and less in the social one (ibid.).

In **1982**, Chambon, David, and Devevey publish their book *Les Innovations Sociales* which builds on the *Temps des Cerises* French academic debate from the 1960s about collective action for the satisfaction of human needs and social transformation. It explored the chain effect of crises exerting pressure for societal change, which then pushes SI to emerge in the form of initiatives. They are dependent on raising consciousness, mobilization, and learning (ibid).

In the late **1980s**, SI is increasingly approached from the **organizational and managerial perspective**. For example, Peter Drucker denotes SI in management and mass movements, also referring to social change to overcome bureaucracies (ibid). Jonathan Gershuny opts for a different approach to SI in “Technology, social innovation, and informal economy” talking about technical change for improvements in domestic production, thus seeing this

Table 1 - Chronology of Social Innovation

Macro trend	Year	Scholar	Main contribution
Colonial revolutions as acts of social change and struggle. Process of <i>creating</i> new organizations and governance	1770s-1790s	U.S. Founding Fathers	American revolution, declaration of independence, drafting of bill of rights, etc. Proposals on changes to social organization of communities
	1808-1826	Latin American 'Libertadores'	All latin american colonies declared independence on this period from Spanish and Portuguese control. Calls for revolution and reorganization of society under self-control
	1850-1900	Karl Marx	Tensions and struggles between social classes, social exploitation of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, urge for social structural change.
	1893	Gabriel Tarde	"Communist Manifest"
Old' trans-disciplinary theories of SI and social change (1850-1900s). The most significant components of SI, many of which are overlooked (forgotten) by contemporary policy documents or even organizations promoting SI today	1893	Emile Durkheim	Social changes (diffusion) through the imitation of new practices
	1915-1922	Max Weber	Stated the importance of social regulation accompanying technological change to avoid social disorder and/or coercion in the organization.
	1922	William Fielding Ogburn	"Social integration" and "collective consciousness"
	1911-1942	Joseph Schumpeter	Used the term "social invention" to examine the relationship between social order and innovation. Studied how the introduction of "social variants" first seen as the deviants, influence behaviour, get adopted and go from being the exception, to being the rule. Technical change in the context of the social order that gives it significance.
			"Social Invention"
			"New combinations" = innovations. Innovation seen as a vehicle for economic development, also including the social aspect (cultural, artistic, economic, political). "Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy" links innovation with 'creative destruction' as Theory of Economic Innovation
Discontinuity in the analysis (and production?) of SI	WWII		
Revival of SI in the post-war period	1952-1968	"Temps des Cerises"	TURNING POINT: socio-political significant debate about the transformation of society and the role of revolts from (students, intellectuals, workers). Acts of empowering and changes in social (power) relations
	1970	James Taylor	Debatable first use of the term "social innovation" to refer to "community development dynamics"
	1970	James Coleman	Called "social invention" new relationships or new organizations
	1973	Stuart Conger	He classified "social inventions" in three types: (1) organizational, (2) in the forms of laws, and (3) procedural
Marked emergence of a debate between SI as community development vs. organizational	1982	J. Chambon, A. David, J. Devey	"Les innovations sociales" built on the "Temps des Cerises" debate in France. Referred to collective action for social transformation.
	1987	Peter Drucker	SI for management and mass movements. Referring to social change to overcome bureaucracies
	1987	Jonathan Gershuny	"Technology, SI, and informal economy." Talking about a technological innovation improving the quality of life of the user.
Taking the best of two worlds: Paying loyalty to the old theories and analysis of social change + incorporating the new 'practice-oriented' approach to SI	2000s to present	F. Moulaert, D. MacCallum, B. Jessop, E. Swyngedouw, A. Novy, and others	Social inclusion and wellbeing through (1) satisfaction of unmet needs, (2) improving social (power) relations, (3) allowing for and fostering collective empowerment. It also has an ethical component of social justice. Some of the current challenges include how to successfully transition from individual or small group initiatives to a logic of continuation and construction of long-term strategies for systemic/structural change
	2013 to present	Y. Kazepov, B. Leubolt, S. Oosterlynck, and others	Relationship between local social innovation and the welfare state, rescaling and multi-level governance
Competing debate: SI as a buzz word	1990s to present	Neoliberal discourse	Human-centered aspect of SI relegated to a second plane. SI in business and entrepreneurship as part of Corporate Social Responsibility and public policy in economic and/or technological terms only.

*Table 1 - Author's elaboration based on historical recounts of SI contributors and influencers from the books: "Can Neighbourhoods Save the City?" and "The International Handbook on Social Innovation" (Moulaert, 2010, 2013)

technological innovation as *social* innovation because it improves the quality of life of the user (Gershuny 1987).

The post-WWII new approaches to SI reveal a **clear bifurcation** between the ‘old’ trans-disciplinary theories of social change (1850-1900s) and the post-WWII revival concerned with organizations, management, and technological changes. The second half of the 20th century experienced a disproportional emphasis on this latter approach to SI (Moulaert et al. 2010, 2013b). This contributed significantly to the **emergence of a debate** between different fields and their respective significations of SI.

By the late 1980s, at least four recognizable approaches were identified: (1) management and corporate organization, (2) arts and creativity, (3) critics of hierarchy and bureaucracy, (4) territorial development (ibid). Since the **2000s** there has been a **proliferation in the usage** of the term ‘social innovation’ in the media, policy, business, law, education, and social development, becoming a ‘buzz word’ with as many meanings as portrayals. **Meaning has diluted**. The general connotation implies an aspect of novelty and social benefit, but there is a wide spectrum and multiplicity of significations and none at the same time.

Consequently, there have been many efforts to bring some rigor to the definition and classification of the **types of SI** (Caroli et al. 2018; Dawson and Daniel 2010; Moulaert et al. 2005; Pol and Ville 2009; Rüede and Lurtz 2012). Rüede & Lurtz make an outstanding contribution with a useful taxonomy of seven categories (2012). By an exhaustive literature review, they disentangle the definitions of the term according to the emphasis placed on power relations, normative understanding of “social”, and relations to profit-seeking and technological innovations. From this approach, nearly any present-day conception of the term can fall into one of the seven categories (Table 2 in next page).

Relevant for this thesis is category number three, with the focus on “human-centred urban and community development” and Frank Moulaert as a leading scholar. From this perspective, and for this study, **social innovation is defined as** new, alternative, creative, or disruptive socio-political processes aimed to attend basic needs and improve the quality of life of disadvantaged groups. This is achieved through collective empowerment aiming at the inclusion of these relegated groups (Moulaert 2010; Moulaert et al. 2005).

Table 2 - The seven categories of Social Innovation (Rüede and Lurtz 2012)

Name of category	To do something good in/for society	To change social practices and/or structure	To contribute to urban and community development	To reorganize work processes	To imbue technological innovations with cultural meaning and relevance	To make changes in the are of social work	To innovate by means of digital connectivity
Typical guiding question	Which innovations are needed for a better society?	What can we say about changes in how people interact among each other?	How can we approach development at a community level when we put human needs and not business needs first?	What else can we say about innovations within organizations if we leave out technological innovations?	What else is needed for a technological to become a successful innovation?	How can we improve the professional social work provision in order to better reach the goals of social work?	What possibilities to innovate do we have in a world where people are digitally connected in social networks?
Central literature	Mulgan et al. (2007) Phills et al. (2008) Dawson and Daniel (2010) Social Innovation eXchange (SIX) and Young Foundation (2010)	Howaldt and Schwartz (2010) Zapf (1991) Simms (2006)	Moulaert et al. (2005) Moulaert (2010)	Holt (1971) Pot and Vaas (2008)	Cova and Svanfeldt (1993)	Maelicke (1987)	Shih (2009) Azua (2010)
Sample definition	Social innovation is "a novel solution to a social problem that is more effective, efficient, sustainable, or just than existing solutions and for which the value created accrues primarily to society as a whole rather than private individuals" (Phills et al., 2008: 36).	"A social innovation is new combination and/or new configuration of social practices in certain areas of action or social contexts prompted by certain actors or constellations of actors in an intentional targeted manner with the goal of better satisfying or answering needs and problems than is possible on the basis of established practices." (Howaldt and Schwartz, 2010: 16)	"Social innovation is about the satisfaction of basic needs and changes in social relations within empowering social processes; it is about people and organisations who are affected by deprivation or lack of quality in daily life and services; who are disempowered by lack of rights or authoritative decision-making, and who are involved in agencies and movements favouring social innovation" (Moulaert, 2010: 10).	"Social Innovation in the Dutch definition is a broader concept than organisational innovation. It includes such things as dynamic management, flexible organisation, working smarter, development of skills and competences, networking between organisations. [...] it includes also the modernisation of industrial relations and human resource management" (Pot and Vaas, 2008: 468).	"A societal innovation should be understood as the process by which new meanings are introduced into the social system" (Cova and Svanfeldt, 1993).	Social innovation is "the guided change process, preferably supported by all involved and affected human beings that creates significant change in existing action structures and conditions in the social system based on ethical value judgements, contents and programs" (Maelicke, 1987: 12).	no explicit definition provided
Example	microcredits	non-married living community	participatory budgeting	project organization	adapting a technological invention to cultural context	street worker	crowdsourcing
Major focus	human well-being in societies	social practices	human-centered community development	work organization	non-technological aspects of innovation	social work provision	innovations in a digital world setting
Practical relevance for	Actors interested in promoting social well-being	Sociologists	urban developer (public representative, local civil society)	Human Resource Management	persons in charge of business innovations	social work professionals	persons involving the social digital world in their business innovation process
Number of articles in this category ⁺	127	53	39	28	11	8	2
Normative understanding of "social"?	yes	under discussion / disputed	yes	depending on perspective	no	yes	no
Is a change of the power structure in society intended?	empowerment as often inherent	neutral	empowerment as essential part	depending (restricted to work environment)	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant
Relation to profit-seeking innovations	possible, but not focus	can be cause or consequence	none	efficiency goals as one driver of innovations	normally yes	efficiency goals as one driver	normally yes
Relation to technological innovation	possible	can be cause or consequence	none	possible	connected	possible	connected

The **SINGOCOM Project**: “Social innovation, governance and community building” was carried out between 2001 and 2004. It had the participation of 8 partner research institutions from 5 countries which through the detailed evaluation of 15 case studies, created an analytical framework for the study of SI at the local level called Alternative Model of Local Innovation (ALMOLIN). The project focused on studying changes in social relations due to institutional and governance dynamics, within a framework of time (path dependencies) and space (multi-level governance) (EC 2005, Moulaert et al. 2013).

After a historic overview of the various conceptualizations of SI, the following section covers the specific SI theory that this thesis embraces. The focus is on the “human-centred urban and community development” approach (Rüede and Lurtz 2012), for which centrally relevant literature are the books: *Social Innovation and Territorial Development* (MacCallum et al. 2009), *Can Neighbourhoods Save the City?* (Moulaert et al. 2010), *The International Handbook of Social Innovation* (Moulaert et al. 2013b) and the SINGOCOM Project.

2.2 Social Innovation Theory¹

The difference should be made with the concept of SI often circulating in political discourse. There is now competition for rankings of the most ‘socially innovative’ cities and countries (Klein, 2013; The Economist, 2018), which is usually measured in economic terms and rapidly embraced by neoliberal political agendas. A competing **academic debate** developed to strongly challenge such limited understandings and empty discourses of SI (Jessop et al., 2013). Critics are especially fervent **against a surging “caring liberalism”** (Peck and Theodore 2015), a fake caring for social needs by throwing financial crumbs to good causes. The irony is that a market-led economy in itself has contradictions that reinforce current exclusion mechanisms and power relations.

In fact, the recognition of the inequality and unfairness of such social configurations is basic for a ‘human and community development’ understanding of SI. A starting point of this theoretical approach are **social exclusion-inclusion dynamics** (Moulaert, 2010). On the one hand, are the complex mechanisms that create and maintain exclusion, exacerbated by the lack of attention to social needs; and on the other hand, are the collective reactions of the affected that are often materialized in initiatives of social inclusion.

A **condition of exclusion** e.g. denied access to housing, financial or labour markets, or exclusion in politics, decision-making or self-expression, exert pressure on people to react collectively. These **pressure-incited reactions** emerge from and by the affected community to try to mitigate the *effects* of “structural, political, and cultural forces that produce social exclusion” (Jessop et al., 2013). In a dialogue of actions, they provide an alternative scenario even within the framework in which these forces exist (Moulaert et al., 2013c)

SI is also perceived in the mobilization of participation processes that lead to changes in social relations, forms of *governance*, and collective empowerment (Moulaert et al. 2013a). So, while an initial reaction against exclusion attempts to satisfy a lacking basic need, SI resides on the act of the disadvantaged group itself raising collectively against their common situation of exclusion. This is a constant **process of creation**: of empowerment, group identity building, new social and power relations, and the goal: the *creation* of a different social reality.

¹ This thesis is based on European SI theory. For a brief expansion to Latin American views on social innovation please see Appendix 1.

Figure 5 shows the **three main elements of SI**: (1) satisfaction of basic needs, (2) collective empowerment, which through identity building and goal setting can achieve political mobilisation, and (3) the changes in social (power) relations that derive from this mutually-feeding processes (Moulaert et al., 2013b). The presence of all three elements is constantly reinforced by the production of both *tangible* solutions to social problems and *intangible* new imaginaries of the urban form and the social relations within it.

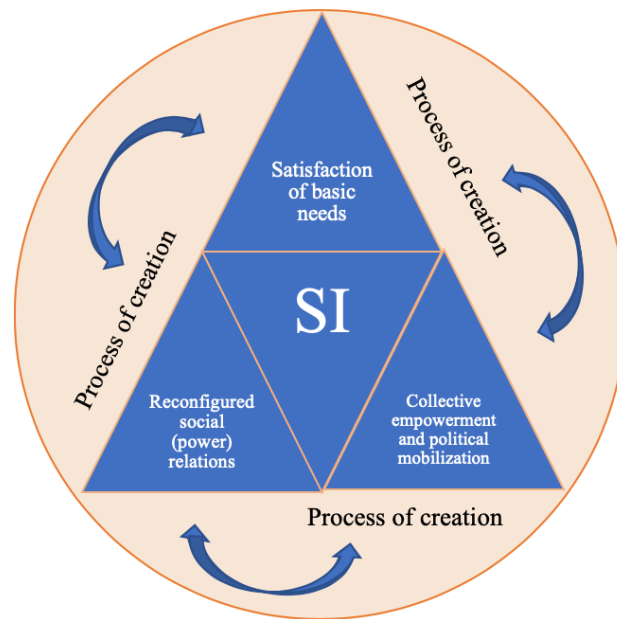


Figure 5 - The triad of Social Innovation in an environment of creation.
Author's elaboration to illustrate SI theory (Moulaert et al. 2013a).

The concept of **empowerment** is of particular importance as it is usually conceived with a paternalistic attitude: an entity giving power to another through different tools (projects, programs, initiatives, etc). It is necessary to problematize the notion of *transmitting power*, which implies unbalanced power relations from the onset. Empowerment is rather about *creating the possibilities* for its emergence, “it is a process of construction and transformation of the subject” (Imagina Madrid, 2019) in an environment in which he/she can fulfill his/her potential and be aware of it. Empowerment is therefore related to *consciousness of power* and *autonomy*. Applied to the city, collective empowerment emerges from the conditions in the urban environment that enable possibilities for citizens to gather and mobilise. The urban space is a tool, scenario, and medium for the empowerment to happen.

Social problematics are growing in complexity as an effect of globalization. The local is now more permeable to flows of information, people, ideas, resources, etc. that can exacerbate a problem or provide solutions. Therefore, **context matters** now more than ever. The analysis of SI must account for the larger political setting (orange circle in figure 5) in which actors, interests, and resources interplay. “We must analyse the relationship between the system to which many of the SI actors are reacting and the political significance of their SI initiatives” (Moulaert, MacCallum, and Hillier 2013).

Beyond the tangible world that can be observed through empirical work, there is a **contextual arena** that influences the nature and behaviour of the actors under study. It is necessary to question then, what are the exclusion processes in this intangible sphere that create the societal

pressure that triggers SI? Also, what are the factors that facilitate the emergence and maintenance of SI and what others hinder it? These questions have **various dimensions** that derive from the political, economic, and social realms that affect SI in the city (ibid).

SI has a large **role in challenging and even transforming** political ideologies and discourses (ibid). Its usually local, small-scale origins should not be undermined because the contextual factors that promote and hinder SI transcend the local scale (Moulaert 2000; Davoudi and Madanipour 2015). Therefore, it is important to engage multi-level governance and various sectors to acknowledge and potentialize initiatives not only as “acts of resistance”² (De Certeau, 1984) but as agents with substantial political and ideological significance.

2.3 Social exclusion and inclusion and their territorial dimension

Under the conceptual framework described in the previous section, two sub-concepts derive. If SI is about attending basic needs and empowerment, that speaks of an undesirable situation or status quo, to begin with. Then SI is the attempt to transform that existing infelicitous reality of *exclusion* into a better possible reality of social *inclusion*. As Moulaert puts it “social innovation is very much about social inclusion, it is also about countering or overcoming forces that are eager to strengthen or preserve social exclusion situations” (2005).

Social exclusion is analogous to the concept of marginalization, the treatment of an individual or social group as relegated to the margins of society. It is the notion of not belonging, not possessing, or not having access to a certain basic element of society. It could be manifested in many ways such as isolation from politics e.g. denial of citizenship rights, lack of access to financial resources e.g. credit or employment, or discrimination against personal characteristics or one’s culture and norms (Khan et al. 2015).

The causes of social exclusion are complex, largely undefined, some unrecognized, and encompass a vast multiplicity of factors. Relevant to the theoretical framework of SI here is the acknowledgment of “urban [social] exclusion as a combination of **power inequalities**” (Bernt and Colini 2013). This view is explicit in Theodore, Peck, and Brenner’s critique against the various mechanisms of neoliberal urbanisation and the “creative destruction” processes (2012). They argue that the neoliberal reconfiguration of markets, institutional infrastructure, and multi-level governance exacerbates inequality and exclusion, among many other contradictions and detrimental effects.

The complex issue of social exclusion, existent almost from the beginning of humankind, cannot be completely blamed on the relatively recent ideology and practice of neoliberalism. It has rather intensified exclusion mechanisms in different areas: politics, housing, labour market, welfare, financial access, etc. The concept of **social inclusion** is equally complex and difficult to grasp, but for this thesis, it is seen as social processes reacting to social exclusion, it is the fight to reconfigure power relations with the aim of a more just and equal society.

² SIIs can be seen as analogous to what De Certeau calls “the practices of everyday life” in the “consumer production” of space. On one hand, the urban space is a *product* of the urban planner (current power structures), and on the other, the behaviour of people are the “ways of operating” of *consumers* of that space. The first one is an act of production (like social exclusion mechanisms), and the latter is an *act of either consumption or resistance* against it (like the SIIs). De Certeau echoes Foucault by describing them as “network of an anti-discipline” (De Certeau, 1984).

Then, mechanisms of *exclusion* and efforts for *inclusion* can be seen as **opposing forces**. Citizen participation efforts in response to depolitisation, squatting movements in response to housing exclusion, reclamation of public spaces in response to spatial colonisation, capacity building, and training programs in response to exclusion in the labour market, or microcredit, crowdfunding, and time-based currencies in response to financial exclusion, etc. This is, of course, an over-simplified view, but it can be argued, that up to a certain point '**exclusion-inclusion pairs**' can be drawn or at least their correlation.

This thesis focuses on the 'ex-in pair', or the dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion in the **labour market**. It is defined as the pool of individuals with possibilities of being considered for employment or with capacity for financial self-sustainability. An individual could be in the labour market but unemployed, temporally out of a job transitioning to another one, or out of it by choice, like students. However, the social exclusion referred here is long-term unemployment, due to deeply rooted personal and/or societal issues, invisible barriers to entry that systematically deny a particular person or group even the possibility to enter the market.

The literature reviewed upholds the **territorial dimension** of SI as grounds for its theory. Communities are the actors in locally based initiatives, that are the main characters in a play that unfolds in the stage of neighbourhoods. Moulaert (2010) attributes the affinity between SI and urban neighbourhoods to two factors:

First, the effects of economic restructuring are very **visible** and tangible in the physical and social space of neighbourhoods. The "mechanisms of neoliberal urbanisation" that Theodore et al. talk about can be empirically evidenced at the local scale (2012). Retrenchment of public finance, restructuring of urban housing markets, reworking labour market regulation, etc. all translate ultimately into degraded areas, closing of businesses, reduced social activity, unemployment, as well as gentrification, and privatized exclusive areas. This local level is where social frustration manifests and is projected into the grey deteriorating façades of buildings and people.

Second, it is precisely this **concentration** of deteriorating conditions and exclusion factors that generates pressure on 'the excluded' to react. Thus, this pressure is a catalyst for the emergence of initiatives of social inclusion. The local level is where the spark, idea, the initiative is generated exactly by those directly affected by the unsatisfactory condition. These initiatives are strong indicators of a larger, more complex, societal problem lying underneath: the true causes of inequality (Stigendal 2019).

Finely articulated, "communities are where citizenship rights are fought for, where mobilizations against social exclusion are initiated and staged, and where new political rights are defined... they are the loci and drivers of social innovation" (Moulaert 2010). Therefore, **local communities are at the epicentre** of the clashing dynamics of the mechanisms of social exclusion and the inclusion initiatives responding to them.

There is an element of **implicit disproportion**. Social exclusion is understood as a large underlying societal problem, exacerbated in large part by "mechanisms of neoliberal urbanisation", but also influenced by geopolitics and wars, and cultural norms and values intrinsic to individuals and to the societal operating system. Then, initiatives to promote social inclusion come as 'mere' reactions to the *effects*, seeming small, local, insignificant to create large-scale change. It seems like a *David and Goliath* battle. Are these like drops of water

trying to extinguish a forest fire of exclusion mechanisms that are so embedded in the culture, ideology, politics, and economics that govern cities?

SI theory in the 2000s has responded (MacCallum et al. 2009; Moulaert et al. 2010, 2013b) making echo to the common saying that **‘union is the strength’**. The authors argue that the key lies on *collective initiatives* that emerge from the *simultaneous* empowerment of people, like local groups that raise their voice and action as a cohesive community in response to a common disadvantageous condition. The theoretical argument is that these empowered collectives through solidarity and compassion are needed to question the logic of the established order, but they must relate to the city level *to scale up* their transformative potential and create meaningful social change.

2.4 Socially Innovative Initiatives

SIIs can be defined as locally-based initiatives such as grassroots movements, community organizations, or other forms of empowered collectives, that have gained momentum in the fight against an unsatisfactory condition, manifested, in this case, as social exclusion in the labour market. They aim at social inclusion through the collective empowerment of disadvantaged groups in the labour market through different methods. These methods, "their ways of operating" and their significance, are the subject of study here.

There are different types of SIIs deriving from the type of ‘exclusion-inclusion pair’ that they aim to satisfy. This thesis focuses on the ‘ex-in pair’ of the labour market but there are many others. For example, in response to social **exclusion from politics and decision-making**, there are SIIs in governance and public management. In this case, SI responds to the mechanisms of social exclusion created by the neoliberal trend of urban entrepreneurialism. Thus, it explores the collaborative modes of governance, which can only be implemented if coalitions of social and economic actors mobilize and take collective action (Lévesque 2013).

Similarly, **SIIs in the social economy** are not driven by personal gain but focus on servicing needs that have been neglected by the public or private sectors, which creates an opportunity for social experiments (Defourny and Nyssens 2013). Others such as Tremblay and Pilati, see SI through the **arts and creativity**. From their point of view, the arts work as a vehicle for expression of social needs and at the same time, "it gives a competitive edge to organizations for the development of new social forms of knowledge [production and] accumulation (Tremblay and Pilati 2013). It can also *create* social tissue and/or built environment for the improvement of living conditions and quality of life.

Another type of SII responds to **social exclusion from the financial institutions**. Microcredit is an innovative response to the adversities that come with poverty or simply put "it is an external boost to the micro-economy of the poor" (Ashta et al. 2013). It attends to the needs to obtain the necessary financial means to launch projects that could improve people’s living environments, their condition, or improve their businesses. Also, the primary beneficiaries are women having a double positive effect of helping the entire family. This SII enables people to be included in the economy and society, bringing as well psychological and emotional benefits such as “dignity, recognition and self-confidence” (ibid).

Another type is the **“people-centred development” approach**, which responds to the social exclusion experienced when the needs and wants of residents are neglected in processes of urban development. In this approach, the collaboration between researchers and community

actors is key to the production of knowledge. It allows for a fusion of academic and practical cultures and a common understanding of stakes. Sometimes academic institutions can even act as a liaison between the state and the needs of the community and bring research into action and mediation³ (Hulgård and Shajahan 2013).

2.5 Problem statement:

Within the **capitalist economic framework**, there is rampant **competition** in the labour market, where companies demand skilful and cheap labour, while individual workers seek financial stability with their skillset and resources. At the same time, there is a wide spectrum of individuals' skills, ambitions, choices, and conditions who still demand equal access to common resources and social benefits. It seems that accommodating for such diversity is contrary to the vehement impetus of productivity at full capacity of the capitalist model. From a purely economic view, the idea is the **maximization of all resources** to avoid inefficiencies in the economic system

An accompanying **political discourse** promotes the logic that economic stability is achieved by market equilibrium and development by economies of scale. It lays on two main assumptions: (1) that producing more, better and faster with more entrepreneurial actors, will bring 'progress', and (2) that such economic development equates social development. The result is a public policy aimed at creating a legal and political framework, along with institutions and financing channels that stimulate an economic machinery with questionable social gaps (Theodore, Peck, and Brenner 2012).

The competitive nature of the economic system creates mechanisms of **social exclusion for the 'less competitive' individuals** in the market, in economic terms, a marginal inefficiency. The disadvantaged groups, depending on the context, are the low-skilled, homeless, immigrants, disabled, elderly, LGBT, women, victims of violence and natural disasters, indigenous groups, etc. They are often victims of discrimination who could encounter higher resistance to enter the labour market. At the same time, several initiatives raise to promote social inclusion for these population groups, but unemployment and inequalities persist, so these **initiatives seem to be ineffective** and lack transformative power.

The **traditional approach** is to attend individuals' struggles through training and capacity building programs. They aim to level-up the skills of the 'excluded population' to become 'employable', and therefore 'included' in the labour market and society. However, this approach reacts only to the *effects* [unemployment], not to the *causes* [discrimination, lack of education and opportunities, and the overall "transformation of labour" (Esping-Andersen and Castells 1999)] of the struggle. Therefore, the interest of this study is on **SIIs** that besides satisfying basic needs and creating labour inclusion, they promote empowerment and, at least in part, try to attend causes of exclusion. To **examine their potential** for long-lasting social change, the following methodology was developed.

³ See appendix 2 for an example of the 'people-centred development' approach from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) in India

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter describes how the research was performed and through which lenses the data collected was analysed. It starts by setting the philosophical framework behind the three research questions. Then, section 3.2 explains to which research paradigm the study subscribes to, its scientific characteristics, and the specific research methods employed. Subsequently, section 3.3 delves into the reasons for the selection of Malmö and Medellín as case studies. The last section explains the analytical framework developed for the comparison of the SIIs and their environments.

3.1 Philosophical Framework and Research Questions

The critical realist concepts of the *empirical*, the *actual*, and the *real* are borrowed to explore and analyse social reality (Bhaskar 2008). It is a system of three layers linked to each other through causal relationships. The *empirical* are the observable experiences, the *actual* how the observable gets actualized or the factors influencing it, and the *real* are the underlying mechanisms or existing assumptions of what is possible.

Despite their apparent clear distinction, these are "overlapping domains" (Bhaskar 2008) more in concentric circles in which the *real* is the largest circle encompassing the *actual*, and this one encompassing the *empirical*. This **three-dimensional philosophical framework** is the backbone of the three research questions (Figure 6). Each one with an aim: describe, explain, and explore; which in this study, cannot be separated from each other but built upon.

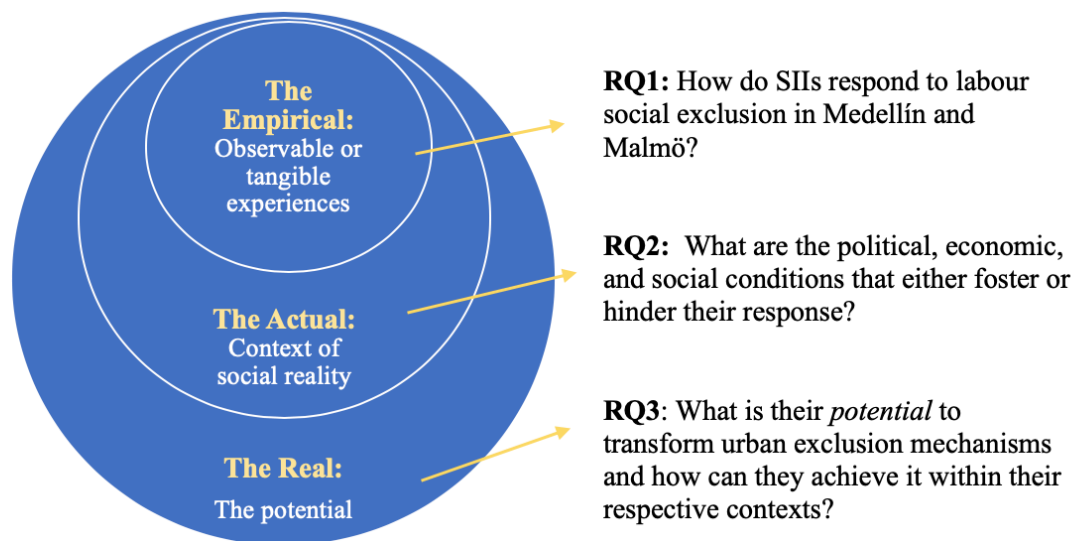


Figure 6 - The critical realist three-dimensional philosophical framework of the research questions. Author's elaboration based on the three dimensions of critical realism (Bhaskar 2008) and diagram of the theory (Foster 2019)

- RQ1** The observed social reality can be perceived through the collection of empirical data. This inquiry aims to *discover and describe* the response of SIIs to labour market exclusion in Medellín and Malmö. Its response includes the ways of operating of the initiatives, their purpose, vision, and the concrete actions they do to reach their goals. This is the *empirical* dimension, the façade of reality in its different expressions.
- RQ2** The *actual* is the dimension of the context where various vectors meet that influence what actually happens. Here it refers to the political, economic, and social conditions that either foster or hinder the initiatives. This inquiry seeks to *explain* 'how' and 'why' they exist.
- RQ3** The *real* pertains to the causal mechanisms and assumptions that sustain the *status quo*. RQ3 questions the basis of those assumptions and *explores* the potential of new imaginaries to yield a different version of the *actual* and the *empirical*. It directs the inquiry to the SIIs as main units of analysis and to materialize such abstract concept into a researchable and still transcendental question.

3.2 Research Paradigms and Methods

On the **axes of the research paradigms** (Figure 7), in terms of *ontology*, this thesis adheres to the subjective side which holds that social reality forms by the perception of each individual but with “inter-subjectively shared meanings” (Burrell and Morgan 1979). In the *epistemology* axis, it subscribes to the view that perception of social reality is influenced, if not dictated, by power relations of the *status quo*. In this way, the dominant values, views, and attitudes of powerful actors are inflicted to the rest of society. The “sociology of radical change” is concerned with “overthrowing or transcending the limitations of existing [unjust] social arrangements” (ibid.).

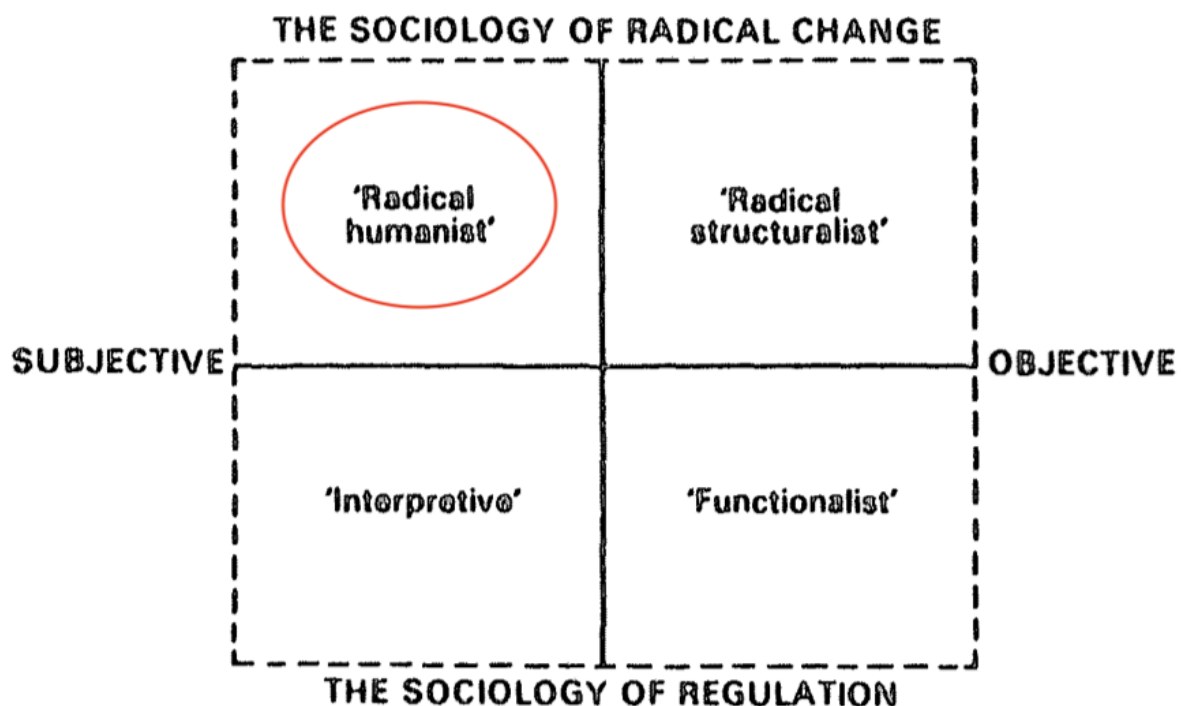


Figure 7 - The four research paradigms for the analysis of social theory. Source: Burrell and Morgan 1979

The intersection of these ontological and epistemological views leads to the “**radical humanist research paradigm**” (ibid). Then, the research examines, on one hand, the social exclusion mechanisms in the current unequal power arrangement, and on the other hand, the social inclusion efforts that react to it. The research design also derives from this research paradigm, as well as the methodology and cases used. Given the inter-subjectivity of social reality, the study extends to other versions of the *actual*. The strikingly different case studies and a comparative methodology seek to show the multiplicity of social constructions in a contextualised analysis.

The research ⁴, the most appropriate **methodology** was qualitative research, and ethnography and multiple-case study for *strategies of inquiry*. It employed primary and secondary data. For

⁴design also accounted for the characteristics of the scientific method to be systematic and transparent. Specifically, it had on mind to have logical consistency, explanatory power, falsifiability, and parsimony. Also, the study strives to be confirmable through empirical evidence, replicable by other researchers in other spaces and times, and be able to sustain critical scrutiny (Bhattacharjee 2012).

the collection of primary data, the following *research methods* were used: presence in relevant workshops, meetings, events and city tours; moderate participatory observations; unstructured, semi-structured, and structured interviews, and informal conversations. Secondary data was used for urban context analysis, expand on the function of city actors, and surveys of participants of the two SIIs.

The case is labour exclusion-inclusion dynamics and the **units of analysis** are the SIIs at each city. However, to not limit the scope of the research to the two initiatives, the analysis also includes a mapping of relevant actors and strategies of social inclusion in each city. Therefore, the scale of the research and the analysis is much broader (citywide) to contextualise and explain why the initiatives emerge and how they develop.

Accordingly, a wider **space-time bounding** is necessary to understand the contextual factors that construct the urban fabric (hard environment) and the socio-political conditions (soft environment), that influence how and why these initiatives emerge. So, while the in-depth investigation of the initiatives is bounded in space to two (one in each city), and in time to the last 10 years (2009-2019), the case of labour inclusion is bounded in space to the entire city level and in time to the last 40 years (1979-2019).

The **interviews** conducted targeted specific institutional and non-institutional actors. Their selection was strategic based on the assumed knowledge and experience given their role within the institution or the map of stakeholders. Therefore, the *non-probability sampling method* was used, specifically *quota sampling* to ensure the engagement of all sectors, and *snowball sampling* to follow lines of collaboration and partnerships between actors while, at the same time, evaluating their close links or lack thereof.

Interviews were held with administrators of the SIIs, government officials, educational organizations, training centres, NGOs, business owners, ‘innovation hubs’, foundations, grassroots organisations, activists, residents, and when possible, with individuals in a situation of exclusion. *Discourse analysis*⁵ was used to scrutinise the discourse or rather the “system of discourses” (Conde 2015) that was produced by the intertwining interpretations of reality yielded by 41 in-depth interviews.

Fieldwork in Malmö was conducted from October to December 2018, with periodic visits to the city from Copenhagen. There was a total of 21 interviews out of which 9 are to the public sector, 5 to the private sector (including social enterprises), 2 to academia, 3 to non-profit, and 2 to civil society (Table 3). In the case of in Medellín, fieldwork was conducted for three weeks during July and August 2018, one week in January 2019, and complemented as needed through phone and email interviews. There was a total of 20 interviews out of which 13 are to the public sector, 2 to academia, 4 to non-profit, and 3 to civil society (Table 4). The total fieldwork time was approximately one month in each city.⁶

⁵ See appendix 3 for a detailed explanation of the discourse analysis theory applied to this thesis

⁶ Tables 3 & 4 are only for the actors interviewed. By no means, they represent a complete picture of all the urban actors involved in labour social inclusion. For a more complete (but still not full) panorama please see actor maps on section 4.1 for Malmö and 4.2 for Medellín.

Table 3 – Actors interviewed in Malmö

Reference Code	Sector	Category	Name of the Organization (Swedish)	Translation to English	Department	Position of person interviewed	Interview Date
Interview MAL-Public1	Public	Regional Management	Skåne Regional Utveckling	Region Skåne - Regional Development	Labour Market Unit	Directive of MatchIT Project	November 26, 2018
Interview MAL-Public2	Public	Regional Management	Skåne Regional Utveckling	Region Skåne - Regional Development	Labour Market Unit	Project Manager	November 26, 2018
Interview MAL-Public3	Public	City of Malmö	Stadsplaneringskontor	City Planning Office	Strategy Department - Districts: Kireberg, Nyhamnen	Senior Landscape Architect	October 8, 2018
Interview MAL-Public4	Public	City of Malmö	Stadsplaneringskontor	City Planning Office	Strategy Department - District: Rosengård	Landscape Architect	October 8, 2018
Interview MAL-Public5	Public	City of Malmö	Stadsplaneringskontor	City Planning Office	Temporary-use Project in Kireberg	Landscape Architect	October 29, 2018
Interview MAL-Public6	Public	City of Malmö	Företag Förbättringsdistriktet	Business Improvement District (BID) Sofielund	Urban dev. Project Rosengård / Sofielund	Development Coordinator	November 5, 2018
Interview MAL-Public7	Public	City of Malmö	Amiralstadsens	Urban Planning local office in Rosengård	Community outreach and citizen participation	Process Manager	October 26, 2018
Interview MAL-Public8	Public	City of Malmö	Stadsplaneringskontor	City Planning Office	Planning processes in Rosengård	Former Project Leader	October 29, 2018
Interview MAL-Public9	Public	City of Malmö	MKB Fastighets AB	MBK (Largest city-owned housing company)	Independent company owned by the city of Malmö	Social Concepts Developer	October 30, 2018
Interview MAL-Private1	Private	Consulting/Project Management	Yalla Sofielund Kunskapscentrum	Yalla Sofielund Knowledge Center	European Social Fund 3-year project	Project Manager	December 12, 2018
Interview MAL-Private2	Private	Social Enterprise	AF Consult	AF Consult (Consulting company hired by City of Malmö)	Management and Strategy	Strategists (two persons)	October 17, 2018
Interview MAL-Private3	Private	Social Enterprise	Yalla Trappan	Yalla 'Staircase'	Labor integrated social enterprise	Director	November 14, 2018
Interview MAL-Private4	Private	Social Enterprise	MINE: Mentorship Inspiration	MINE: Mentorship Inspiration	Marketing Department	Directive	November 5, 2018
Interview MAL-Private5	Private	Social Enterprise	MINE: Mentorship Inspiration	MINE: Mentorship Inspiration	Mentorship Program	Project Manager	November 12, 2018
Interview MAL-NP1	Non-Profit	Foundation	Foo Café	Foo Café	Marketing Department	Marketing Manager & CSR	October 30, 2018
Interview MAL-NP2	Non-Profit	Foundation	Foo Café	Foo Café	General Management	Directive	October 30, 2018
Interview MAL-NP3	Non-Profit	Foundation	Publiktentreprenörskap	Center for Public Entrepreneurship (CPE)	Resource center for social development	Project Leader	November 12, 2018
Interview MAL-Acad1	Academia	University	Yallas Jämställda Hem	Yallas Equality Home	Refugee youth (16-25 years old) support	Project Leader	December 12, 2018
Interview MAL-Acad2	Academia	University	Foo Café	Foo Café	Hack Your Future (HYF) Program	Directive	October 29, 2018
Interview MAL-Civil1	Civil Society	Adult Education Center	Malmö Universitetet	University of Malmö	Department of Urban Studies	Professor (Social-spatial inequalities in Malmö)	November 12, 2018
Interview MAL-Civil2	Civil Society	Individual under vulnerability	Hyllie Park Folkskolas	Hyllie Park Folk High School	Swedish for Immigrants Program	Directive	November 5, 2018
		Individual under vulnerability	-----	Female refugee from Syria	Participant of immigration integration programs	Student/mentor HYF and MatchIT Programs	November 12, 2018
		Individual under vulnerability	-----	Female immigrant from Lebanon	Participant of immigration integration programs	Cashier at Yalla Sofielund	December 12, 2018

Author's elaboration

Table 4 – Actors interviewed in Medellín

Reference Code	Sector	Category	Name of the Organization (Spanish)	Translation to English	Department	Position of person interviewed	Interview Date
Interview MED-Public1	Public	Metropolitan Area	AMVA: Area Metropolitana del Valle de Aburrá	Metropolitan Area of the Aburra Valley	Integral Planning	Unit of Education and Culture - Manager	July 27, 2018
Interview MED-Public2	Public	Metropolitan Area	AMVA: Area Metropolitana del Valle de Aburrá	Metropolitan Area of the Aburra Valley	Integral Planning	Unit of Education and Culture - "Social local outreachers" (group interview)	August 8, 2018
Interview MED-Public3	Public	Metropolitan Area	AMVA: Area Metropolitana del Valle de Aburrá	Metropolitan Area of the Aburra Valley	Integral Planning	Unit of Economic Development - Manager	July 30, 2018
Interview MED-Public4	Public	City of Medellín	CEDEZO: Centro de Desarrollo Empresarial Zonal	Zonal Business Development Center	Secretary of Economic Development	Belen Zone (comune 11 y 16) - Team Leader	August 1, 2018
Interview MED-Public5	Public	City of Medellín	Secretaría de Inclusión Social, Familia y Derechos Humanos	Secretary of Social Inclusion, Family and Human Rights	General Management	Director (in group interview)	August 1, 2018
	Public	City of Medellín	Secretaría de Inclusión Social, Familia y Derechos Humanos	Secretary of Social Inclusion, Family and Human Rights	Social Analysis and Planning Team	Project Leader (in group interview)	August 1, 2018
	Public	City of Medellín	Secretaría de Inclusión Social, Familia y Derechos Humanos	Secretary of Social Inclusion, Family and Human Rights	Social Analysis and Planning Team	Program Leader (in group interview)	August 1, 2018
	Public	City of Medellín	Escuela para la Inclusión	School for Inclusion	Secretary of Social Inclusion, Family and Human Rights	Director	August 13, 2018
Interview MED-Public6	Public	City of Medellín	Escuela para la Inclusión	School for Inclusion	Secretary of Social Inclusion, Family and Human Rights	Sub Director (under new administration)	January 17, 2019
Interview MED-Public7	Public	City of Medellín	Escuela para la Inclusión	School for Inclusion	Secretary of Social Inclusion, Family and Human Rights	Former Technical Supervisor of Contracts	May 29, 2019 (Skype interview)
Interview MED-Public8	Public	City of Medellín	Escuela para la Inclusión	School for Inclusion	Planning Advising Office	Planning Advisor	August 8, 2018
Interview MED-Public9	Public	City of Medellín	INDER: Instituto de Deportes y Recreación de Medellín	Institute of Sports and Recreation of Medellín	Promotion of Sports and Recreation	Team Member	August 18, 2018 (Email interview)
Interview MED-Public10	Public	City of Medellín	INDER: Instituto de Deportes y Recreación de Medellín	Institute of Sports and Recreation of Medellín	Marketing and Communications Management	Team Member	January 15, 2019
Interview MED-Public11	Public	Public Joint-Venture	Ruta N: Centro de Innovación y Negocios de Medellín	School of Administration, Finance and Technological Institute	URBAM: Center for Urban and Environmental Studies	Academic Coordinator	August 9, 2018
Interview MED-Acad1	Academia	University	EAFIT: Escuela de Administración, Finanzas e Instituto Tecnológico	School of Administration, Finance and Technological Institute	EAFIT Social: Initiatives of social innovation in Medellín	Coordinator of Volunteering	August 10, 2018
Interview MED-Acad2	Academia	University	EAFIT: Escuela de Administración, Finanzas e Instituto Tecnológico	School of Administration, Finance and Technological Institute	Children and Youth Choir (in vulnerable populations)	Director	August 6, 2018
Interview MED-NP1	Non-Profit	Foundation / Music	Fundacion Sirenaica	Sirenaica Foundation	General Management	Director - Medellín Center	August 10, 2018
Interview MED-NP2	Non-Profit	Foundation / Education Institution	CINDE: Fundación Centro Internacional de Educación y Desarrollo Humano	International Center for Education and Human Development Foundation	General Management	Director	August 9, 2018
Interview MED-NP3	Non-Profit	NGO / Cultural Association	Corporacion Nuestra Gente	"Our People" Corporation	Environmental and Gender Issues	Leader	July 27, 2018
Interview MED-NP4	Non-Profit	NGO / Citizens movement	Ciudad Baja en Carbono / Mujeres Medellín	Low Carbon City / Women Medellín	Youth integration in Comuna 13 through arts	Leader	August 3, 2018
Interview MED-Civil1	Civil Society	Citizen's collective	Casa Kolacho	"Kolacho" House	Environmental and Gender Issues	Leader	August 7, 2018
Interview MED-Civil2	Civil Society	Cooperative / Citizen's collective	Cojardicom: Corporación de Jardineras de Moravia	Moravia (female) Gardeners Corporation	Employed at Hotel	Front desk and cleaning (group interview)	January 14, 2019
Interview MED-Civil3	Civil Society	Local Residents	Neighborhoods: Laureles, Aranjuez, Santa Cruz	Neighborhoods: Laureles, Aranjuez, Santa Cruz			

Author's elaboration

Interviews were complemented with various opportunities for moderate **participatory observation**. There were two events in Malmö and five events in Medellín that were attended and used as part of the research data collection process (Table 5).

Table 5 - Participatory Observations

City	Event	Location	Date
Malmö	"Hack Your Future" Orientation Session (programming classes for immigrants)	Foo Café	October 14, 2018
	Social Innovation Summit 2018	Folkets Park Pavillions	November 13-14, 2018
Medellín	"Cultura Metro" (Metro Culture) civics street campaign	El Poblado' metro station	July 27, 2018
	"Blockchain for women" women empowerment event	El Poblado' neighbourhood	August 1, 2018
	Graffiti Tour lead by <i>Casa Kolacho</i> leader and sponsored by <i>Toucan Café</i>	La Independencia' neighbourhood (13th commune)	August 3, 2018
	Agencia para la Cooperacion Internacional (Agency for International Cooperation) meeting in preparation for the MDE Lab Conference in November 2018	EAFIT University	August 9, 2018
	"Feria de las flores" (Flowers Fair) emblematic cultural event for the city	Citywide	August 3-12, 2018

Table 5 – Events attended for participatory observation. Author's elaboration

The **limitations** of the research study are: in terms of logistics, due to the distance between the two cities and availability to travel of the author, the spacing of fieldwork was different for each case. For Malmö, several day visits were done for 3 months, and for Medellín, most of the fieldwork was compressed during two long visits to the city. However, to partially compensate for this difference, the total amount of time spent in each city was approximately the same. Also, visits to Medellín were done during academic breaks of the author that unfortunately coincided with school breaks of *Escuela para la Inclusión*, which impeded interviewing the participants first hand.

Furthermore, in Malmö, all interviews and informal conversations had to be limited to English, Spanish, and French which did not pose any major problems for the main data acquisition, however fluency in Swedish or Arabic would have been beneficial for more in-depth insights. Also, the author's familiarity with the Nordic model, Swedish culture and society was comparatively lower than of the contextual sphere of Medellín. To compensate for this initial shortcoming, a more in-depth review of secondary data and wider research was performed for the context of Malmö.

Also, for the comparison of such different cities, there was a need for contextualization and in-depth study of path-dependencies in each case. This led to a vast amount of data collected (also through the interviews), that was significant for the creation of conditions for social innovation. Therefore, the study tried to summarise stakeholder views and main points, however, the nuances of each case and additional points from the interviewers are worthy of a longer showcase that was not possible within the length limitations of this master thesis.

Regarding the content of the study, a limitation is the subjectivity of qualitative research. Findings rely heavily on the author's interpretations of data from the interviews and their discourse analysis. Also, the study of social innovation was bounded to the case of social exclusion-inclusion dynamics in the labour market and two very specific initiatives and their respective settings. Therefore, caution is solicited with generalisations to the city or other SIIs in similar contexts even within Nordic Europe and Latin America.

3.3 Rationale of the Case Studies:

The cities for the study: Malmö, Sweden, and Medellín, Colombia were chosen for various reasons. First of all, the geographic stretch is to study social innovation in two very distinct contexts. The historical differences in socio-political, economic, and cultural terms are abysmal. This presents a great opportunity to take a *deductive approach*: **testing the universality** of the ‘human and community centred’ approach to **SI theory** and the ALMOLIN analytical framework (Moulaert et al. 2010, 2013), and comparing results from the two different contexts.

Within their respective national containers, the cities have been **stigmatized** for violence and crime, but at different extents. The case of Medellín is more acute with worldwide injurious fame of drug cartels, kidnappings, and corruption. The case of Malmö is much milder, but within its regional context, it is stigmatized as “the rape capital of Europe” (BBC News 2018). Both cities have a record of high unemployment and the related social problems⁷. According to SI theory, the “spatial concentration of exclusion factors [encourage] people reacting to them as a catalyst for alternatives” (MacCallum et al. 2009) and eventual social innovation at the local level (Moulaert 2010).

With the negative pressure of stigmatization, there has also been a push to change the image of these cities. Their associated connotation is turning around to a new image of ‘**Innovative City**’. The process is slow and requires an effortful combination of various actions throughout the city. Malmö and Medellín have mobilized resources, developed public policies, and forged unconventional partnerships that required the involvement of multiple cross-sectoral actors. Beyond the rebranding, it is to be seen the level at which they experienced an actual transformation of their social fabric and imaginaries.

This push for social innovation (in its different meanings) is evidenced in both cities. Malmö University (MAU) manages *Mötesplats Social Innovation* which is “Sweden’s national platform for sharing knowledge about social innovation” (sisummit.se). MAU along with the City of Malmö hosts annually the “Social Innovation Summit” reuniting under one roof public servants, scholars, social entrepreneurs, investors and even charismatic leaders (ibid). MAU also has become part of the “National Knowledge Platform for Social Innovation” (LTU 2014).

Medellín's efforts to change its negative image and transform into a forward-looking and positive city have obtained many international recognitions. Ruta N complex opened in 2009, “Medellín’s Global Hub of Innovation” a joint “strategy of promotion and attraction” of talent, access to capital, business developments, and innovation environments (Ruta N 2018). In 2013, Medellín was chosen as “Innovative City of the Year” (Huffington Post 2013). In April 2019, it was named “Centre for the fourth industrial revolution in Latin America”, and is now part of a global web of “pioneer cities in technology, innovation, and entrepreneurship” (El Diario 2019). Also this year, it was chosen as “Discovery City 2019” (El Colombiano 2019).

Colombia and Sweden are among the only six countries in the world where “SI has been taken up by politics...embedded in public institutions and programs” (Howaldt et. al 2016). The Economist’s SI Index also ranked them in the top five of their respective regions for their “capacity to enable social innovation” (The Economist 2018). But this **international acclamation**, implicitly and explicitly, refers to technological and entrepreneurial innovation.

⁷ The social problems and context of exclusion in each city is explained and analysed in detail in Chapter 4

It is natural then, to raise the question if there has also been development of SI from a human-centred development perspective, about the satisfaction of basic needs, empowerment, and improvement of quality of life of disadvantaged groups (Leubold et al. 2017).

These cities are ideal cases, also because they face significant challenges of **social exclusion**, specifically in the labour market. Simultaneously, there are many efforts to remediate that condition through projects, programs, and initiatives that promote social inclusion. This means Malmö and Medellín have fertile ground for initiatives that are socially innovative in their ambitions and methods of attending their respective situations of exclusion (MacCallum et al. 2009; Moulaert et al. 2010, 2013). Additionally, their condition of secondary cities in their countries exposes better the challenges, limitations, and opportunities of a non-capital.

In Malmö, the SII studied in depth was *Yalla Trappan*, a labour integrated social enterprise that has gained both public and private institutional support. In Medellín, it was *Escuela para la Inclusion*, a human development institution responding to chronic social exclusion in the city. As different as they are, these **initiatives** seem to display the previously outlined social innovation features. Special scrutiny is done for the SI triad elements (Figure 5). The analysis is expanded to the context surrounding each initiative to help identify the decisive factors in the emergence of such SI features. The following section explains the structured framework that was developed for such analysis.

3.4 The C.S.I. Analytical framework

The “C.S.I. analytical framework” was created to facilitate the transition from a macro level of the national and city *Context*, to feeling the climate of social inclusion *Strategies* in the city, to then zoom-in into a specific *Initiative* at the neighbourhood level with in-depth details. This structure is maintained to present the empirical analysis of Malmö (section 4.1), Medellín (section 4.2), and their comparison (section 4.3). The CSI framework is embedded in the first two dimensions of the adopted critical realist perspective (Figure 8). It is useful to help answer RQ1 and RQ2 throughout Chapter 4.3 and provides a scheme for the theoretical formulation of *the real* to answer RQ3 in Chapter 5.

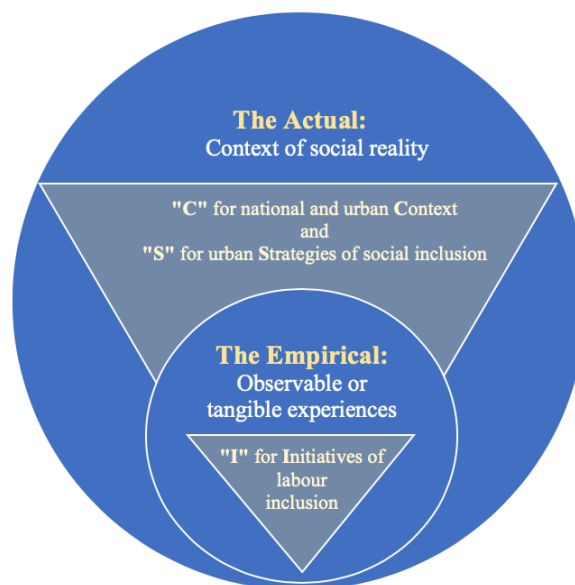


Figure 8 – Formulation of the “CSI Analytical Framework” to study the empirical and actual domains of social reality.
Author’s elaboration

C for national and urban Context:

This first macro-level of analysis reviews national systems of governance, urban regimes, and local politics. Socio-economic aspects e.g. industry and labour market, migration, socio-spatial segregation, as well as the urban geography of each city are also accounted for. This start line allows recognising how national containers influence local activity and shape the way actor networks develop. This is useful to avoid "the localist trap" (Moulaert 2000), and see *the empirical* only as evidence of bigger underlying causalities. Only by creating these links it is possible to understand how urban phenomena forms and transforms, and so the conditions for social innovation.

S for Strategies of social inclusion at city level:

This second mezzo level of analysis explores the citywide climate of social inclusion. This section starts with actor maps to visualise relationships and analyse roles of stakeholders in the various sectors: public, private, NGOs, academia, and civil society. Then, the analysis progresses to five strategies or tools that the city adopts to promote social inclusion⁸:

1. Form of the Instrument (or 'delivery method': project, program, institutions, etc.)
2. Actors' partnerships and collaboration
3. Urban planning strategies
4. Empowerment through culture and the role of civil society
5. Promotion of economic development (efforts on matching labour supply and demand)

The extent to which the case-study cities manifest each strategy varies, and this will be exposed in chapter 4.3 where both cities are compared. Also, this citywide perspective facilitates understanding of the opportunities, limitations, and potentials of the SIIs in the following section.

I for socially innovative Initiatives (SIIs) at the neighbourhood level:

This third and last micro level of analysis zooms-in to the concrete response of SIIs to social exclusion. The analysis uses the 'ALternative Model for Local INnovation' (ALMOLIN model) that was developed in the EU project SINGOCOM for the comparative analysis of cases of social innovation⁹ (Moulaert et al. 2010). Figure 9 "synthesizes the different elements of ALMOLIN and puts them into a dynamic perspective" (ibid). It shows how the dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion produce social innovation, and how various creation processes are ignited (at individual and community level) to generate a *movement for change*.

These dynamics are encapsulated in a setting of space and time. SI emerges from a situation of social exclusion, from the deprivation of human needs that calls for a reaction of 'the excluded population' to the unsatisfactory condition (*why*). This reaction is manifested in the mobilisation of resources to change their situation (*how*). At the same time, a social economy is created along with building the identity of the collective. Lastly, SI is the product of this

⁸ See appendix 4 for a longer and more detailed explanation for each strategy

⁹ The ALMOLIN has been widely used in western and southern Europe (Moulaert et al. 2005, 2010), and more recently in Nairobi, Kenya (Wamuchiru and Moulaert 2017) proving useful to analyse and compare very different cases. This thesis expands the geographical reach of the ALMOLIN to Nordic Europe and Latin America.

process (*what*). Here the triad of SI (figure 1) is recalled to analyse how the initiative satisfies human needs, generates empowerment, and changes social (power) relations (Leubold et al. 2017; MacCallum et al. 2009; Moulaert et al. 2010, 2013).¹⁰

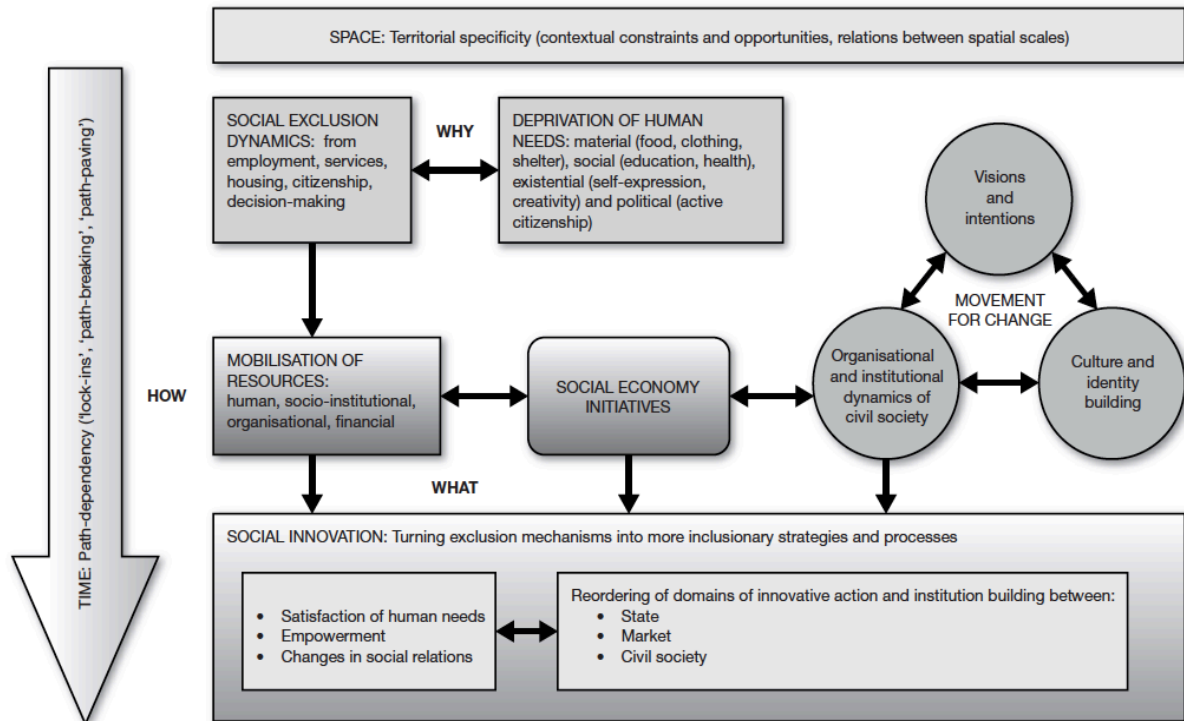


Figure 9 – Dynamics of Social Innovation (Moulaert et al. 2010, pg. 52)

¹⁰ See appendix 5 for details and sub-questions of each of the ALMOLIN criteria and their links to each research question in this thesis

Chapter 4

Empirical Analysis

Chapter 4.1

Case Study 1: Malmö, Sweden

Malmö is located in southern Sweden, specifically NUTS3 SE224 “Skåne län”. In 2013, the city districts were restructured to five larger ones. The city has a population of 347,825 (SCB Statistics Sweden 2018) and Region Skåne 1.3 million (Eurostat 2018) while Stockholm, for comparison, has 980,000 (SCB Statistics Sweden 2018). The population is young (average 36 years old), compared to regional and national demographics (averages on the 40s) (Malmö Stad, 2018). Malmö became Sweden's fastest-growing city, surpassing Stockholm in 2016 (Statistics Sweden), in part due to international migration. 31% of Malmö residents are foreign-born with the largest groups from Iraq and ex-Yugoslavia (Malmö Stad, 2018). The main industries are retail, communications, finance, and health, and the largest employer is the City of Malmö, however, Malmö retains the highest unemployment rate in the country (ibid).

See infographic in the next page



Malmö at a glance



Figure 10 – Sweden within Europe
CIA World Factbook, 2019



Figure 11 – Malmö within Sweden
CIA World Factbook, 2019



Figure 12 – Malmö within Skåne Region
NUTS3 SE224. Google Maps, 2019



Figure 13 - City Districts Restructuration "10 districts become 5". Sydsvenska & Malmö Stad, 2013



Figure 14 - Aerial view of central Malmö. Picture from the City of Malmö, taken from Nordregio, 2009



Figure 15 - Malmö Live buildings (left) and city center. Picture by the author 2018

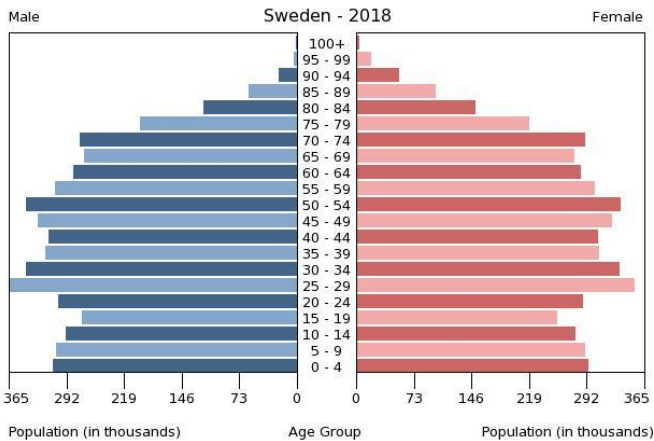


Figure 16 - Sweden's age structure. CIA World Factbook, 2018

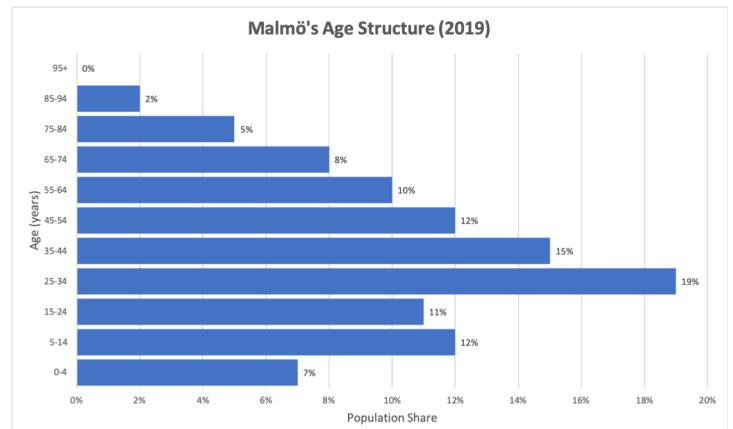


Figure 17 - Malmö's age structure. Author's elaboration with data from Malmö Stad, 2019

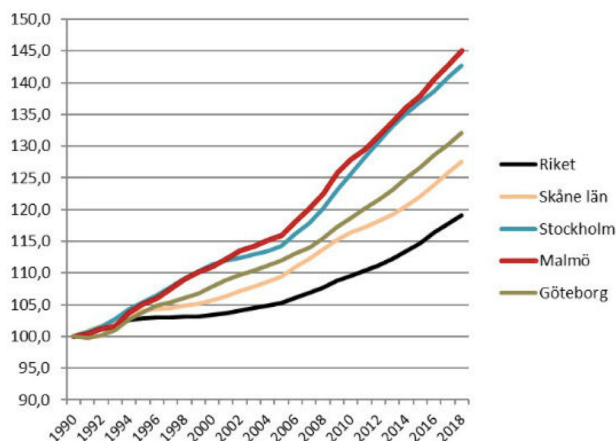


Figure 18 – Population growth in Malmö and other Swedish cities (1990-2018) Index 1990 = 100. Statistics Sweden

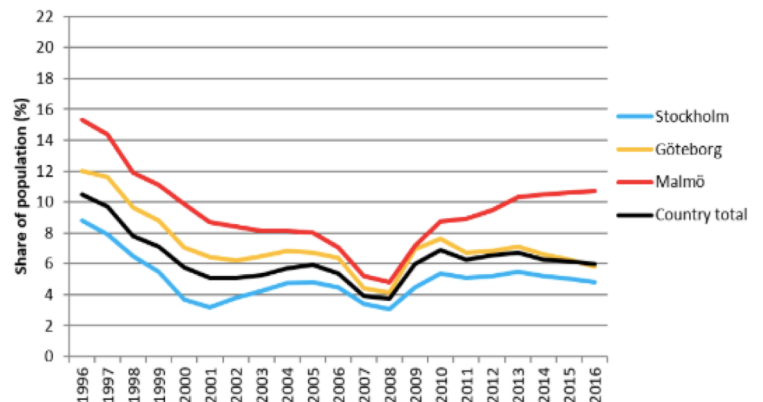


Figure 19 – Number of unemployed as % of population aged 16-64 in Malmö and other Swedish cities and Sweden. Swedish Public Employment Service

4.1.1 C for national and urban *Context* of Malmö, Sweden

An important heritage of the long tradition of Social Democracy in Sweden is the ***Million Homes Program*** (Anderson, 2014; Hall, 2001). It was a government response to the 1960s housing crisis, which built one million new dwellings between 1964-1974, “the ambition was to create an exemplary welfare state” (Hall and Vidén, 2005). Sweden went from housing shortage to surplus spawning the neighbourhoods of Rosengård, Lindängen, Höja, and Holma, among others (Figures 20 and 21).



Figure 20 – Picture of residential buildings in Rosengård, one of the Million Homes Program neighbourhoods. Taken by the author on December 12, 2018



Figure 21 – Picture of a frequented commercial area in Rosengård. Taken by the author on December 12, 2018

The urban geography of Malmö has also been marked by various **migration waves** due to the recruitment of immigrant labour after WWII, and more recently, to the intake of refugees from war-torn countries during the 1990s-2000s (Anderson, 2014). Also, “Malmö became an attractive destination for asylum seekers due to its vacant public housing stock” (Scarpa, 2016). Immigrants mostly settled in *Million Homes Program* neighbourhoods like Rosengård where they also had social networks. These social dynamics have in part contributed to today’s **residential segregation** of these transition neighbourhoods.

In 2018, 34% of Malmö's population was foreign-born¹¹ and their spatial distribution is marked. Over half of Danish migrants settle in the central districts while only 5% in Rosengård. A similar but opposite trend is seen with non-European nationalities: 63% settled in south-eastern districts (Hyllie, Fosie, Oxie, Rosengård) and 25% in the city centre (City of Malmö 2010)¹². This **socio-spatial segregation** was visible empirically. In Rosengård, it was noticed a higher presence of women wearing hijab than in other areas¹³. Also, several materials were collected in various languages indicative of serving a foreign population (Figures 22 through 26)



Figure 22 – Brochure from RådRum (meaning “Respite”) an assistance program that “gives free and impartial advice... to navigate society” in several foreign languages. Pictures in the brochure are also allusive of their target audience. Collected by the author from Rosengård public library

¹¹ The countries of origin with higher presence were Iraq (10.8%), Denmark (10.5%), Former Yugoslavia (9.8%), Poland (7.8%), Bosnia & Herzegovina (6.7%), and with lesser percentages Lebanon, Iran, and Hungary. Percentages are of that nationality from the total of foreign-born pop. in Malmö. Calculated with data from SCB Sweden Statistics (2018).

¹² The most recent data available broken down by nationalities at district level was of 2010, therefore percentages were used rather than absolute numbers for an idea of current distributions. City of Malmö (2010).

¹³ Hijab is an indicator of Islam, a religion not original from southern Sweden, therefore from observation only and without further interaction with the locals, this suggests that those women (and possibly their families too) are of foreign origin.



Figure 23 – Brochure in Arabic clearly directed to aid senior citizens of foreign origin.
Collected by the author from public space in Rosengård Centrum

Figure 24 – Inventory of books in foreign languages at Rosengård public library



Figure 25 – Photo exposition
at the entrance hall of
Rosengård public library on
October 2, 2018



الجمعة 5 أكتوبر 2018 (يوم الافتتاح)															
00.00	23.00	22.00	21.00	20.00	19.00	18.00	17.00	16.00	15.00	14.00	13.00	12.00	11.00	10.00	09.00
														11:10 - 09:16 عاشق عمودي الافتتاح	بانورا 1
													للمدراس فقط		
														11:30 - 09:45 مسافر جالب استقبل 02.00	بانورا 2
													للمدراس فقط		
						18:30 - 17:30 الافتتاح مشروع للجمهور									الساحة الكبيرة
					20:30 - 18:30 م حفل الافتتاح										قاعة مدينة مالو
															سنيما بانورا
					21:00 - 20:00 الافتتاح بوفيه ولوبيين عربية										
															بانورا 1, 2, 3
					23:00 - 21:00 ليلة الافتتاح خلق صناعات										
						فريق الفس إخراج: عامر دياب الكتاب: عامر دياب، أسيرين ماني، محمد دياب الفتوح: حرية فرح، ماريه لوكاوي عبد الرحمن أوزفران، سيد لوكا، مصطفى خاتير من كتب: بوبي فرانز المصور: ألكسندر كروني الناشر: زين كروني									
ملخصات الأفلام متوفرة في إنتاج المهرجان و عبر الموقع ar.maffswe.com															
عروض الافتتاح والختام		الأفلام الروائية القصيرة		الأفلام الوثائقية الطويلة		الأفلام الوثائقية القصيرة		لبناني عربية		عروض المدارس		عروض خاصة			

Figure 26 - Brochure of the screening schedule of Malmö's 8th Arab Film Festival in English and Arabic. Collected by the author from Rosengård public library

These materials, not found in other areas of the city, signal efforts from the City of Malmö and other multi-level organisations¹⁴ for foreigners' integration into Swedish society. However, transition neighbourhoods are also officially labelled as *Utsatt Område* (**vulnerable areas**) due to the high crime rate and overall social exclusion problems (Swedish Police, 2019, 2015). Even though the city government defends their identification for their ministration, it also leads to stigmatization (BBC News, 2018; BBC Newsnight, n.d.; The Local, 2019a).

Parallel to these social challenges, the city also portrays an **image of** rampant and steady **innovation and progress**. Particularly important is the urban governance of mayor Ilmar Reepalu from 1994-2013. Reepalu was "instrumental in Malmö's transformation from a declining industrial city to what it is [or portrayed] today... synonymous with innovation, creativity, resident participation and sustainability" (Anderson, 2014).

Some of the **highlights** of this urban regime are the opening of the Øresund Bridge and Malmö University, and the new district in *Västra Hamnen* (Western Harbour) home of the famous *Turning Torso* building and mixed-use complexes "aimed at the urban middle-class with attractive waterfront front vistas" (ibid) (Figure 27 and 28). This project has been criticized (Holgersen, 2012) for its focus on technology and sustainability gadgets only for a sector of the population and far away from the social reality of the 'vulnerable areas'.



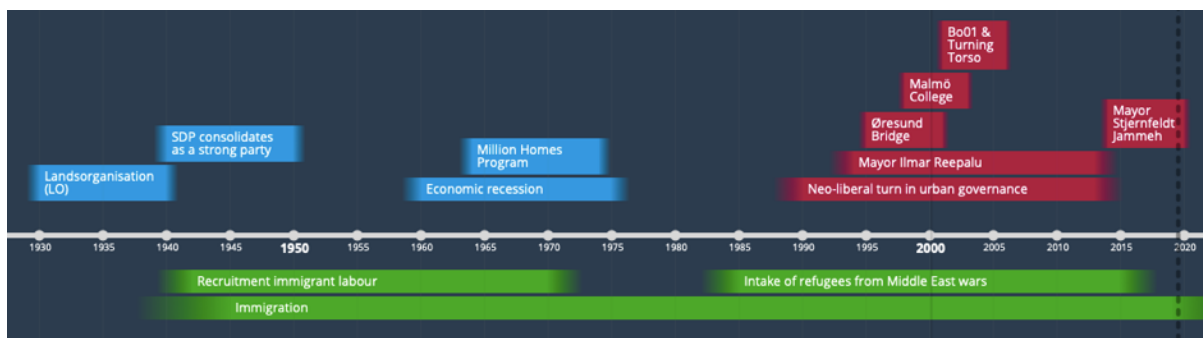
Figure 27 - Picture of residential buildings in Västra Hamnen waterfront and the Turning Torso building at the back. Taken by the author on October 17, 2018

¹⁴ EU Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, Skåne Region, *Hållbar Utveckling* (Sustainable Development) Skåne, *Bildningsförbundet* (Adult Education Institute) Sensus, and *IM Individuell Människohjälp* (IM Individual Human Assistance)



*Figure 28 – Picture of residential buildings in Västra Hamnen waterfront.
Taken by the author on October 2, 2018*

It is said that Malmö is a **“two-faced city”** (Anderson, 2014). On one hand, new urban development projects have the most ambitious goals of sustainability, the latest technology, and modern architecture. On the other hand, the so-called ‘vulnerable areas’ are an amalgam of social complexities, taboos, and delicate subjects such as segregation, discrimination, and unemployment. The challenge remains on social integration and in ways to attend needed areas without negative labelling and stigmatization. Figure 29 shows a timeline of this brief overview.



*Figure 29 – Timeline of the brief historical overview of Malmö.
Author's elaboration*

4.1.2 S for Malmö's *Strategies* of social inclusion and their actor networks

Figure 30 helps visualise the actors in the *effort of social inclusion* in the city and specifically in the labour market. The **public sectors spinal cord** (the vertical axis in actors map) goes from EU to the local level and structures the flow of funds, priorities and decisions. In Malmö, there two clusters of actors that evidence the "two-faced city" (Anderson, 2014) and their respective labour inclusion efforts. The **red cluster** is driven mostly by the IT¹⁵try and related social enterprises that train highly educated newcomers with industry-required skills. Examples are Foo Café¹⁶ and Pink Programming¹⁷ that work directly with the Ideon Science park companies for job-placing. Others like MINE¹⁸ and Mitt Liv match job-seekers skills with companies' vacancies, and advocate diversity and non-discrimination in the workplace.

The **blue cluster** encircles inter-sectoral and multi-level alliances under projects of social innovation and territorial development that create new ways of integration and value community knowledge. 'Transversal linkers' like BID Sofielund and Centre for Public Entrepreneurship (CPE) have leverage, influence and decision-making power, in various sectors. Labour integrated social enterprises employ directly population groups usually excluded from the labour market. *Yalla Trappan*, for instance, is notorious for its good relationship with the public sector (City of Malmö), private (IKEA), and academia (Malmö University).

The **public sector** contains the main actors the at city and regional level that initiate, develop, and implement social inclusion programs, with national and EU funds. The **private sector** come as a provider of jobs. They are in control of financial resources, in a position of power over the job-seekers, specially immigrants. They act as partners with the city of Malmö and Skåne Region for training and insertion programs. Important private actors are the technology companies mainly located in *Västra Hamnen* and large industries in Rosengård.

Academia includes Malmö and Lund universities, vocational schools (*Studiefrämjandets*), and adult training and education centres (*Folkhögskolas*). Social enterprises and foundations have taken the role of capacity building, training and educational activities, especially in the IT (red) cluster. These initiatives also receive support from Region Skåne and the universities through programs like MatchIT¹⁹.

There is a striking lack of **civil society** involvement in the city, NGOs and the third sector. The community takes the role of *recipients* of help from training programs, public benefits and projects, but *not as initiators*. A possible explanation could be that the main excluded population group are immigrants, who do not (intend to?) appropriate the urban environment and/or lack social capital, necessary elements for the emergence of empowered grassroots collectives.

¹⁵ Information Technology industry

¹⁶ Foo Café is a meeting place for people in the computer and technology industry, based on the principle of sharing knowledge and solidarity. It also has a foundation that runs the "Hack Your Future" Program (now renamed FooCoding) to provide free programming courses to immigrants regardless of their legal status in Sweden. A particular focus is made to attract women.

¹⁷ Pink Programming is a volunteer-driven non-profit organization that promotes the presence of women computer programmers in the industry.

¹⁸ **MINE** stands for "Mentorship, Inspiration, Networking, Education" the principles of the social enterprise.

¹⁹ The MatchIT program offers programming courses to immigrants with a technical background. After the course, students are offered a 10-week internship at one of the partner tech companies to increase possibilities of employment in the computer programming industry.

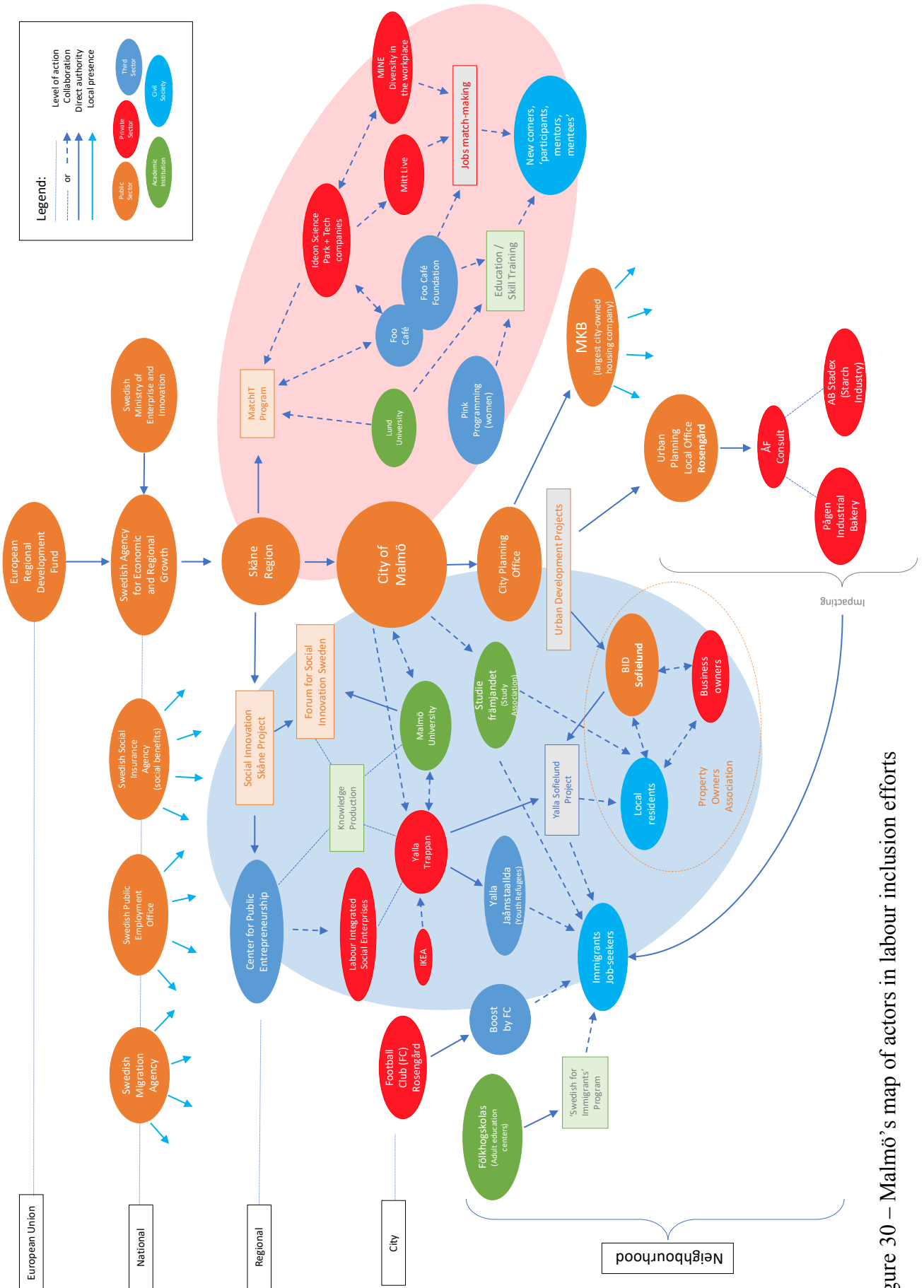


Figure 30 – Malmö's map of actors in labour inclusion efforts

Malmö's five urban strategies for social inclusion

1. Form of the instrument: Short-term top-down projects

Social inclusion efforts from the public sector are predominantly seen in the form of projects. They are financed by the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth or Vinnova: the Swedish state funding for research and development, out of which, for example, 10 innovation labs emerged from the call “Social Innovation Against Segregation” (Vinnova, 2017). Also, EU funding from the ESF²⁰ or the ERDF²¹ is funnelled down to the Skåne Region, and then to the City of Malmö to materialize, for example, in the project platform “Accelerating citizens establishment in the labour and housing market” including projects like “The Whole Family 2.0”, “The Way In”, “Malmö Innovation Arena” and “Case Sofielund” among others (Malmö Stad, 2018). Limitations in funding translates into specificity and temporality for the projects, usually for a maximum of three years (ibid.).

More permanent efforts but more financially unstable, are social inclusion efforts from the private and non-profit sectors in Malmö. One of Foo Café directives stated “we are facing problems in making *Arbetsförmedlingen*²² and City of Malmö fund the *Hack Your Future* Program because we help newcomers regardless of their legal status”²³, they have turned to the tech companies for investment, so “it is a constant challenge to remain focused on sustainability rather than profit” (ibid). Despite the struggle, Foo Café and other social enterprises like MINE, Mitt Live, and Pink Programming take the broker role between the demands of high-tech companies and the job-seekers, usually high-skilled immigrants from the Middle East and specially Syria after 2015²⁴.

2. Actors partnerships and collaboration: Multi-level institutional alliances

The *Social Innovation Skåne* project is a good example. It was a large three-year collaborative project to support “innovative services, products, processes and methods that aim to meet the challenges of society” with funds from all macro-levels: Region Skåne, the Swedish Growth Agency and the ERDF (SI Skåne²⁵). The project involved four organizations: CPE, *Coompanion Skåne*, *NETWORK-Idéburen Sektor Skåne* and *Meetingplace Social Innovation* (EC, 2019). A project leader from CPE²⁶ highlighted their unique focus: “initiatives that deal with issues like poverty, homelessness, etc. at the grassroots are harder to finance, they are not sexy like innovation and technology... therefore we [CPE] need to help them with the [institutional] tools we have”, he also said that the collaboration was possible by recognising the knowledge that each organization has from operating at different levels²⁷.

²⁰ European Social Fund

²¹ European Regional Development Fund

²² Swedish Public Employment Service

²³ Interview with Foo Café directives (MAL-Private5)

²⁴ Participant observation and informal conversations with participants of the “Hack Your Future” workshop held at Foo Café and in-depth interview with female Syrian refugee (MAL-Civil1)

²⁵ Social Innovation Skåne Project Website: <http://socialinnovationskane.se>

²⁶ CPE is regional NGO with centres in various municipalities including Lund and Malmö. It provides tools and advice to individuals and socially innovative initiatives at the grassroots level. It aims to promote local development and citizens engagement.

²⁷ Interview with the project leader from *Centre for Public Entrepreneurship* (CPE) (MAL-NP1)

There are also coordination efforts between public institutions dealing with the inter-related issues of socio-spatial segregation and the housing market. A social concept developer at MKB²⁸ explains the link between social exclusion in the housing and labour markets: “there are two big problems: for foreigners in Malmö is hard to get a job, and even if they do, it is hard to get fully integrated into the Swedish model of work... and two: education, a lot of kids don’t graduate from school”, for him it is a circle of inter-related and reinforcing unfortunate situations²⁹. Therefore, MKB leverages its large influence in various departments of the city administration to tackle those multiple dimensions of social exclusion.

3. Urban Planning Strategies in a “two-faced city”

Urban planning provides the tools through the built environment to create opportunities for a target population. The manifestation of these opportunities in Malmö was observed in four urban development projects with varying levels of citizen participation and priorities. ‘Participatory and promising’ projects are found in prime locations; hence the urban planning strategies seem to have a marked spatial and economic dimension (Figure 31).



Figure 31 - Malmö’s current urban development projects relevant to social inclusion.
Author’s elaboration

²⁸ MKB is the largest public real estate company owned by the City of Malmö. It owns 24,000 apartments housing roughly 50-60,000 people. It set rent caps and aims to improve vulnerable areas while trying to control the effects of gentrification. It can have input in decision-making and the public policies that get actualized in the *Million Homes Program* neighbourhoods.

²⁹ Interview with Social Concepts Developer at MKB Fastighets AB (MAL-Public8)

For example, the aim of the **Nyhamnen** project is “to re-activate the [old industrial port], make it more attractive, and to make money to reinvest it in the same area... we have to focus on the waterfront, [it] is the face and image of the city”³⁰ said the leader of the project. The **4D temporary-use project in Kirseberg** takes advantage of the fourth dimension: time. It is a gradual building process that includes citizens in the proposal for uses of the available land. It is an opportunity to “test before investing” and explore what businesses or activities thrive in the area, and which do not. The city planning office praises the method for creating citizens' inclusion in place-making: “a temporary-use project leads to more efficient use of the land and it is a tool for co-creation and involving the actual users of the space... it is urbanism done well”³¹

Urban development projects in “vulnerable areas” are managed with caution to avoid gentrification. The **Rosengård train station** opened in December 2018 to provide connectivity and resources to the disadvantaged area³². The planning department said “we want to make it moderate... we are [deciding land uses] as an inclusive process”³³ but it is a constant struggle as participation instruments have not been successful so far³⁴. Another project is the **BID Sofielund** that was launched after Södra Sofielund became one of the city's “Programme Areas” in 2010 (Malmö Stad, 2019). “The goal was to transform the “problem area” into an “innovation area”³⁵. The coordinator underlines the importance of a long-term vision and support of existing businesses and organizations in the area, before bringing new ones, to avoid gentrification. He adds “we have to work slowly and work with them” (ibid).

4. Missing empowerment through culture and the role of civil society

It seems Malmö has a dormant civil society. Its role has not been significant in the areas studied (Nyhamnen, Sofielund, Rosengård). Communication between the city administration and citizens is channelled through institutions like the property owners' association in Sofielund³⁶ or public local offices³⁷ but always institutionalised and top-down. There seems to be a lack of uprising grassroots collectives with social demands. This could be due to the extensive social benefits from the welfare state to satisfy the basic needs of lower socio-economic classes, the most frequent site for bursts of discontents. In general, the energy for engagement flows from institution to individuals, not vice versa.

³⁰ Interview with Senior Landscape Architect at Malmö City Planning Office- Kirseberg and Nyhamnen Districts (MAL-Public2)

³¹ Interview with Landscape Architect at Malmö City Planning Office in charge of the 4D Temporary-use Project in Kirseberg (MAL-Public4)

³² Interview Process Manager in charge of community outreach and citizens participation at the City Planning Local Office in Rosengård (MAL-Public6)

³³ Interview with Landscape Architect at Malmö City Planning Office- Rosengård District (MAL-Public3)

³⁴ Interview Process Manager in charge of community outreach and citizens participation at the City Planning Local Office in Rosengård (MAL-Public6) and interview with strategists from ÅF Consult

³⁵ Interview with the Development Coordinator of BID Sofielund holding two positions: at the Urban Development Department and as president of the Sofielund Property Owners Association (MAL-Public5).

³⁶ Interview with the Development Coordinator of the Business Improvement District (BID) Sofielund holding two positions: public servant at the city's Urban Development Department and as president of the Sofielund Property Owners Association (MAL-Public5).

³⁷ Interview with the Process Manager of the community outreach and citizens participation department of *Amiralsstadens* (Urban Planning Local office) in Rosengård (MAL-Public6)

5. Economic development through training and capacity building

Training programs financed by public funds, for example, the **Folkhogskolas** which impart adult education courses like "Swedish from day one" and "Swedish for Immigrants". These courses are a social integration tool, not only through the class content but as an opportunity for coexistence of Palestinians and Israelis, Shiites and Sunnis, Christians and Muslims as classmates³⁸. Another example is the **MatchIT Program** from Skåne Region with the collaboration of Lund University. It provides "training for people with brains to re-educate them into programming"³⁹.

Social enterprises also offer job training and match-making. For example, **MINE** "tr[ies] to eliminate the norms that create exclusive structures in society by [working with companies to] promote cultural intelligence in workshops and show the innovation profit: links between diversity and development"⁴⁰. The **Mitt Liv** mentorship program does something very similar specifically for "individuals with foreign background, post-secondary education, good Swedish or English, a residence permit, commitment and motivation" (Mitt Liv Website).

The general idea seems to be that for economic progress, migrants must fully integrate into the labour market. To achieve this, vocational training and job-matching programs aim to level-up, update, or change the skills of newcomers to fulfil market demand. However, labour integrated social enterprises have a different method for the integration of immigrants into the labour market. The following section analyses the case of *Yalla Trappan*.

4.1.3 *I for socially innovative Initiatives the at neighbourhood level: The case of Yalla Trappan*

Yalla Trappan (YT) emerged at the end of the *Trappan* projects (2006-2009)⁴¹ to consolidate today as a cooperative "meant for women who are far from the labour market and short of education and work experience"⁴². It is a labour integrated social enterprise that has identified the skills of long-term unemployed immigrant women and, through their association, has created an opportunity for employment and a platform for social interaction. It has three areas of work: the café, sewing studio, and cleaning services. There are 17 women employed part-time but the impact extends beyond to their families and the community cohesion.

This SII presents a **different strategy** to labour inclusion. While training programs level job-seekers skills and match supply and demand, YT creates their own inclusion in a tangent way. It offers its employees a way of making a living without being subject to fierce competition in the local job market. Having similar backgrounds, socio-economic situation, and shared goals these women have formed a collective force and voice, they have realized that each one is not alone in their social and economic struggles in a new country. They now have an income, and more importantly a social network.

³⁸ Interview with a directive of the *Swedish for Immigrants (SFI)* Program at Hyllie Park Folk High School (MAL-Acad1)

³⁹ Interview with a directive of the MatchIT Program from the Labour Market Unit of Regional Development of Region Skåne (MAL-Public1)

⁴⁰ Interview with a directive of MINE's marketing department (MAL-Private 3)

⁴¹ Financed by the ESF

⁴² Interview with *Yalla Trappan* Directive (MAL-Private2)



Figure 32 – Entrance of the Café at Yalla Sofielund, a daughter project of Yalla Trappan in the Sofielund neighbourhood. Taken by the author on December 12, 2018



Figure 33 – Sewing machines used by the women of Yalla Trappan. More machines were shown to the author in another atelier on site. Taken by the author on December 12, 2018

A compilation of interviews with the 17 employees of *Yalla Trappan* (Björnsthåhl and Hartman, 2012), provides valuable insights. They come from Balkan Countries such as Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia, Macedonia; and the middle-east: Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Pakistan, and Denmark (with Pakistani parents). Their age is generally between 45-55 years old, who have arrived to Sweden in their mid-twenties. On average they had spent half of their lives in their countries and the other half in Sweden. They emigrated in the 1990s, coinciding with the Kuwait and Iraq Gulf war (1991), Bosnian civil war (1994-1995), and Kosovo (1999), conflicts that have affected entire regions.

They have similar life stories and cultural background. They usually have a low level of education and limited work experience, even though the work experience has a wider range. Most of them have experience doing low-skill jobs such as cleaning, housework, caring for children, and various trades. Several women have been trained as seamstresses or have experience sewing. One woman even has experience in the textile industry and has worked with clothes designers before, others had never worked before arriving to *Yalla Trappan*. The interviews also reveal some unexploited talents such as writing poetry, painting, and gardening.

Their childhood dreams and aspirations were low: "I dreamt of having a cleaning job" (ibid), sewing, being a midwife, housewife, or hairdresser. Bigger dreams of being a nurse or doctor got frustrated due to war or discouraging family. Three women did not even have dreams: "I didn't have much time for dreaming about what to do in the future, there was such a lot to do at home" (ibid). Cultural heavy drags are repressive of women's aspirations from an early age and diminish their role in society (Yousafzai and Carpenter, 2018), acting as deterrents to have autonomy and undertake new challenges in Malmö.

Most of them used to stay in their houses with limited interaction with Swedish society. But all women manifest their desire to go out, meet, and chat with other women. They felt "bored, sad, and depressed at home" (Björnsthåhl and Hartman, 2012). *Yalla Trappan* offered an environment where they fit, an oasis of familiarity in an unknown land. A Palestinian woman reported: "I felt that I haven't got a country of my own. As if I didn't belong to any country at all... [but now] I feel at home in Sweden... and like a family at *Yalla Trappan*" (ibid). All women share these feelings of friendship, family, sense of belonging, feeling needed and worthy. Each one highlights the big difference that the cooperative has been in their lives.



Figure 34 – Women of Yalla Trappan were happy to pose and show the flowers they were working on. Taken by the author on December 12, 2018



Figure 35 – Finished goods for sale at the Yalla Sofielund Café. Taken by the author on December 12, 2018

Analysis of *Yalla Trappan* through the ALMOLIN model (Figure 36)

The WHY: long-term exclusion of immigrant women from income-generating activities and Swedish society in general

Marginalization and self-reinforcing social problems are pre-existing conditions for the emergence of social innovation. The social exclusion dynamics, in this case, are social and financial alienation. A woman stated: "For 11 years I was at home and had very little contact with Swedish society and I neither studied nor worked; that wasn't a good thing" (ibid).

The issue is heavily gendered biased due to the middle-eastern culture that normalizes women marrying at a very early age, having several children and staying home (without an education) to take care of them. Other barriers might be psychological for being forced to split into two worlds: another one says "I want to stay in Sweden, I don't want to move back to Lebanon. I can cry for my beautiful native country being so very ruined, it used to be so lovely. I have seen many people getting killed in the war and these memories are tough" (ibid). Many women at YT share the same challenges but also the same desire for personal growth.

The HOW: Ignited by a labour inclusion project and supported by institutional alliances

The *Trappan* projects forged various institutional alliances that facilitated the creation of *Yalla Trappan* as a permanent organization. ABL, a company run by ABF Malmö⁴³ was involved at the off-set, as well as the City Council and members of the University of Malmö who today are on the permanent board of YT to provide advice and give international visibility to the social enterprise, like through Changemakers.com⁴⁴. YT has also secured a partnership with multi-national furniture and home décor company IKEA. They have agreed to sell some of their products in their stores in Malmö. Furthermore, YT is currently under negotiations with H&M and is planning to expand through similar projects⁴⁵.

The WHAT: From exclusion to inclusion through personal and collective empowerment

YT provides a physical place to meet, share knowledge, skills, experiences, and stories. It is a place where these women feel needed. Figure 37 visualizes the process as a turning wheel. The material creation of a physical place for encounter and the *collective creation* of food, textile garments, and the services provided are material proof of their capacities. The fact that others appreciate and value such creation, provides a sense of belonging in the group and a reinforcing mechanism of place attachment to YT and their daily work. Many women confess they go to YT outside their scheduled hours "to help out with all kind of needed duties", they said "We are like family here, we have such fun" (ibid).

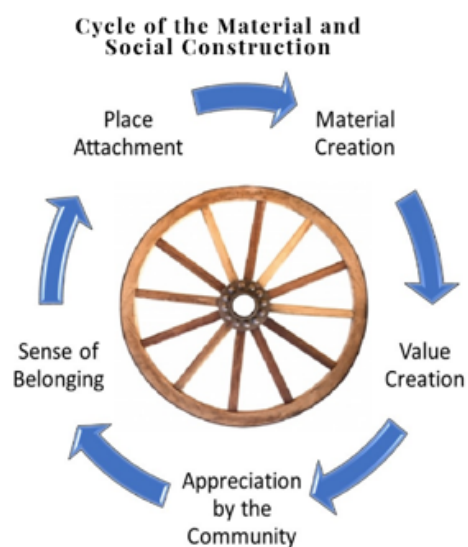


Figure 37 – Cycle of material and social construction.
Author's elaboration

⁴³ ABF Malmö is the Workers' Educational Association

⁴⁴ Participant observation at the Social Innovation Summit in Malmö in November 2018.

⁴⁵ Interview with *Yalla Trappan* Directive (MAL-Private2)

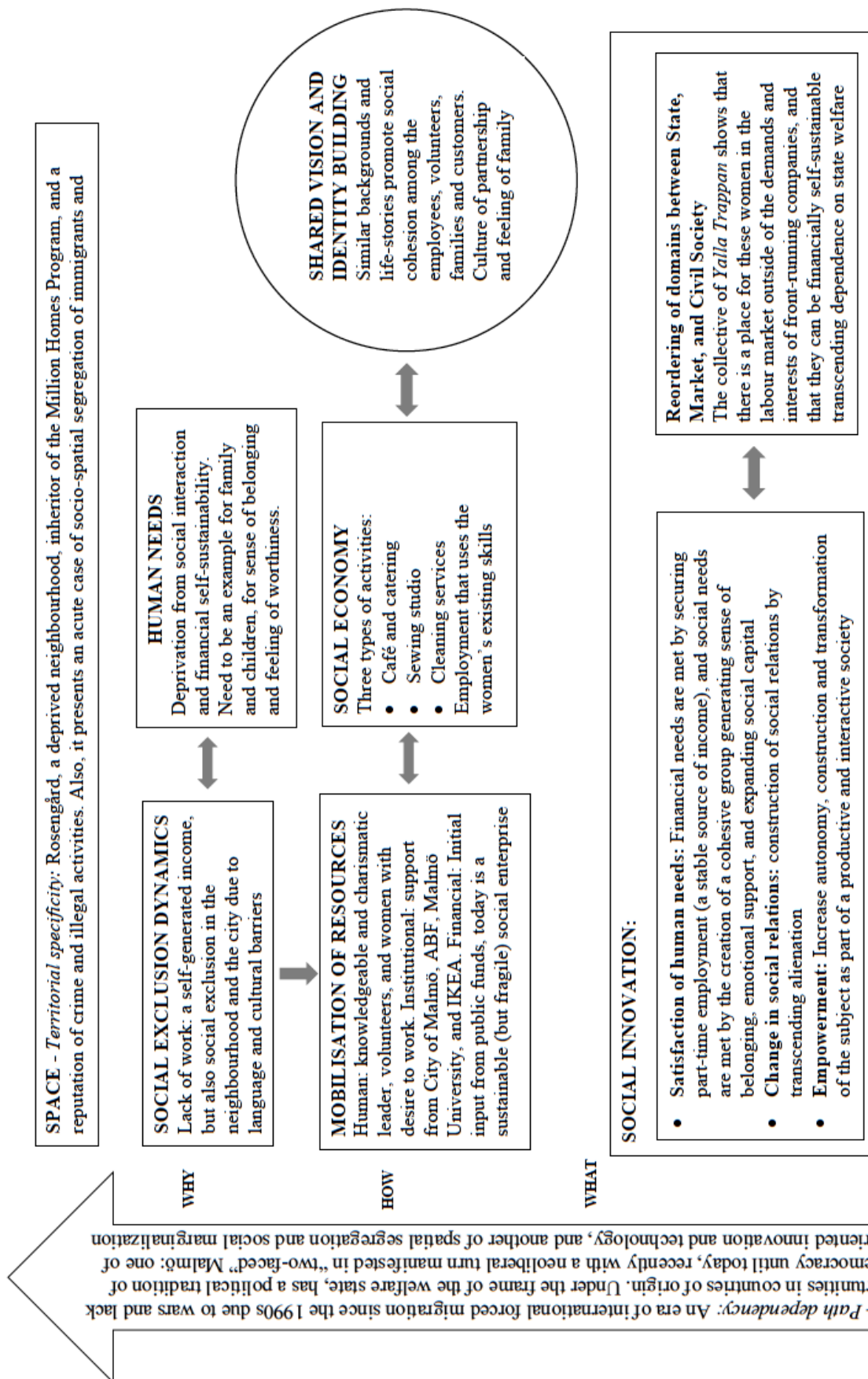


Figure 36 - Dynamics of social innovation in the case of Yalla Trappan. Author's elaboration based on Moulaert et. al (2010)

4.1.4 Summary of empirical analysis of Malmö, Sweden

In the context of the welfare state with a long tradition of the Socialist Democratic Party in power, there are path dependencies such as the heritage of the *Million Homes Program* in various cities in Sweden. In Malmö, most of those built housing states are today ‘vulnerable areas’ or transition neighbourhoods, like Rosengård. They are marginalized areas with issues of socio-spatial segregation, and social and labour exclusion, that can also be pre-conditions to the emergence of SI.

The efforts for social inclusion in Malmö are primarily led by the public sector via projects supported by the EU. They often partner with companies and universities, but collaboration with civil society collectives is limited. Social entrepreneurs also attempt to close the gap between labour demand and supply. But *Yalla Trappan* in Rosengård allows immigrant women far from the labour market to create their own inclusion. They focus on their skills and on building a support network to attain financial and social inclusion. The ALMOLIN model was employed to show the socially innovative nature of the initiative.

Chapter 4.2

Case Study 2: Medellín, Colombia

Medellín is the capital of the Antioquia Region. The city has a population of 2,549,537 inhabitants (City of Medellín 2019). The metropolitan area includes Medellín and 9 other municipalities reaching 3.7 million. It is the second-largest city after Bogota D.C. (7.1 million). Antioquia is the # 1 receptor of internal migrants from the Pacific, Caribbean, and Central regions. Migration from Venezuela has also been significant in recent years (DANE 2018). The regional economy is based on banana, coffee, flowers, and gold mining. Also, important are housing and public works, financial intermediation, and the textile industry which echoes the city label as “the Latin-American capital of fashion” (City of Medellín 2019).

See infographic in the next page



Medellín at a glance



Figure 38 – Colombia in South America
CIA World Factbook, 2019



Figure 39 – Medellín in Colombia
CIA World Factbook, 2019

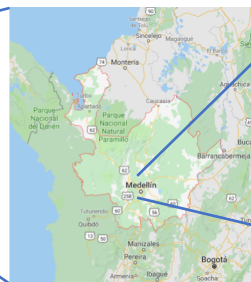


Figure 40 – Antioquia Department
Google Maps, 2019

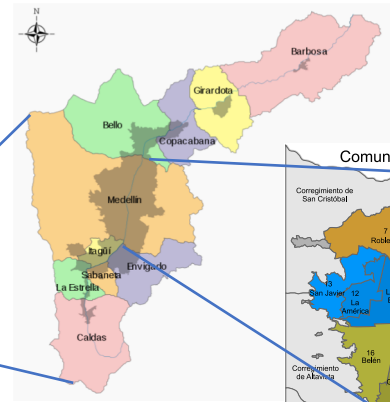


Figure 41 – Metropolitan Area
of the Aburrá Valley
Figure 42 – Communes of Medellín
City of Medellín (Gifex) 2019

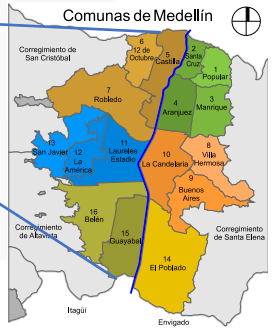


Figure 43 - View from the north-west, city center under the sun. Taken by the author 2018

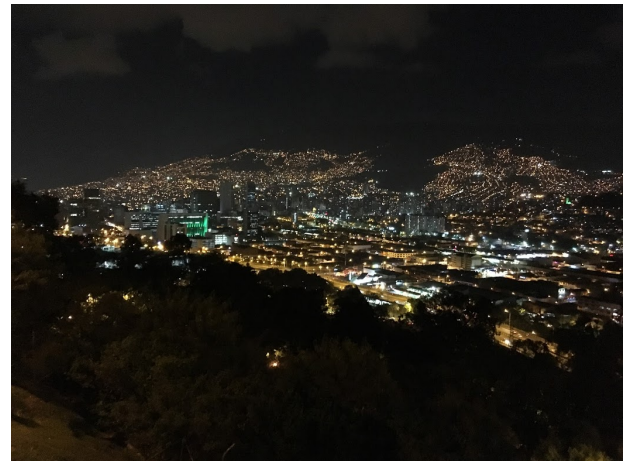


Figure 44 - View from the east at night to note uphill urban sprawl. Taken by the author 2018

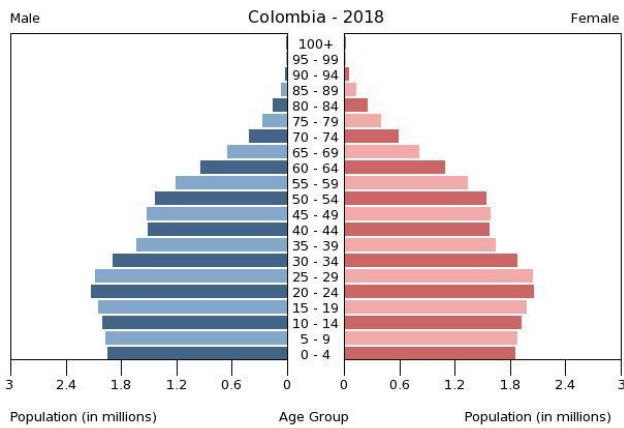


Figure 45 - Colombia's age structure. CIA World Factbook, 2018

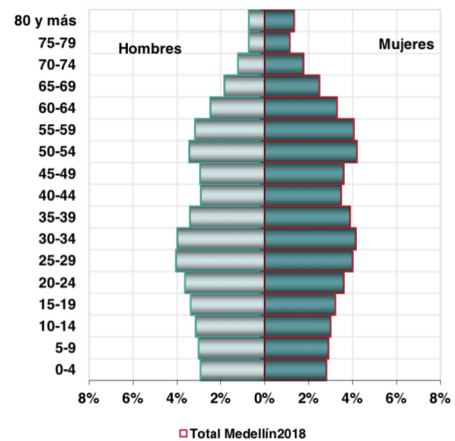


Figure 46 - Medellín's age structure. City of Medellín 2018

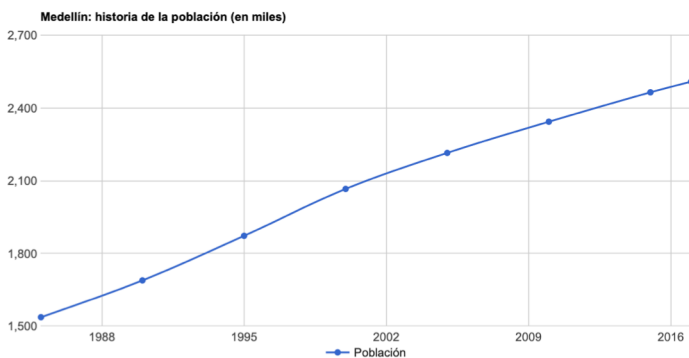


Figure 47 - Medellín's population growth, 1985-2017
Source: population.city based on data from DANE 2018

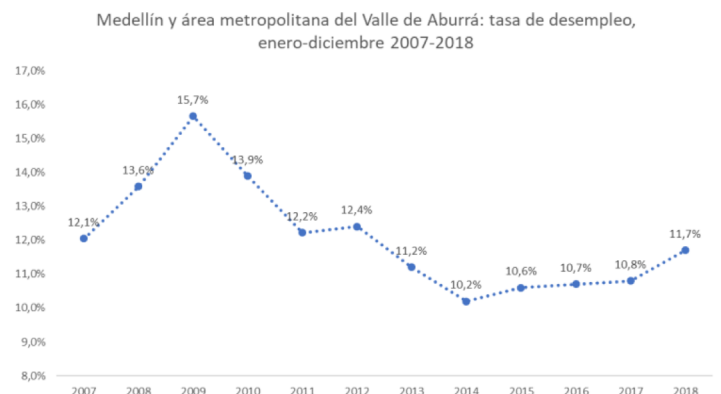


Figure 48 – Medellín Metropolitan Area's unemployment rate, 2007-2018
Source: medellincomovamos.org based on data from DANE 2018

4.2.1 C for national and urban *Context* of Medellín, Colombia

Medellín's urban geography is marked by urban sprawl due to a history of informal settlements in the mountainsides (Figure 49). This creates a disproportionate relation between the city-centre (concentration of jobs and resources) and the disadvantaged communes uphill (Quiceno Toro and Sanín Naranjo, 2009). Farmers had to endure long and tiring trips down and up the mountains to sell their produce in the central markets⁴⁶. These socio-spatial inequalities can be exacerbated by the national socio-economic stratification system.⁴⁷ Complaints of stigmatization of the lower strata were manifested during fieldwork.⁴⁸



Figure 49 – View of urban sprawl on mountain side. Taken by the author on August 3, 2018

⁴⁶ This tradition was the origin of the famous and emblematic *Feria de las Flores* (Flowers' Fair) that is celebrated in the city every August. Participatory observation at the event in 2018 and conversations with long-time residents explained that farmers used to have to endure long and difficult trips carrying heavy *silletas* with flowers from their fields in the surrounding hills to sell them in Medellín's central market. Today, flower *silletas* are still carried in parades during the fair to commemorate the hardworking ancestors. See appendix 6 for pictures of the fair held in August 2018.

⁴⁷ "Socio-economic stratification is a classification by strata (1 through 6) used to charge higher strata more for the provision of public services and help subsidise the provision to the lower strata residences. It also helps identify geographically sectors that need higher public investment, i.e. infrastructure of public services and roads, health and sanitation, and educational and recreational services in the areas that most require it". [Author's translation] (DANE "National Administrative Department of Statistics" www.dane.gov.co).

⁴⁸ Interview with residents of the Aranjuez and Santa Cruz, employed at a hotel in Laureles (MED-Civil3)

Colombia, and especially Medellín, endured a civil war in the 1970-1990s. The position of the Urabá region was key for narco-traffic to the sea⁴⁹. Struggle for power and control of the area entailed armed conflict between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), National Liberation Army (ELN), other subversive groups and the Colombian national army. Civil society was in the middle of the fire and deeply embedded in the war (Arias, 2011). Guerrilla groups irrupted people's houses, enlisted civil men and boys, and abused women⁵⁰. In the 2000s, Colombia received U.S. aid to eradicate drug cartels through "Plan Colombia". It was considered a military success, yet bloody military operations wiping armed groups had inevitable collateral damage to civil society due to their embeddedness in the conflict (Mejía, 2016; Witness for Peace, 2015).

All Medellín's mayors from Sergio Fajardo (2004-2008) to Federico Gutierrez (2016-present) had a progressive vision for the city. Current mayor sympathises with Colombian President Ivan Duque, member of the *Centro Democrático*⁵¹ party founded by ex-president Alvaro Uribe (2002-2010), a controversial but still influential figure. The political alignment at various levels of government and the 2000s consecutive urban regimes were decisive factors in the radical transformation of Medellín. Figure 50 shows a timeline of this brief historical overview.

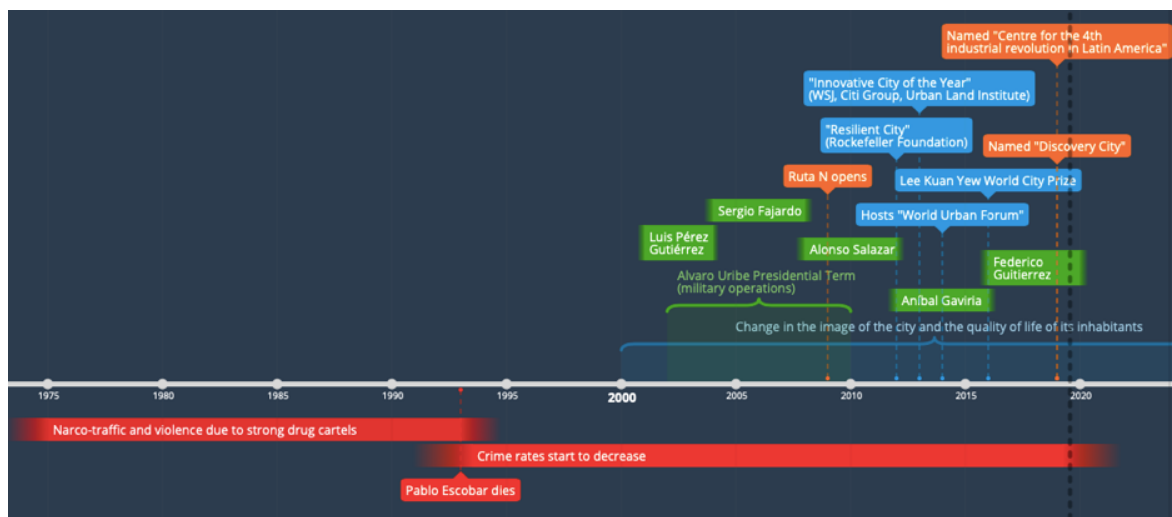


Figure 50 - Timeline of the brief historical overview of Medellín. Author's elaboration

The three lines of action were: (1) in the *hard environment*: an experiment of "social urbanism" dedicating mayor financial investments to physical infrastructure in the poorest areas (Restrepo and Orsini 2015); (2) In the *soft environment*: using culture, arts, sports, and civics to reactivate a sense of belonging and place attachment in the citizens (Melguizo, 2009, n.d.). It built on the shared history of suffering to propel a collective desire to transcend the past. New imaginaries created by civil society came to play a fundamental role in the transformation. Also, (3) a line of action was the *economic environment*, through the attraction of foreign direct investment, partnerships with the private sector, and rampant advocacy for technology and innovation⁵²

⁴⁹ Interview with Director of *Corporación Nuestra Gente* NGO and long-time resident of the city (MED-NP3)

⁵⁰ Interviews with youth leader of *Casa Kolacho* in the 13th commune (MED-Civil1), leader of Cojardicom, a women's gardeners cooperative in Moravia, the 4th commune (MED-Civil2), and residents of the Aranjuez and Santa Cruz neighbourhoods employed at a hotel in Laureles (MED-Civil3)

⁵¹ The "Democratic Centre" party is considered a right-wing party in Colombia, however, it is important to keep in mind that the Colombian political spectrum, like many countries in Latin America, is overall much more centre-left than the spectrum in US or European politics. Therefore, what is locally considered a "right-wing" party in Colombia, would be closer to a centre party in an international context.

⁵² Interview with Manager of the Unit of Economic Development AMVA (MED-Public3)

4.2.2 S for Medellín's *Strategies* of social inclusion and their actor-networks

Figure 51 helps visualise the stakeholders of social inclusion efforts in the city and specifically in the labour market. The actors' map is structured in various levels of governance with a public sector vertical axis. The main public actor is *Alcaldía de Medellín* (City hall) from which other important public entities derive e.g. INDER⁵³, EPM⁵⁴, EDU⁵⁵ and the Secretaries of Education, Social Inclusion, and Economic Development. The main levels of action are city and neighbourhood, where public policy from upper levels gets actualized.

Three clusters are identifiable: The **orange cluster** is driven by the city government and public companies with decision-making power in urban development and social inclusion programs. The **red cluster** main actor is the Secretary of Economic Development that branches out to local agencies for employment search and the CEDEZOs⁵⁶ for support to business ideas and small entrepreneurs. They link incipient commercial projects to institutional support from various (private) companies, also to NPOs like *Interactuar*, and then to⁵⁷. The **blue cluster** is composed of actors working at the neighbourhood level directly with vulnerable populations groups and/or already under a situation of social exclusion. It includes the local work units and teams from the city's Secretary of Social Inclusion, Families, and Human Rights, foundations, grassroots organizations, and civil society collectives.

The governance of Medellín is characterised by a strong presence of **public institutions** for resource provision to the citizens and partnerships with companies for economic development. The *Alcaldía de Medellín* (city hall), the Metropolitan Area of the Aburrá Valley (AMVA)⁵⁸, EPM and clusters of major public companies created⁵⁹, an association to promote cooperation and investment in the city. Besides corporate alliances, **private companies** also contribute with in-kind donations to public institutions or foundations⁶⁰. Companies have a lesser role in capacity building and training.

Academic institutions display strong alliances with the public sector at different levels and, to a lesser extent, with the private one. Universities provide advising on public social development programs, as well as training and capacity building⁶¹. **NGOs, foundations** and

⁵³ **INDER** – *Instituto de Deportes y Recreación de Medellín* (Institute of Sports and Recreation of Medellín) a public institution that aims to promote social inclusion, healthy lifestyles and higher quality of life, through the provision of sports infrastructure and recreational activities in the city. www.inder.gov.co

⁵⁴ **EPM** – *Empresas Publicas de Medellín* (Medellín Public Companies) it is a home utility company servicing electric power, gas, water, and sanitation. www.epm.com.co

⁵⁵ **EDU** - *Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano* (Urban Development Company) was created in 2002 by the Mayor's office as a public company with administrative and financial autonomy. www.edu.gov.co

⁵⁶ **CEDEZO** - *Centro de Desarrollo Empresarial Zonal* (Zonal Business Development Centre) are offices from the City of Medellín placed in each of the 16 communes to support incipient entrepreneurs through financial advising and guidance through public institutions and business processes. www.Medellin.gov.co

⁵⁷ **Ruta N** is the "Centre for business and innovation in Medellín". It is a public company created by the City of Medellín in 2009 to strengthen the economic sector by supporting national industries and small entrepreneurs. It is characterized by working with alliances between companies, universities, and social collectives. www.rutanMedellin.org

⁵⁸ **AMVA** – *Area Metropolitana del Valle de Aburrá* (Metropolitan Area of the Aburrá Valley) oversees the municipality of Medellín along with 9 other municipalities that comprise the metropolitan area of the valley region. It is the authority in environmental and mobility matters. www.metropol.gov.co

⁵⁹ **ACI Medellín** - *Agencia de Cooperación e Inversión de Medellín y el Área Metropolitana* (Agency for cooperation and investment of Medellín and the Metropolitan Area). It seeks to promote social and economic development through national and international alliances. www.aciMedellin.org

⁶⁰ Interview with Manager of the Unit of Economic Development AMVA (MED-Public3)

⁶¹ Interview with coordinator of EAFIT URBAM "Center for Urban and Environmental Studies" (MED-Acad1)

civil society are very strong and active in constructing and changing imaginaries of the urban and social landscape. Many organizations promote arts and sports as vehicles to social inclusion. However, grassroots collectives seem far from public institutions, a gap that entities like the academic-born social innovation centre *EAFIT Social* tries to bridge.

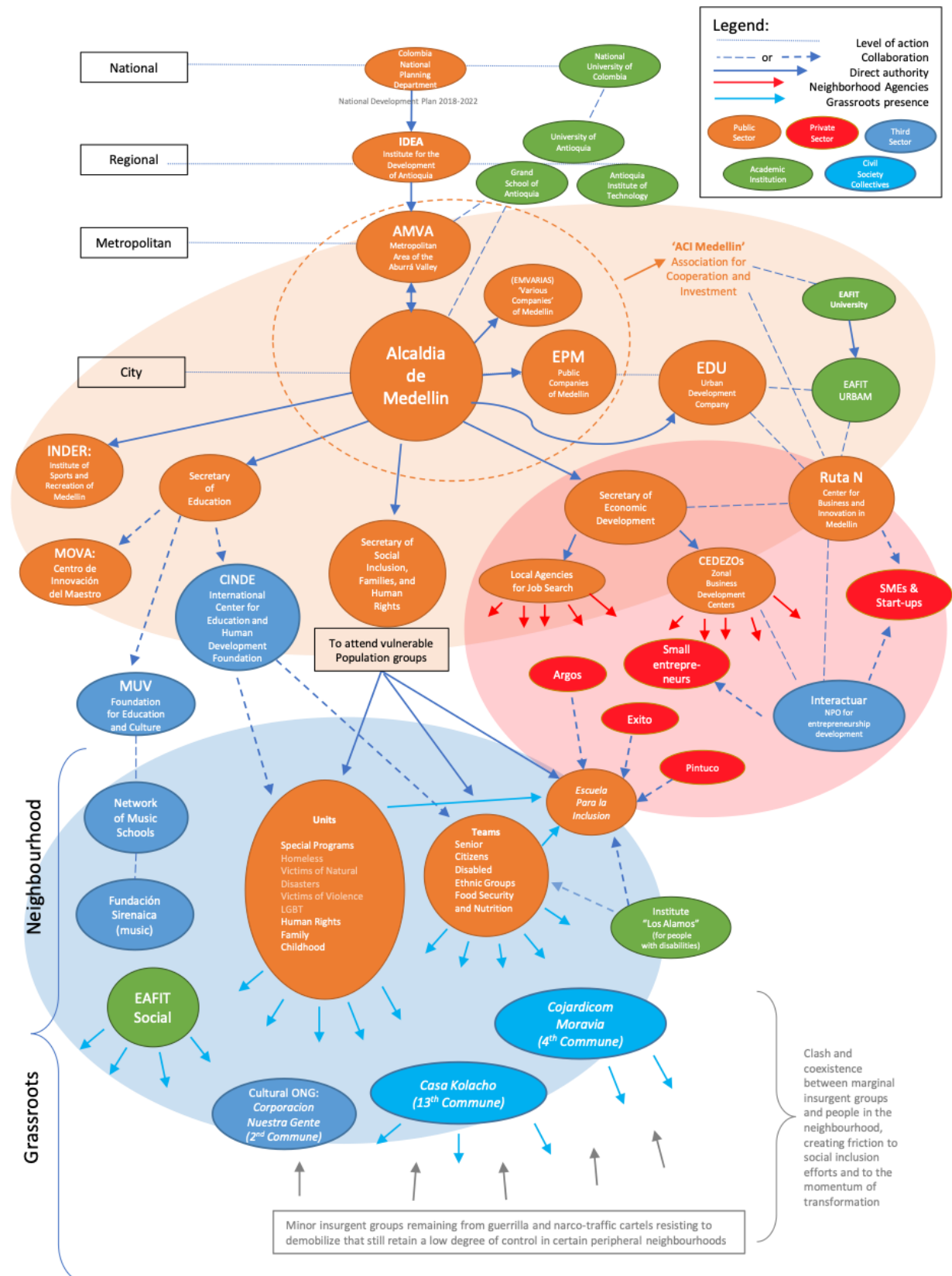


Figure 51 – Medellin map of actors in labour inclusion efforts. Author's elaboration

Medellín's five strategies for social inclusion

1. Form of the instrument: Multi-level alignment of purpose and vision

Interviews with public institutions revealed a long-term vision with one purpose: to transform the city and leave behind the violent past⁶². The current National Development Plan (2018-2022) dictates guidelines on inclusion of ethnic groups, people with disabilities, and women equity (Dept. Nacional de Planeación, 2019). Specific regional procedures are executed by IDEA⁶³. At metropolitan level, the Unit of Education and Culture of the AMVA employs “social outreachers” who approach citizens at their doorsteps to hear their concerns and assist them in any possible way⁶⁴. Social inclusion efforts come mainly from top-down public institutions with local agencies and/or personnel in the field to execute programs.

2. Actors partnerships and collaboration: A “shared leadership”

Participant observation at an ACI m⁶⁵ exhibited the city's internal and international cooperation dynamics. Several important actors in social and economic development were present: INDER, City of Medellín urban planning department, Ruta N, Comfama⁶⁶, URBAM EAFIT⁶⁷, ISVIMED⁶⁸, and EDU. This event, one of the periodic meetings of all these city actors, served as a platform for encounter to review Medellín's DNA, align objectives and define priorities in international cooperation as a unison, helping the cohesion of various city actors. A “shared leadership” is part of Medellín's DNA, alliances between public and private actors, are “natural and generated spontaneously”, allowing to manage the city collectively (ACI Medellín, 2018a)

3. Urban planning strategies: Social Urbanism

Most global cities are symptomatic of urban entrepreneurialism and neoliberal tendencies (Harvey 1989; Sassen 2001; Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Theodore et al. 2012). However, the strategy of Medellín⁶⁹ is rather of “social urbanism” implemented through the PUIs (Integrated Urban Projects)⁷⁰. Instead of profit through rent extraction, the goal is to attend socio-spatial inequalities by using urbanism as a tool to bring social benefits in the hard, soft, and economic environments⁷¹. The improved image of the city, international acclamation, and increased tourism compared to 20 years ago, are undeniable but are side-effects rather than the primary objective of the urban and social development projects.

⁶² Interviews with Metropolitan Area of the Aburrá Valley, Secretary of Social Inclusion, *Escuela para la Inclusion*, and Ruta N Innovation Center (MED-Public1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11)

⁶³ **IDEA** – *Instituto para el Desarrollo de Antioquia* (Institute for the Development of the Antioquia Region).

⁶⁴ Interview with AMVA's Unit of Education and Culture Manager (MED-Public1) and group interview with three “social outreachers” (*gestores sociales* in Spanish) (MED-Public2)

⁶⁵ Meeting on August 9, 2018, at EAFIT University in preparation for the Medellín Lab 2018 knowledge exchange event with African and Asian cities to be held on November 2018. www.acimedellin.org

⁶⁶ **Comfama** – *Caja de Compensación Familiar de Antioquia* (Antioquia's Family Compensation Fund) is a private and autonomous social company, monitored by the State, it provides health, education, credit, housing, recreation and culture services. www.comfama.com

⁶⁷ **URBAM** - EAFIT University's Center for Urban and Environmental Studies

⁶⁸ **ISVIMED** - *Instituto Social de Vivienda y Hábitat de Medellín* (Social Institute for Housing and Habitat Medellín) www.isvimed.gov.co

⁶⁹ Medellín city is ranked as *Gamma*- by GaWC Network 2018. <https://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2018t.html>

⁷⁰ **PUI** - *Proyecto Urbano Integral* (Integrated Urban Projects) “provide solutions to particular challenges of a given community, based on the problems and proposed interventions identified through intensive community consultations” (ACI Medellín, 2018b)

⁷¹ For an opposite view on the city's urban development strategies, a position that Medellín is indeed a neoliberal city, please see: “*Alternative geographies for social action in Medellín*” by Eryka Y. Torrejón Cardona (2017)



Figure 52 – Locations of the Integrated Urban Projects (PUIs) in peripheral areas of the city (blue).
Jorge Melguizo Presentation: Secretary of Culture and Social Development. City of Medellín, 2009

Figure 52 shows the strategic locations of the PUIs in the peripheral and most disadvantaged communes. For example, **electric escalators** (Figure 53 and 54) constructed by EDU in the urbanized hilly steps of 13th commune (one of the most disadvantaged neighborhoods in the city stroked by violence and suffering in past decades) with the aim to improve mobility, spatial integration and improvement in the quality of life for the residents⁷². Also, 35 **library parks** offer open green areas and space and resources to work and study. They are also used as cultural centres or neighbourhood museums.⁷³ Also, the **Metro Cable** (cable cars) as part of the public transport system, allow faster connection between the mountain-side neighbourhoods and the city centre, counteracting the effects of urban sprawl (Figure 55).

⁷² Observations in the 13th commune through a walking tour provided by a local resident, informal conversation with other residents, and visit to the EDU office on site

⁷³ Observations at several library parks around the city, especially the Belén Library Park, informal conversations with staff, and interview with the local CEDEZO (MED-Public4)

Figure 53 and 54 – Electric escalators built in the hilly steps of the 13th commune to improve mobility and quality of life of the residents. In recent years have also become a tourist attraction. Taken by the author on August 3, 2018



*Figure 55 - **Metro Cable** (cable cars) were integrated into the public transport system to connect uphill neighbourhoods with the city centre. Taken by the author on August 5, 2018*

4. Empowerment through culture and the role of civil society

The role of culture is fundamental in social inclusion. Citizens display a unique and strong sense of belonging and identity known as “*Paisa Culture*” (ACI Medellín, 2018a). This is manifested in everyday life, e.g. the “*Metro Culture*” a citizenship sense of ownership and respect for the city metro and common goods in general (Figure 56). Urbanism is tailored to increase the stock of cultural installations or *Equipamientos Culturales* e.g. library parks, theatres, concert halls, museums, music schools, cultural centres (Melguizo, 2009), their spatial distribution can be seen in Figure 57 Efforts from the third sector and civil society also promote culture as a vehicle for empowerment, especially for children and youth: e.g. Foundation for Education and Culture, the network of music schools, Sirenaica Foundation⁷⁴ and *Corporación Nuestra Gente*⁷⁵



Figure 56 - “Metro Culture” is also promoted by the city administration through showy street campaigns advocating respect for the physical and urban environment as well as for other citizens. Participation by the author in street campaign in El Poblado station on July 28, 2018

⁷⁴ Sirenaica Foundation focuses on finding and developing the musical talents of children and youth especially in vulnerable populations. Interview with Director of the Foundation (MED-NP1).

⁷⁵ *Corporación Nuestra Gente* promotes theatre, dance and other cultural activities in Santa Cruz, a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Interview with the Director of the NGO (MED-NP3).



Figure 57 – Spatial distribution of Equipamientos Culturales (Cultural Infrastructure) in Medellín. Jorge Melguizo Presentation: Secretary of Culture and Social Development. City of Medellín, 2009 (Translations by the author).

5. Economic development through multi-ambit institutional support

There is a holistic approach to economic development across different socio-economic challenges. On the high end, Ruta N innovation hub and ACI focus on the attraction of industry and investments to continue to promote job creation. On the low end, the ‘model for labour inclusion’ from USPE⁷⁶ gets implemented in the territory in close cooperation with AMVA. Local offices of the USPE provide tailored-made support to victims of the armed conflict, people with disabilities, and youth to strengthen psycho-emotional skills as well as personal and professional development (Arias Cante, 2018). Additionally, CINDE, a research and development centre, helps study in-depth the causes of labour exclusion and also offers professional development⁷⁷.

⁷⁶ **USPE** - Unidad de Servicio Público de Empleo (Public Employment Service Unit)

⁷⁷ **CINDE** – Centro Internacional de Educación y Desarrollo Humano (International Center of Education and Human Development). Interview with the Director of CINDE Medellín (MED-NP2)

4.2.3 *I* for socially innovative Initiatives at the neighbourhood level: The case of *Escuela para la Inclusion (EPI)*⁷⁸

EPI is an educational capacity building initiative from the city's Secretary of Social Inclusion. It is a trade school dedicated to long-time unemployed, hyper-excluded population groups e.g. elderly, disabled, LGBT, victims of violence, demobilized ex-insurgents, and ethnic groups. EPI supports first the social and emotional development (soft skills), with courses like Emotional Management, Forgiveness, Duties, and Rights at Work, and Money Management. Then, capacitates participants with a trade to gain employability (hard skills), with courses in painting, plumbing, construction work, cleaning, manicure, etc.⁷⁹ EPI director summed it up as “*primero hay que formar el ser que el hacer*” (Spanish for: “First you have to form the being, then the doing”) (ibid).



*Figures EPI – Typical classroom and common areas within the large warehouse that hosts the school
Taken by the author on August 13, 2018*

Favourable factors for EPI are the strong support from the Mayor's office, inter-sectoral collaboration, and resourcefulness: e.g. in-kind donations from private partners and labour from future program participants⁸⁰. Nonetheless, one of the main challenges is the lack of continuity due to delays in issuing job contracts for public positions, dependency on political terms, and bureaucracy. The Secretary-General of Social Inclusion, the architect behind this initiative, left office in August 2018 to pursue the City Council. The director of the school itself, also left in October 2018 for a regional organization, and the following director also left in March 2019. These changes of leadership create great uncertainty for the entire project and destabilizes the working rhythm⁸¹.

⁷⁸ Translates “School for Inclusion”

⁷⁹ Interview with Director of *Escuela Para la Inclusion* (MED-Public6)

⁸⁰ Interview with Secretary-General of Social Inclusion, Families and Human Rights (MED-Public5) and with Director of *Escuela Para la Inclusion* (MED-Public6).

⁸¹ Interviews with Secretary of Social Inclusion, Families and Human Rights (MED-Public5), with Director of *Escuela Para la Inclusion* (MED-Public6), with sub-director of EPI under the new administration in 2019 (MED-Public7), and with former technical supervisor of contracts (MED-Public8)

A research study on the perception of EPI participants⁸² reveals their age is between 23-51 years old (avg. 36). They are currently working at companies like Crepes & Waffles, Ilunion, Botanical Garden, Prebel, and Sodexo. Their time at current positions varies from 3 weeks to 1 year and 4 months, but more than half have held their jobs for more than 1 year. For most of them, it is their first formal job. Their vulnerable conditions include various kinds of physical disabilities, older age, being immigrants or single mothers. They assert at EPI they gained life skills, learnt values, norms, labour laws, assertive communication, increased their social capital, and were assisted to find a job.

But besides referring to EPI as a “springboard to the labour market”, they acknowledge that economic stability brings emotional stability, improved quality of life and ability to plan long term. Participants highlight their change of perspective, they recognise the importance of overcoming resentment and growing as a person, one said: *“Ahora quiero luchar cada dia y salir adelante, he aprendido a valorarme a mi mismo”* (Spanish for: “Now I want to fight every day and get ahead in life, I have learnt to value myself”) (ibid). The greatest takeaways are friendship with others, self-esteem, emotion control, forgiveness, and respect. The rise of such *consciousness of power* and *autonomy* are indicators of the empowerment process.

Analysis of *Escuela Para la Inclusion* through the ALMOLIN model (Fig.58)

The WHY: Being caught in a downward spiral of life conditions of exclusion

The situation of exclusion from the formal labour market and society, in general, is exacerbated if the individual belongs to more than one vulnerable group. Harsh past experiences, discrimination, and fierce labour market competition stack-up various layers of social exclusion. Most participants are used to the informal economy, day labouring, unstable or no income. Rejection comes from all directions: personal due to low self-esteem, family that is not a support, from society that discards the different or ‘unskilled’ as ‘weird’ or ‘fools’, from companies who prefer to make donations to foundations than to hire “difficult personnel”. It is a self-reinforcing cycle of unfavourable life conditions, precluding placement in society⁸³

The HOW: Multilateral partnerships to mobilise non-monetary resources

The space where the school exists was a warehouse owned by EPM. The city government negotiated with the consortium to donate at least half of the space for the creation of EPI. Participants themselves conditioned the space with materials donated by partner companies. Other alliances include compensation funds, the SENA⁸⁴, academic organizations for the training and the private sector for possibilities of employment. Also, CUSO International, a Canadian NGO contributes with volunteers. The sub-director of EPI acknowledges “we have been learning on the go, it is a new project, there is no precedent”⁸⁵. She states EPI is expanding the definition of ‘employability’ as they also encourage autonomous work based on their abilities (ibid).

⁸² Secondary source: Transcripts from 12 interviews and 6 focus groups “*Survey of perception of life transformation of participants of the EPI*”. A study by an independent researcher from the National University of Colombia hired by the Secretary of Social Inclusion, Families and Human Rights. The city of Medellín. A study conducted in December 2018. Provided to the author in January 2019.

⁸³ Interviews with Director of *Escuela Para la Inclusion* (MED-Public6) and with the former technical supervisor of contracts (MED-Public8)

⁸⁴ **SENA** – *Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje* (National Learning Service). A training institution attached to the Colombian Labour Ministry to provide free education and capacity building to increase employability

⁸⁵ Interview with Sub-director of *Escuela Para la Inclusion* (MED-Public7)

The WHAT: Individual empowerment and subject identity (re)construction

The strategy of the state to “create competencies, not provide social assistance”⁸⁶ is aimed for sustainable impact. EPI helps to reverse the downward spiral of exclusion by changing imaginaries and motivating through self-development⁸⁷. However, there are no signs of *place attachment* as the school is a transitory place. There are no conditions for collective identity or collective empowerment to emerge, neither for a change in *governance structures*. In this case, individual transformation is needed first, and then the formation of an empowered collective, to shift the balance of power towards the vulnerable groups. Nonetheless, at the individual level, that balance has shifted as participants have gained *autonomy* and decision-making of their own.

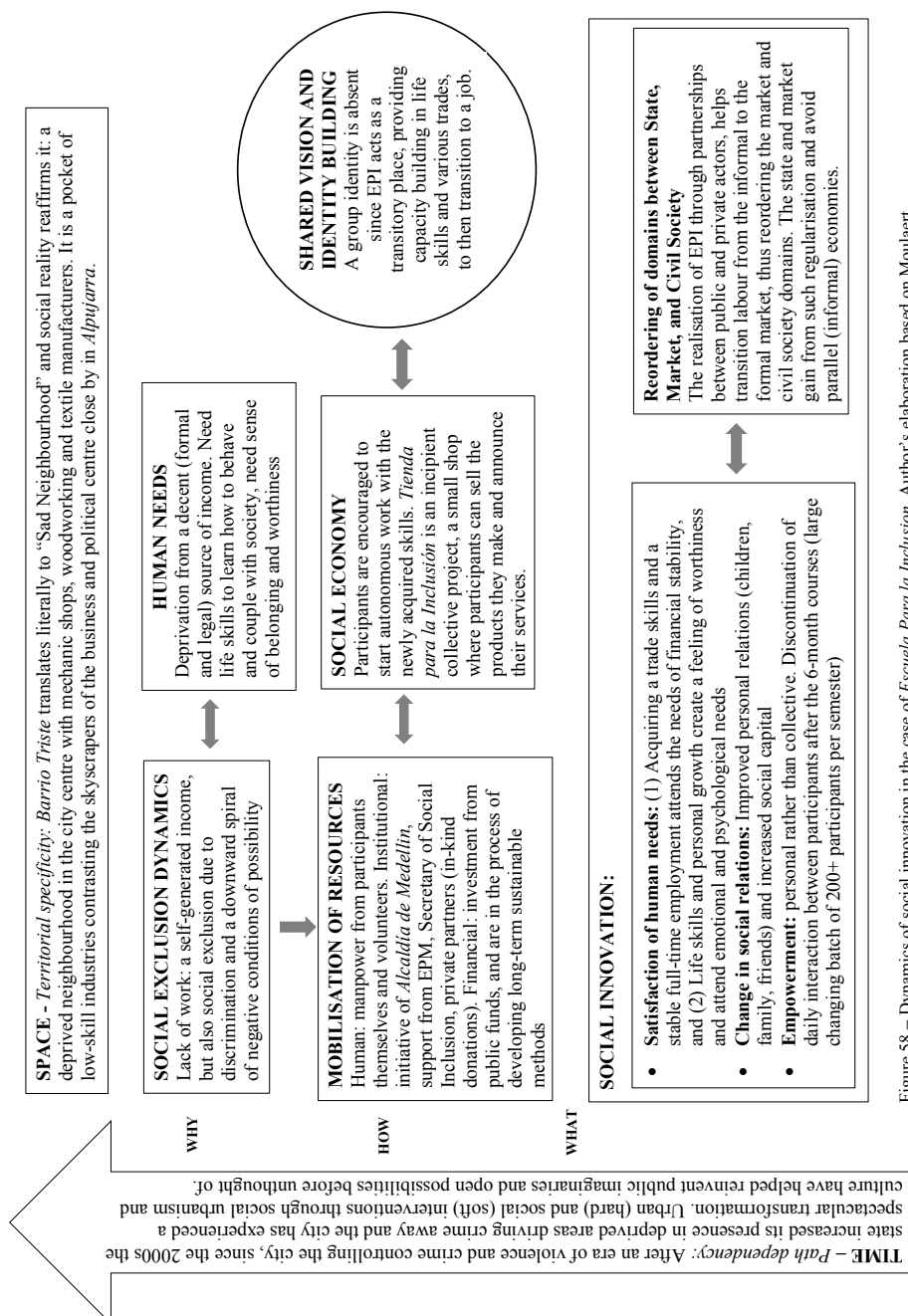


Figure 58 — Dynamics of social innovation in the case of *Escuela Para la Inclusion*. Author's elaboration based on Moulaert

⁸⁶ Interview with Secretary-General of Social Inclusion, Families and Human Rights (MED-Public5)

⁸⁷ Interview with Director of *Escuela Para la Inclusion* (MED-Public6)

4.2.4 Additional insights from *Casa Kolacho* (CK) in the 13th Commune

This is a socially innovative initiative that even though it does not focus on labour market integration, it is worthy to mention. The particularities of this initiative help shed light on the dynamics of social innovation at the grassroots level and show the influence of the urban context. Its focus is social inclusion through the (re)construction of the social and urban tissue of the neighbourhood. Based on the characteristic sense of belonging and resilience of its citizens, CK fights for a space and a place for the realization of their new imaginaries.

CK is a collective formed by youth, between 25-35 years old, who were children during the violent years of the military operations in the 2000s that aimed to exterminate the guerrilla groups and the narco-traffic network that were headquartered in this commune (Arias, 2011). CK's teenagers were looking for an alternative to avoid joining the lines of armed groups patrolling their streets. It evolved as a small organization that supports the development of artistic talents such as hip-hop, breakdance, video production, street art, graffiti, canvas painting, and photography. Recently, they partnered with *Toucan Café*, in *El Poblado*, to attract tourists to their "Graffiti Tour" (Figure 59 and 60), show the physical and social transformation, and tell their story to visitors⁸⁸. Residents stated that the promotion of art murals started from graffiti and street art painted by youth to cover up threatening messages by terrorist groups sprayed in the walls of this neighbourhood⁸⁹.



Figure 59 – The writing on the mural says: “In the 13th [commune] violence does not defeat us”. Taken by the author on August 3, 2018

Figure 60 - The writing on the mural contains words like: “strength, resistance, united Medellín, graffiti, street, peace, Colombia”. The owl and elephants with white handkerchiefs are also linked to the violent history of the area. Taken by the author on August 3, 2018



⁸⁸ Interview with one of the leaders of *Casa Kolacho* (MED-Civill)

⁸⁹ Observations during "Graffiti Tour" and conversations with residents

The impact has been two-fold: (1) the support system of the neighbourhood: art galleries, hip-hop shops, restaurants, and the guided tours, has allowed CK to offer alternatives of self-economic sustainability vs. drugs dealing or enlisting in armed groups. (2) It is a pioneer organization of “social rescue” in the commune. It provides a healthy space for youth to develop their talents, passions, and elevate their aspirations. Their stories reveal the personal and collective empowerment achieved through years of work to recover the youth and by consequence their families.

4.2.5 Summary of empirical analysis of Medellín, Colombia

The violent past of the 1980-1990s has slowly been left behind through an impressive city transformation accomplished through political alignment and multi-level governance alliances. The resilience of civil society has been fundamental in the reconstruction of imaginaries, both promoted and facilitated by the progressive vision of various consecutive city administrations.

There is a philosophy of shared leadership between a strong local government in alliance with public and private companies. An important urban strategy for social inclusion is social urbanism: heavy public investment in social and cultural infrastructure specifically in the most disadvantaged areas of the city. Other strategies assist citizens in cultural and economic development. The main initiative studied in Medellín, *Escuela Para la Inclusion* allows examination of social innovation at the local level. The school focuses on personal development first and then on training a trade for labour inclusion. The ALMOLIN is used to show why and how it emerged, as well as the dynamics of social innovation in that case. The additional initiative *Casa Kolacho* in the 13th commune, while not the main focus of this study, is briefly mentioned because it displays unique socio-spatial features that are relevant for SI theoretical reflections.

4.3 Comparative Analysis through the CSI framework: Medellín and Malmö urban environments of social innovation (?)

For the comparison of such different cities, it is necessary to escalate the level of analysis to governance structures that show the influence of national and urban politics in the subject of study (Robinson, 2011). In this case, it is used to show how they reproduce or counteract social exclusion and yield to different conditions of possibility for social innovation. The comparison of urban strategies for social inclusion expands the *units of analysis* from the initiatives to larger urban *common processes* in both cities. The macro-to-micro approach serves to review the historical and geographic characteristics of the cities to then highlight important forms of place production facilitated by the SIIs (Dear, 2005).

4.3.1. National Context: Two different worlds of 'Welfare Capitalism'

The impact of contextual differences on the citizens of Malmö and Medellín and what it means to be 'excluded' in each society depends largely on their systems of governance.

Differences are determined by the degree of demercantilization of social services, stratification, and the balance between market and state in the satisfaction of basic needs (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Depending on the combination of these three factors, Esping-Andersen identifies *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990).

In a **Conservative** world, like Spain, high stratification links rights to social class. Its foundations on Catholicism and moral duty leverage on social capital for welfare provision. The **Liberal**, like the U.S., is a *laissez-faire* model. The state retreats to let the market provide social services like health and education. Welfare programs are marginal and reserved for the lowest classes stigmatizing their recipients. And in the **Social-Democrat**, in the Nordic countries, state provision of welfare extends to the middle classes and carries no stigma. Also, stratification is low (ibid).

Two different worlds of welfare: Sweden, a pure social democrat, and Colombia conservative by Spanish heritage, with some liberal tendencies. Such structural differences create variations on labour market regimes and the safety nets of social services in case of economic hardship. In Sweden, there is extensive social provision coordinated by *Försäkringskassan*⁹⁰ (EC, 2018). For example, Syrian refugees in Malmö receive legal residence through asylum, provision of housing, a monthly stipend, free education for children, Swedish classes, and assistance to find jobs⁹¹.

In Colombia, most programs "respond to idiosyncratic shocks [in regards to] health, family decomposition, and life cycle" (Núñez and Espinosa, 2005). The state provides after the family cannot. Also, while there is a myriad of social assistance institutions for specific vulnerable groups there is "dispersion and fragmentation" and "there is no sole responsible agency for the social assistance programs" (ibid). So, there are economic inefficiencies and limited outreach.

The excluded population in Malmö are long-term unemployed immigrant women, whose cultural and linguistic differences pose barriers to integration with the host society, however,

⁹⁰ Swedish Social Insurance Agency

⁹¹ Interview with female refugee from Syria narrated her experience of requesting asylum in Sweden in October 2015 with her husband and two children (Interview MAL-Civil1)

many are recipients of social welfare to cover their basic needs⁹². On the other hand, *the excluded* in Medellín are more varied. Usually are people disadvantaged in market competition due to age or disabilities, victims of discrimination against LGBT, women, and ethnic minorities, with limited social capital, and some have been displaced by internal violence or are demobilized ex-insurgents carrying a stigma in Colombian society⁹³

4.3.2. The urban context of SIIs: Transcending incommensurability

The **geographic differences** of both urban contexts are evident. In terms of surface area, Malmö can fit 4.2 times in Medellín, and in terms of population, it can fit 7.3 times in the Latin American city⁹⁴. Also, one is a flat seaport and the other an inland valley at 1500 meters above sea level with surrounding mountains up to 3200 meters high. This influences different development paths of the urban fabric on the territories. But besides the topographic aspects, more importantly, is that urbanization processes have occurred at different speeds due to their respective industrialization periods and various migration waves.

Particularly important are the *reasons* for **immigration and the situation upon arrival**. Both cities have received economic migrants and war refugees: Malmö internationally and Medellín internally. To Malmö, they came from the Middle East and the Balkan countries since the early 1990s (Anderson 2014) and Syria in 2015, and to Medellín, internally displaced persons by the civil war in the 1970-1980s came from rural areas in the pacific and southern regions of Colombia. Due to the heritage of the *Million Homes Program*, Malmö had housing stock to accommodate immigrants and embrace them under generous welfare benefits. Medellín newcomers mainly arrived to informal settlements in the north and struggled for survival⁹⁵.

The distinct migrant situation and their settlement in the cities influenced the community composition, *who the excluded are*, their interests and *needs*. Their spatial distribution in (relatively) deprived zones: Rosengård in Malmö, and Aranjuez and the north-eastern communes in Medellín, reinforced centre-periphery configurations observed in the cities today along with the **socio-spatial segregation** and economic inequalities that it implies.

There is a strong reinforcing relationship between the urban environment and the people. In the same way, social factors e.g. migration influence spatial settlements, also the stigma of the territory impregnates in the inhabitants.

In Medellín, some residents of such northern deprived communes and job-seekers complained of discrimination based on their area of residence⁹⁶. In Malmö, social stigma is very much present in “vulnerable areas” such as Rosengård, but it does not seem to have escalated to hinder employment in other nearby neighbourhoods⁹⁷. This is just an example of how **the urban malleable form** also shapes social constructs and confines the possibilities and quality of life of citizens.

⁹² Interviews with directives of *Yalla Trappan* and *Hack Your Future* program (MAL-Private2 and MAL-NP3)

⁹³ Interviews with directives of *Escuela para la Inclusión* (MED-Public5, MED-Public6, and MED-Public7)

⁹⁴ Calculated based on Medellín statistics: 2,549,737 inhabitants and 380.64 sq. km (City of Medellín 2019) and Malmö statistics: 347,825 inhabitants and 89.86 sq. km (SCB Statistics Sweden 2019).

⁹⁵ Interviews with City of Malmö officials (MAL-Public2, MAL-Public3, MAL-Public4), MKB Social Concept Developer (MAL-Public8), *Yalla Trappan* directive (MAL-Private2), and Syrian refugee (MAL-Civil1), and for Medellín interviews with AMVA social local 'outreachers' (MED-Public2), EPI director (MED-Public6), Ruta N (MED-Public11), *Corporación Nuestra Gente* NGO directive (MED-NP3), and leader of Cojardicom cooperative in Moravia (MED-Civil2).

⁹⁶ Interview with residents of neighbourhoods of Laureles, Aranjuez, and Santa Cruz (MED-Civil3)

⁹⁷ Interview with a female immigrant from Lebanon working as a cashier in *Yalla Sofielund* (MAL-Civil2)

Given the intimate relationship between the urban and social fabrics, **urbanism** is a powerful tool for social impact i.e. accentuating or addressing urban inequalities and social exclusion dynamics. Malmö combines waterfront neoliberal urbanism with community-participatory projects like in Kirseberg and Sofielund, accentuating the “two-faced city” (Anderson, 2014). Medellín urban agenda is *social urbanism* with heavy investment on social infrastructure in the most underdeveloped communes. Also, empowerment efforts through culture, arts, and sports are very much present in Medellín and lacking in Malmö.

This thesis focuses on only one **channel of empowerment**: labour inclusion, but it is important to acknowledge the general climate of social inclusion efforts in each city because “empowerment [in general] catalyses the creation of capabilities and the formation, strengthening, or even bridging of social capital at the community level” (Martinelli et al., 2010). The SIIs examined here had emerged to fight social inequalities and the exclusion of certain population groups from the labour market. They seek in this way to return power to those dispossessed.

4.3.3. Socially Innovative Initiatives: *Yalla Trappan* and *Escuela Para la Inclusion* Two forms of institutionalized social inclusion efforts in the labour market

Both initiatives emerge from social exclusion in the labour market but have **two different approaches**. On one hand, YT provides a *space* that links people, an oasis of familiarity in an unknown new country. YT offers an all-women environment in which they feel “at home” and “with family” (Björnsthål and Hartman, 2012) among others with the same background and situation. On the other hand, EPI provides *tools* to change people’s current situation by educating life skills that form and develop the character of individuals, and by providing trade skills that are useful to generate a modest but decent income.

Furthermore, YT leverages on the existing skills of ‘the excluded’ and hires them directly. Almost all users wish that YT would expand so that they can work more hours. EPI trains people to generate their own income, it does not employ them directly. This split methodology also dictates their **temporal nature**. YT is a permanent place for immigrant women, while EPI is a transitory place where to acquire skills and move on. This is key for building a common vision, collective identity, and networks of solidarity, elements strongly present in YT, but absent in EPI.

The **spatial outreach** of the SIIs also derives from their differentiated methods. YT is community-oriented in Rosengård and Sofielund but their *cooperative* model is being replicated by other projects in the city and other municipalities⁹⁸. EPI is citywide and society-oriented. There is not *an* empowered collective but it ignites empowerment in individuals dispersed in society treating them as seeds of transformation themselves. These differences can also be seen as strategies of *concentration* (collective, community, small scale) vs *diffusion* (individual, society, city-wide scale) on accomplishing and broadening their mission of labour market inclusion.

⁹⁸ There are three ongoing projects at the moment: *Y-allas väg til arbete* (Y-everyone’s way to work), *Yallas Jämställda Hem* (Yalla’s Equal Home) and *Trappa Upp* (Upstairs); and the finished ones: *Yalla Sofielund* and *Yallas Ambassadörer*. The model has also extended to other municipalities like *Yalla Sjöbo*. YT also “offers support in building structures, creating and running work-integrating social enterprises based on Yalla Trappan’s well-proven model and experience” (www.yallatrappan.com)

Both initiatives started from projects from their respective city governments supported by **alliances with the private sector**. Companies support for EPI was present from the start through in-kind donations and materials for the adaptation of the warehouse to run the school. For YT, alliances with the private sector (IKEA and current negotiations with H&M) arrived years after the initiative was consolidated and running. Thus, the *stage* at which the alliance is made influences the *role* that the private actor takes. Contributing at the onset with materials gives the role of a ‘provider’, while late involvement such as IKEA in YT is rather seen as a ‘partnership’.

This observation leads to the **role of agency** of the SIIs. Barely two years old, EPI is not yet a constituted *agent* with whom to be ‘partner’ with, but rather a *project* from the government that the companies ‘help materialize’. On the other hand, when an initiative is already institutionalized like YT (est. 2009), IKEA sees a ‘labour integrated social enterprise’ up and running, and with demonstrated results. YT offers an opportunity for collaboration, bringing benefits for IKEA’s public relations and marketing. Therefore, the *attitude* of the partner company is influenced by the level of agency of the SII.

Managers at both initiatives manifested their concerns regarding financial uncertainty⁹⁹. YT has developed a self-sustainable method independent of external financial channels, however, like any other enterprise, it depends on the market demand for their garments and services. EPI is highly dependent on city government for funds, organization, and administration which limits their capacity to plan long term. With the multiple administration changes, even though there is a commitment to the school's continuation, its implementation is challenging with volatile capital¹⁰⁰. Thus, a shared challenge is maintaining the mobilized resources and seeking new mobilizations of **human and financial capital**.

To reduce uncertainty YT plans to develop more alliances with other companies that will carry their products, it follows a business model. EPI has an untapped potential: The *Barrio Triste* neighbourhood is home to many actors in the textile industry like manufacturers, clothing stores, and fashion designers. The area also holds *Edificio Oasis de la Moda*, *Centro Mundial de la Moda* (shopping center), *Fama y Moda* (fabric store), and important fashion fairs like *Elite de la Moda* and *ColombiaModa*. Alliances with these actors for confection training, hiring, and awareness campaigns could be interesting collaborations.

A closer look to individual motivations to join the initiatives reveal that inclusion in the labour market is *not* the main goal, but it is only *a vehicle for empowerment*: for gaining autonomy on processes of place and life-shaping decisions. Therefore, it is precise to differentiate (in Table 6) between **labour inclusion**, obtaining employment or a self-generated legal source of income (an economic goal) and **social inclusion**, meaning higher interaction and adaptation with the rest of (the host) society (a personal development goal).

Socially Innovative Initiative	Labour (obtain employment)	Social inclusion within a collective	Social inclusion with local society
<i>Yalla Trappan (YT)</i>	✓	✓	✗
<i>Escuela para la Inclusion (EPI)</i>	✓	✗	✓

Table 6 – Labour inclusion vs. Social inclusion in the initiatives Yalla Trappan and Escuela para la Inclusion. Author’s elaboration

⁹⁹ Interviews MED-Public6, MED-Public7, MAL-Public9, MAL-Private2, MAL-NP2

¹⁰⁰ Interviews with EPI’s directives: MED-Public7 and MED-Public8

YT has accomplished financial integration, the women have started to produce their own income, but not inclusion into Swedish society. The collective acts as a bubble of a 'diverse' but homogeneous group: immigrant women with similar backgrounds in the same situation of isolation in Malmö. They are now socializing, expanding social capital, using their skills, having a sense of belonging, but interaction is with others like them, not with the Swedish host population.

EPI has not created a cohesive collective but a large loose group (200+) who participate in the classes each semester. They have acquired personal and professional tools they can use to improve their quality of life and their level of interaction with the rest of Medellín's population or anywhere they plan to use their skills. Thus, while YT empowerment and 'inclusion' is contingent to the territory and the *created group*, EPI's absence of a group actually potentializes the skills acquired to be transferable to any other environment.

Hexagon Analysis: How socially innovative are these initiatives?

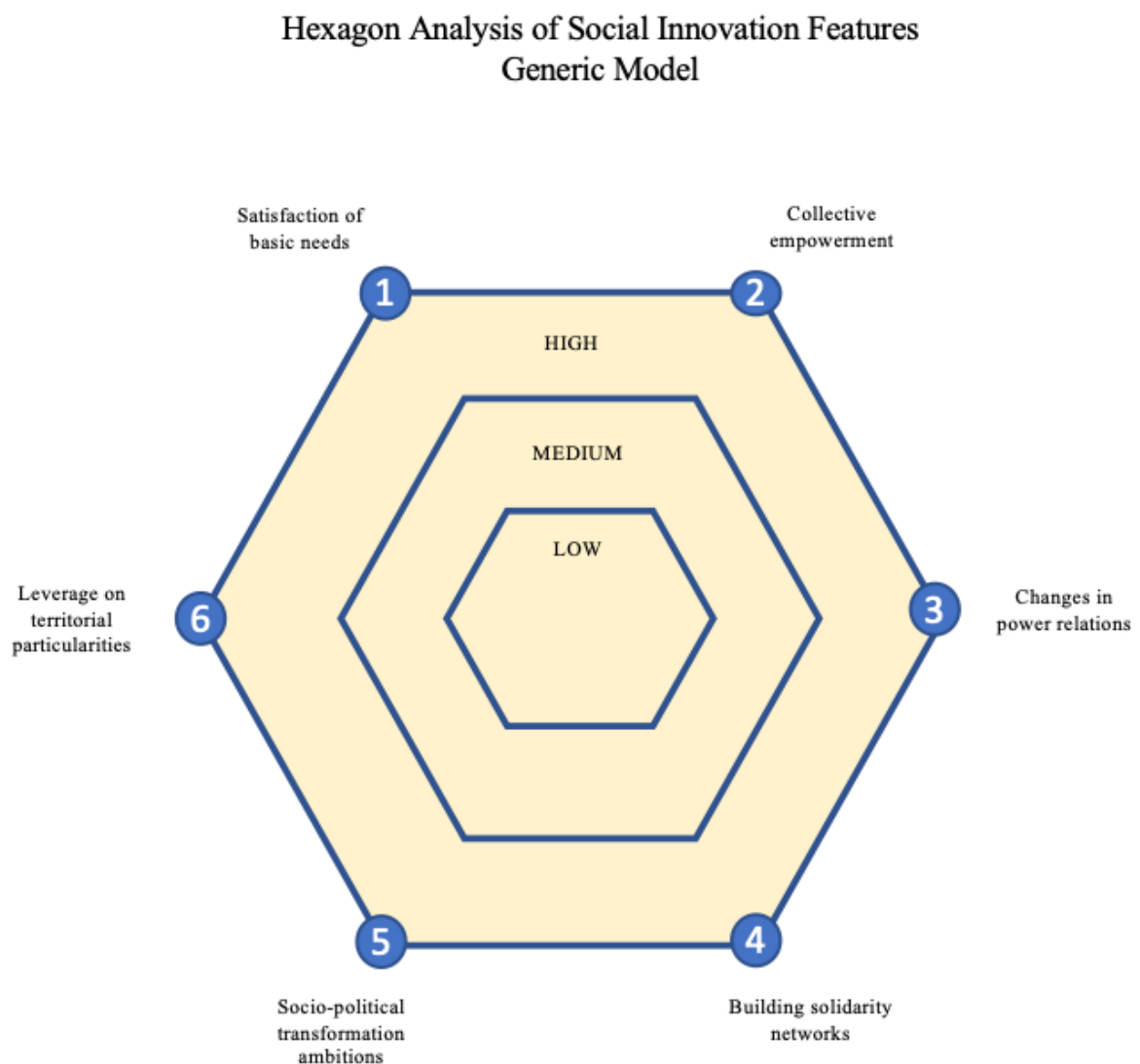


Figure 61 – Hexagon generic model for the analysis of social innovation features on the initiatives. Author's elaboration

The hexagon (Figure 61) illustrates six key characteristics of SI (from chapters 2 and 3) and their levels of presence in the SIIs (low, medium, or high). A scenario of low SI would be visualized by the smallest hexagon, and of high SI by the largest hexagon. The variations of these SI characteristics in each initiative yield to geometric figures with varying areas according to their degree of SI. The figures are juxtaposed for a general comparison. While the complexities of SI cannot be reduced to these six aspects and its classification and degree assigned are subjective, it serves to gain a general understanding of the SI nature of these initiatives as interpreted by the author.

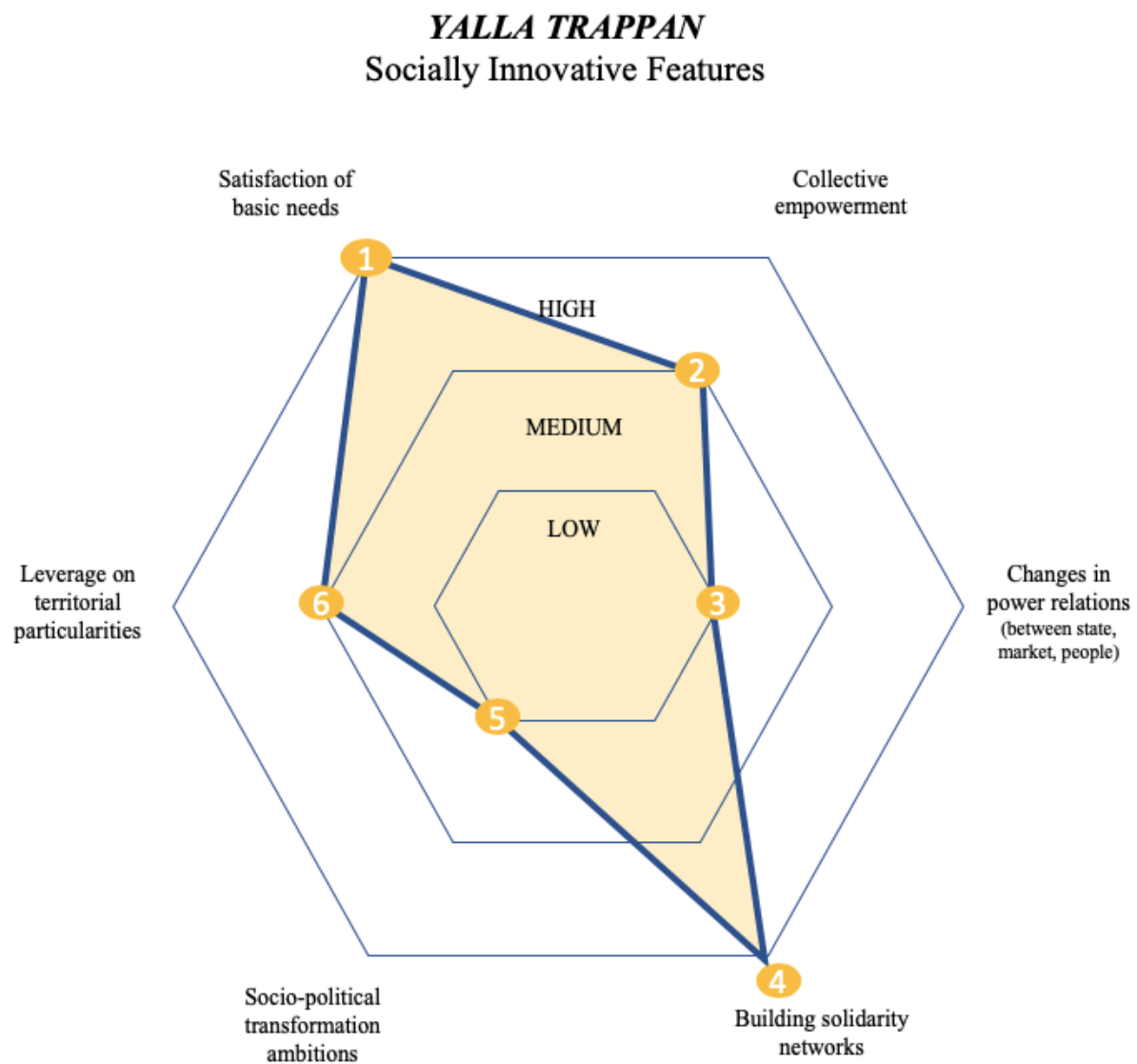


Figure 62 – Hexagon analysis of the socially innovative features of Yalla Trappan (Malmö). Author's elaboration.

ESCUELA PARA LA INCLUSION Socially Innovative Features

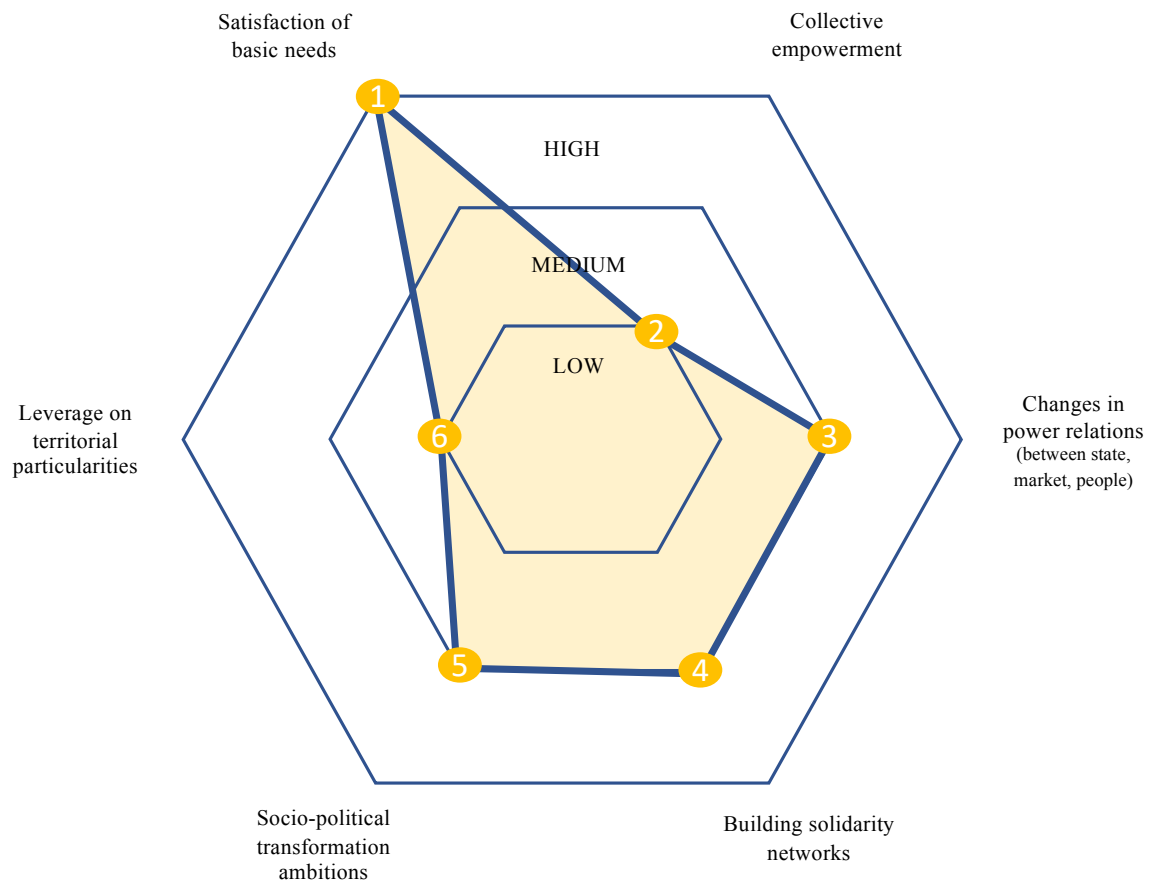


Figure 63 – Hexagon analysis of the socially innovative features of *Escuela para la Inclusion (Medellín)*. Author's elaboration.

1. The satisfaction of basic needs

Both initiatives successfully satisfy the basic needs of users. In Malmö, the needs are employment and increased human interaction to build social capital, YT fulfils both. In Medellín, the needs are financial self-sustainability, sense of belonging and inclusion in society through a dignified life. EPI first strengthens life skills and helps form character, to then train in employable skills to potentially fulfil financial needs.

2. Collective empowerment

There are feelings of partnership and family among the women of YT. Collective empowerment is present but was *not initiated* by the immigrant women themselves. It was built and developed under the given framework of the YT project, now the social enterprise. For EPI, as enrolment in the school is temporary, social links do not have time to develop as strong. A cohesive group identity is missing perhaps due to the multiplicity of backgrounds and life experiences that EPI gathers.

3. Changes in social (power) relations between the state, market, and people

Both initiatives are too small to create any significant impact on reordering the urban governance domains. However, they have a considerable impact at the individual level. YT creates conditions for empowerment for immigrant women, changing their relationship, position, and power with their family and their community. EPI has slightly more influence in power relations changes. Beyond empowerment for the participants, it helps transition from the informal to the formal economy, thus recovering power to formal markets.

4. The building of solidarity networks

They are very strong and highly developed in YT. The women are solidary with each other and help others with unfinished work even if it is not their duty and outside their working hours (Björnståhl and Hartman, 2012). Also, if there is only budget to hire a full-time employee, the women would share it as two part-time or even four quarter-time positions, so that all can work some (ibid). In EPI, solidarity networks are not so strong but seem to be starting with small associations of incipient entrepreneurs. Those who do crafts and manual work support each other with small-scale projects and sell their products at *Tienda para la inclusion*, the shop on-site¹⁰¹.

5. Socio-political transformation ambitions

YT does not aim to transform the women but to provide a place for them to be how they are, where they can speak their language, meet others, share their skills and have a self-generated source of income under the collective roof of YT. *Their focus is on transforming the environment for the subject.* EPI promotes the development of the individual as a political identity. The acquisition of life skills and formation of character unlocks their potential and by resolving the immediate financial need a subject is released to participate actively in society. Unlike YT, *their focus is on transforming the subject for the environment.*

6. Leverage on territorial particularities

The concentration of marginalized and solitary immigrant women in Rosengård presented an opportunity for collectivization in YT. They used the area's demographic composition as a market for the middle-eastern food café. There is potential for collaboration with local companies in the food industry e.g. Pågen (industrial bakery) and AB Stadex (potato starch company). Similarly, given EPI's location in *Barrio Triste*, a niche of the fashion industry, there is an opportunity to explore. The challenge is to bridge the wide gap of EPI trainees' potential incorporation and contribution in the high-end, even luxurious, fashion industry in their surroundings.

¹⁰¹ Interview with EPI sub-director under new administration (MED-Public7)

A socially innovative outlier: *Casa Kolacho (CK)*

When this other initiative observed in Medellín was examined through the same lenses of the hexagon analysis, it complies with almost all of the key characteristics of SI (Figure 64). The **basic needs** of the San Javier community are employment, education, and safety. The CK collective does not satisfy those needs directly but provides alternatives to transcend the past suffering and limited options. That is why CK is so unique and embedded in place. It emerged from a feeling of impotence and ‘hyper-exclusion’ and satisfied the need for other options, it offered an escape to a brighter future through music, dance, and arts.

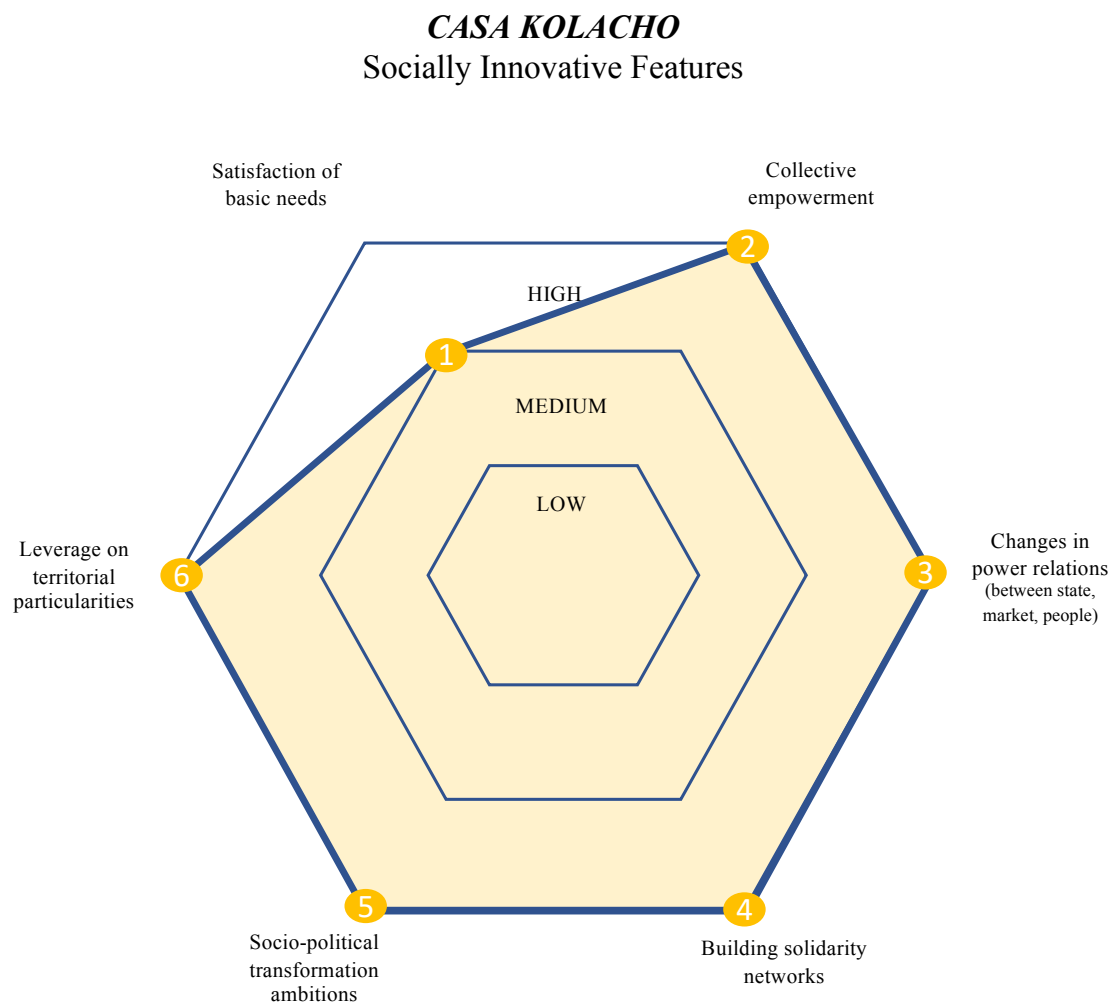


Figure 64 – Hexagon analysis of the socially innovative features of Casa Kolacho (Medellín). Author's elaboration.

According to SI theory, SIIs can be classified in three groups according to the type of social exclusion they react to and therefore, to their aims: (1) provision of social services (material needs: housing, jobs, education, and training) linked also to issues of citizenship, self-expression, and identity; (2) to change urban governance processes, and (3) cultural and artistic expression seeking identity (Martinelli et al., 2010). YT and EPI belong to the first type as they attend immediate needs of education and training aiming to secure stable employment along with the empowerment and improved social relations.

CK is of the second and third type. The main *motive* for CK was changing governance relations in the commune, shifting power away from terrorist groups and empowering the youth. CK uses graffiti and street art as a *social and urban transformation tool*: (1) using artistic self-expression to (re)build identity and (2) re-appropriating public space with powerful messages of peace. It has contributed to recover people's autonomy and control of personal and professional *decisions* that before were dictated by insurgent armed groups. This initiative of civilian resilience along with two decades of government soft and hard power strategies to recover the area have positively **reconfigured power relations** between the state, people, and terrorist groups in the neighbourhood.

4.3.4 Conclusion of the comparative analysis:

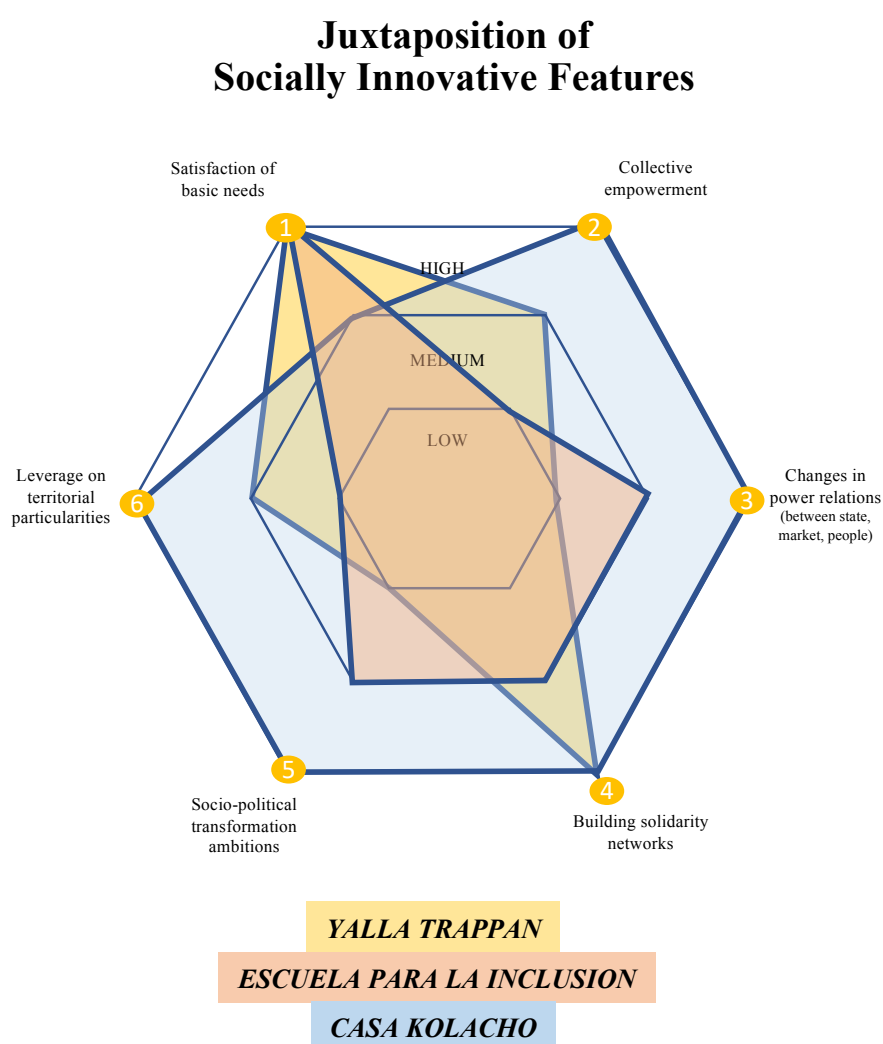


Figure 65 – Socially innovative features of all three initiatives, a juxtaposition of their hexagon analysis. Author's elaboration.

A juxtaposition of all three initiatives leads to figure 65 which visualizes the extent to which each initiative displays the key socially innovative features. In the quest for more specific and decisive factors for an initiative to be more or less socially innovative, various conditions of the context were evaluated and compared. This process suggests that the initiatives' inception points and evolution path are essential factors. Therefore, this analysis yielded the construction of table 7: a general three-stage evolution path for SIIs:

Table 7 - Evolution path of the SIIs and accomplished stages

Conditions are not present / Stage was not (fully) accomplished			
Stage fully accomplished and present in the SII trajectory			
Observed 3 stages in the evolution of SIIs	<i>Yalla Trappan</i> (Malmö)	<i>Escuela para la Inclusion</i> (Medellin)	<i>Casa Kolacho</i> (Medellin)
1. Positive conditions of possibility from the urban and larger context: Hard and soft enviromental factors shape the urban and social tissue: (1) Urbanism as determinant for social infrastructure stock and (2) individual empowerment: life trayectory, education, socio-economic conditions, past experiences, and character formation.	Social infrastructure and provision of social services is present. Lack of individual empowerment of 'the excluded population': e.g. full domain of language, reaching comfort zone in new home country, development of diversified social capital (interactions with Swedish), due to cultural and intrinsic ideological differences. Need to appropriate the space in both urban and social spheres.	General situation of the city improved, social and urban transformation with efforts from government and civil society. Individual empowerment: acquisition of <i>life skills</i> , building of social capital, building self-esteem, feeling of self-reliance and autonomy beyond job trade. Physical space for encounter and support	Proper conditions of possibility in the political and urban context: decrease of violence and crime, stronger state presence in the territory, level of security improved, Social Urbanism in the urban agenda. Individual empowerment: civil society resilience, trust in the future, central role of education, culture, arts, and sports as escape
2. Emergence of an empowered collective: <i>Inclusion efforts initiated by the very same people that are excluded.</i> Based on shared background and shared unsatisfactory condition. Building of common identity, sense of belonging, place attachment, unison vision and goals. Mobilization of resources is initiated/proposed by the collective, but assisted with outside sources	YT is a space where 'the excluded' in larger society can be/feel 'included' in a very strong, cohesive and solidary collective. Even though social capital is built between the immigrant women, they are still under and dependent on the roof of YT. For instance, at the end of the Yalla Sofielund Project users went back to job hunting. Still not sufficiently individually empowered (stage 1) to spark initiatives / alternatives of their own.	Missing the empowered collective. EPI is not a permanent place for 'the excluded' where to be 'included', but rather a place where they can acquire tools to use somewhere else. Perhaps the initiative is too new and it needs time for social bonds to form and develop between current and past participants.	CK arises from the shared vision and common goals of the youth of the 13th commune with artistic talents interested in looking for alternatives to the violence surrounding them. It has developed into a financially sustainable organization, allowing for employment and the accompanying individual and collective empowerment, sense of belonging, accomplishment and brotherhood.
3. Support from institutions in the form of projects or programs aligned with the collective's mission, but the collective does <i>not</i> become dependent on them. Actor networks and their partnerships play crucial role to support: mobilize human and financial resources to thrive the initiative.	Project initiative from City of Malmö, supported by academia (Malmö University) and private sector (IKEA). As top-down initiative it takes the role of 'providers' of inclusion and empowerment. A paternalistic result, assuming from the onset a higher power position of the provider and a lower one for the receiver (haves vs. have-nots)	Initiative from city government (Secretary of Social Inclusion, Families and Human Rights). Mobilization of resources through public-private partnerships (City of Medellin as driver, and private collaborating with in-kind donations, agreements to hire personnel), also collaboration of CUSO International for administration and provision of volunteers (human capital)	Local particularities of space and time: Antagonistic relationship between the state and CK youth (especially members on their late 20s who were children during the military operations of the 2000s). Still presence of social and emotional scars from violent past. CK has turned instead to alliances with private sector e.g. Tucan Cafe to promote their graffiti tour and attract tourists to the area.

Table 7 - Evolution path of the SIIs and accomplished stages. Author's elaboration

- (1) The existing urban context and the conditions in which the initiative emerge must be considered. For example, the Medellín SIIs were in an already transforming environment i.e. decrease of violence and government attention to social infrastructure which also contributed to citizens personal development and empowerment. On the other hand, the women of YT lack positive environmental conditions. They do not appropriate the space in either urban or social sphere due to language and culture limitations.
- (2) In stage two, the inclusion efforts are initiated by an empowered collective who shares the same condition of exclusion, the same views, and ambitions to overcome their unsatisfactory situation. CK is a youth group that raised in such a way, however, the vulnerable population in YT and EPI are *assisted* through the framework of an institution or program.
- (3) In the third stage, the empowered collective receives institutional support. This is what YT and EPI have that CK does not. Since they are both ‘institutional children’ they count with numerous inter-sectoral partnerships for human and financial resources. However, since YT and EPI did not fulfil stages 1 and 2, the initiatives fall short of transformative power as they are not attentive to the *causes* of inclusion, but are rather assistance programs. CK could have transformative power if it improves its relationship with the state, and vice versa, if the state would concretely support grassroots collectives like this one. It would imply the successful overcoming of past divisions and will signal an understanding from both parts. It would mean the transformation (already initiated) of social exclusion mechanisms (e.g. resentment due to the civil war and indifference from the state).

While none of the initiatives considered in this study fulfilled all three stages of development, these comparative results suggest that the fulfilment of these three stages is very important. YT and EPI both display certain socially innovative features (Figure 62 and 63), but not all. When studied through the three-stage evolution path, they also lack some stages of development. On the other hand, the hexagon analysis revealed CK as the most socially innovative of these three initiatives, and it has also developed so far following the identified path. These comparative *findings suggest a correlation* between the initiative’s three-staged evolution path (Table 7) and the six key socially innovative features (Figure 65).

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter relates the performed empirical analysis to theory. For that, the first section provides comments on existing social innovation theory. Then, the three main research questions are retaken and answered systematically despite they are answered comprehensively throughout previous sections. Subsequently, section 5.3 expands the theoretical discussion beyond the original research questions with other important insights for urban governance power relations. Then, the last section provides the conclusion summarized in two main theses.

5.1 Comments on existing Social Innovation theory

This master thesis **supports current SI theory** (Chapter 2) and its applicability to other contexts in the Global South. Empirical research conducted in Malmö and Medellín endorses the emergence of SI as a reaction of empowered collectives to a situation of social exclusion. Also, it agrees that the three main elements of SI are the satisfaction of basic needs, collective empowerment, and changes in power relations (Moulaert et al., 2013, 2010). Employing the ALMOLIN methodology, especially the SI criteria (Appendix 5) and figure of the dynamics of social innovation (Gonzalez et al., 2010) proved useful, relevant and meaningful to both case studies substantiating its ability to analyse SIIs (Figures 9, 36, and 58).

However, current SI theory overemphasizes collectivization without much mention of individual empowerment which was found to be essential for the emergence and development of SI. The three SIIs studied showed a direct correlation between the individual drive and character (or lack thereof) of the ‘excluded population’ and the ignition of collective mobilization, and then to question the *status quo* and current power structures. As a preliminary condition, there needs to be empowerment and changes in power relations at **the individual level** for further possibilities at the collective level. The case of EPI highlights the necessity of that order.

Findings highlight the importance of the **territorial dimension** of social innovation. Cities concentrate pressure and social exclusion as well as conditions of possibility for collectivization and fighting back. The implications of the spatial outreach of SIIs were also observed empirically: *Community-oriented initiatives* (like YT) are more prone to create inclusion within a particular group but exclusion of the group with others. *Citywide society-oriented* (like EPI) have no particular collective, could be impersonal but also "more socially inclusive... allow for diversity within universalism based on general citizenship rights for all" (Martinelli et al., 2010).

SI has an important **ethical dimension** as well (Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019). Principles of respect, equality, solidarity, and compassion are the grounding of actions of the SIIs observed (YT, EPI, and CK). This highlights the previous argument about individual empowerment. “SI is at its core the interpersonal construction – and grounding in concrete action- of ethics” therefore “system change does not ultimately work without work on interpersonal relations” (ibid). Human development in moral and ethical ambits is imperative before any collective or community development could occur.

The role of ethics in SI opens a window to the (re)definition of human rights (ibid). Basic human *needs* i.e. shelter, food, healthcare, and education are basic requirements for a dignified life. Therefore, they should be considered universal human *rights*, and the responsibility of the state in their provision should be acknowledged. This would be a giant step to attend many of the most acute cases of social exclusion today. Thus, such redefinition is fundamental for large-scale social change, which would be, not only a transformative social innovation but a social (human) evolution.

5.2 Answering the RQs from a critical realist perspective

Retaking the **three-dimensional philosophical framework** of the research questions (Figure 6) from Chapter 3 now it is possible to answer:

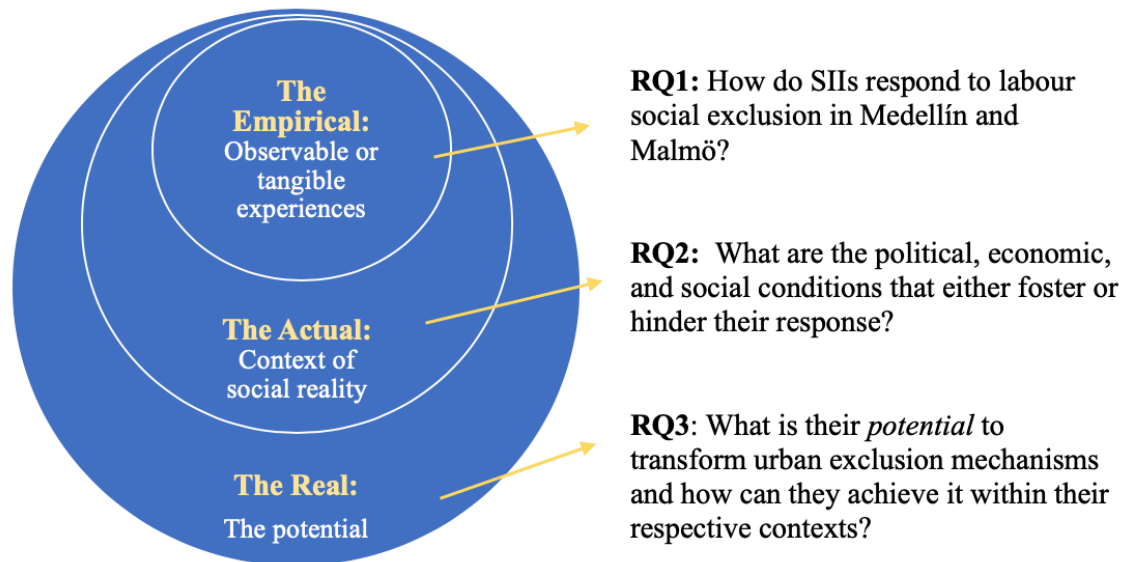


Figure 6 - The critical realist three-dimensional philosophical framework of the research questions. Author's elaboration based on (Bhaskar 2008) and diagram of the theory (Foster 2019)

RQ1 refers to *the empirical*. It aims to *describe* the observable experiences that are tangible through case-study fieldwork. The SIIs in Malmö and Medellín respond to labour social exclusion in various ways. They identify the need of ‘the excluded’ and try to provide what is missing: space for interaction and increasing social capital, education and training to improve skills, and/or support for personal development, encouragement, and empowerment. To grow, or even get started, SIIs pursue institutional collaborations with partners in other sectors, especially the private one for financial resources, exposure, and marketing. The stage of development of each SII seems to determine the scope of its agency and the role other actors take when collaborating with it. RQ1 is answered in greater detail in section 4.3.3.

RQ2 refers to *the actual*: the influence of the urban and larger contexts on the observable social reality. It aims to *explain* why SIIs are in the situation they are given the political, economic, and social conditions around them. Social reality is the concurrent outcome of several intertwined processes, actors and their influence. This makes it impossible to separate the SIIs from their contextual conditions.

First, political constraints are discontinuity in funds and/or priorities from changes in terms of office and interruption in positive trends of urban regimes. Also, neoliberal urbanism and explicit stratification systems accentuate socio-spatial inequalities, discrimination, and social exclusion. On the other hand, an urban agenda of social urbanism materializes conditions of possibility in the urban fabric to address social issues.

Hindering macroeconomic conditions are labour market restructuration leading to unemployment and forced migration, the effects of inflation and inadequate monetary policy. At the microeconomic level, limitations come from being subject to the supply and demand dynamics, inconsiderate taxation schemes, and high dependency on public funds. Positive conditions include inter-sectoral alliances that facilitate in-kind donations and the emergence of cost-cutting techniques such as alternative trades e.g. knowledge production for volunteers, etc. The availability of EU funds through projects at the local level is also very important for fostering the SIIs mission.

Lastly, in the social realm, hindrance comes from discrimination, stigmatization, lack of personal drive and empowerment, and loss of social capital. Cultural differences can be roadblocks or opportunities for interaction depending on the adopted attitude. Positive social conditions are circuits of solidarity, collective empowerment, nourishing social capital, and an active and resilient civil society to draw new imaginaries. RQ2 is answered in greater detail in chapter 4.3.

RQ3 refers to *the real*. When proposing solutions or creating social inclusion initiatives there is a tendency to take the current state of society for granted, opting for a ‘problem-oriented approach’ (Novy and Stigendal, 2018). But “critical realism urges us to shift our main attention from the actual events to the mechanisms that cause these events, or, with another term, to the potentials” (ibid). Therefore, acknowledging the mechanisms that *cause* exclusion, shifts the spotlight and the energy to try to cross the boundary of *the actual* towards *the real* (Figure 6). This is conceived by counterfactual thinking, creating new imaginaries of what is possible, **opting for a ‘potential-oriented approach’** instead (ibid). RQ3 aimed to *explore* the potential to transform urban social exclusion mechanisms and the possibilities that SIIs have to achieve it.

Some exclusion mechanisms overlap with the political, economic, and social conditions that hinder SIIs. Therefore, answering RQ2 is fundamental to extract causal relationships to higher levels of analysis needed for RQ3. **Mechanisms that (re)produce social exclusion**, are linked to the creation and sustenance of physical, economic, social, and mental barriers between ‘the included’ and ‘the excluded’. Physical and economic barriers are created by neoliberal urbanism, austerity policies, war, and violence; social barriers by systemic stratification and segregation by stigmatization; and mental barriers by discrimination, competition and individualism, and ignorance yielding to rejection of the unknown, among others. Furthermore, all these barriers reinforce each other.

To examine the potential of SIIs to transform such mechanisms, it is necessary to deconstruct their ways of operating from their inception point. Table 7 from the comparative analysis, shows an inferred three-stage evolution path of SIIs, whose ***consecutive order*** seems to be relevant for urban and social transformation: (1) leveraging on the existing conditions of possibility offered by the urban context; then, (2) as SI emerges from an unsatisfactory condition of social exclusion, in an ideal case, after an initiative starts as collectivization of empowered ‘excluded individuals’ themselves; and only then (3) it receives institutional support to develop, so it is not dependent on paternalizing assistance for its subsistence. This is an ‘ideal’ path but none of the SIIs studied here evolved in this order.

Following that specific order of evolution, would not only imply a positive change of individual towards collective empowerment to conform the initiative but also that **their surroundings are changing** to allow the thriving and sustenance of the collective initiative. Therefore, when

the surrounding environment is tapped to change, the **potential to transform** that contextual sphere **is higher**. Nonetheless, it must be stressed that these are *not* ingredients and the 3-step evolution is *not* a recipe. The stages cannot be fabricated to create SI. It is rather a scheme *to help explain* the emergence and development of SIIs: where they find themselves at the moment, why they face the challenges they do, act how they do, and achieve what they do. It is an explanatory tool, not a prescription.

The process of creating Table 7 and the analytical dissection that it entitled, revealed that *SIIs alone cannot be transformative*, they are utterly subject to the political, economic, and social environment, as an encompassing sphere. This does not mean that they are subject to the *current* sphere, just that it is needed to move it.

As suggested in the conclusion of the comparative analysis, there may be a correlation between the initiative's orderly fulfilment of the stages in Table 7 and displaying key socially innovative features (Figure 65). If there is indeed a correlation, that would imply that a collective initiative that displays all features in both figures (all green cells in Table 7 and a large hexagon in Figure 65) has achieved to mobilise actor networks and resources (part of the urban context) to attend the *causes* of its exclusion. Transformation requires these two things: positive change in the urban context and attending causes of exclusion. Therefore, *in theory*, an initiative 'with all green cells and a large hexagon' could be more transformative or transcendental.

At the same time, transformative does not necessarily mean being large scale. It rather has to do with being attentive to exclusion causes e.g. cultural differences, lack of education or opportunities, which usually have large dimensions and are structural, but not always. Many transformations can be at the individual and community level, involving changes in social relations, attitude, and actions.

Therefore, in order to talk about transformation, that is to move to another (better) social reality, it is necessary to **divorce from** the idea that to potentialize local SIIs it is vital to **scale up or out**: to get bigger, better, and more of something that works small scale. Replicating or scaling any initiative that is not attentive to *causes* of exclusion, may spread good, but it would not be transformative. Many more and bigger YTs and EPIs would not halt the continuous *generation* of labour exclusion nor attend *why* excluded vulnerable groups exist in the first place.

What seems to be needed for transformation is the recognition of missing links for the developmental stages *to be able* to be fulfilled in consecutive order (turning red cells into green in table 7), and if the correlation exists, that evolution would be accompanied by socially innovative features (a large hexagon in figure 65) at the same time. Of course, this is only **a hypothesis** that would require testing through several cases in different contexts to gain any weight, however, it is deemed useful to at least suggest it as a possible route of exploration **towards a 'grand green hexagon'** with some potential to transform urban exclusion mechanisms.

5.3 Other important insights that this thesis yielded¹⁰²

The fourth element in urban governance

A metatheory of SI as a collectively-constructed ontology (Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019), requires inputs from various contexts and sources to have explanatory and predicting capacity in multiple scenarios around the world. Moving in that direction, when examining the dynamics of SI and the reordering of domains between state, market, and civil society, it is necessary to consider a fourth element: *terrorist groups*. Despite its illegal, criminal, therefore unofficial status of a “sector” in urban governance, its existence must be accounted on the struggles for power in some territories.

The consideration of this fourth element is, of course, reserved for certain contexts like Colombia, and other areas of the world with the presence of armed conflict. In the case of Medellín, terrorist groups had control of entire areas of the city and counterbalanced the power of the state over urban space, economy, and society. Therefore, changes in governance relations are not only “fighting against top-down politico-institutional systems, mainstream urban policy, and policy delivery systems” (Martinelli et al., 2010) but also *recovering* the autonomy, decision-making and ultimately power *from* terrorist groups back to the traditional three domains.

Then “gravitating [only] within the state-market-civil society triangle” (Moulaert and Swyngedouw, 2010) seems like an incomplete view of governance relations that covers only a part of the power struggle in many (global south) contexts around the world. This is important for several theoretical implications. Changes in power relations that subtract the influence of terrorist groups on the territory and in civilian life mean reappropriation of the tangible (physical space) and the intangible (feeling of security). Such positive shift transforms social relations, citizens' identity and place attachment, also recovers autonomy, reconstructs social capital, and improves quality of life. Therefore, this kind of change in power relations can be seen as a transformation towards peace.

Social Innovation and Peace

A link can be explored between acts to recover power from terrorist groups, that is, acts towards peace, and SI that aspires to be transformative. Peace movements, demonstrations, mobilizations arise from an unsatisfactory condition of violence, an extreme case of social exclusion or “hyper-exclusion”. It occurs when most of the population is excluded from a dignified life and is being prevented from performing uninterruptedly their daily lives.

The struggle, the fight for resolutions and peace, is indeed a process involving (1) satisfaction of human needs: the need to have a tranquil life without fear, the right to life; (2) collective empowerment: people's unison claim for non-violent, non-criminal ways to survive also awakens sense of belonging, pride, place attachment to mobilize and act with no more common ground than the defence of their most basic right: life; (3) changes in power relations: cohesion at individual and community level and reconfiguration of power between the *four* urban governance ‘domains’.

¹⁰² See Appendix 7 for some critical reflections about inclusion, equality and empowerment, and the role of the social scientist

The above has two implications. First, initiatives that counterbalance the power of terrorist groups could hold other elements of SI. This invites the revision of historical cases of peace movements or initiatives that could be seen as cases of SI. Second, that SI could be seen as a *tool* for peacebuilding. Taking existing SI theory and the consideration of terrorist groups as a fourth element in urban governance, it could be possible to theorize how to create conditions for the reconfiguration of power between peaceful and violent agents, and therefore for peacebuilding. As explained in the rest of the thesis, the urban dimension and the tools that urbanists have, are transcendental in the fabrication of such conditions of possibility.

The current conception of “SI and peace” is very practice-oriented uniting both concepts based on the general definition of SI as a new initiative with social purpose, usually assisted by entrepreneurship and technology. SI is linked to experiences of Peace and Development Programs that mobilize resources to support conflict-affected areas and population groups (World Bank, 2016). The brief literature review performed about the relation between SI and peace, highlights initiatives and experiences in Colombia, specifically in Medellin occurring at the micro-level (ibid). However, theoretical foundations about the link are scarce. This presents an opportunity for the development of interdisciplinary studies between SI and peace(building).

Contribution to comparative urbanism

This thesis contributes to the “comparative gesture in urban studies” by “countering assumptions about the incommensurability of urban experiences across different contexts” (Robinson, 2011). This helps to contribute towards an international comparative urban research methodology that can encompass, account for and understand contextual lines of convergence and divergence at multiple levels. Theoretical expansions from insights ‘from anywhere’ help advance the field towards “urban studies on a world scale” (Robinson, 2011).

Such progression towards holistic comparative analysis must be done through two planes: First, academic international comparative urban research (study and theory for understanding how cities vary), and second, exploring the potential for platforms for inter-city *co-action* with relevant and useful cooperation that transcends the limited travel of ‘best practices’ (practical collaborative *action* between cities).

5.4 Thesis Conclusion

The study of social reality was done at three levels under the three research questions posed from a critical realist perspective (Figure 6)

1. The *description* of observable ways of operating of socially innovative initiatives in Malmö and Medellín. Their comparative analysis indicates is possible to transcend incommensurability.
2. The *explanation* of the initiatives’ *status quo* of limited transformative power due to political, social, and economic constraints, a product of their urban contexts (path-dependencies and territorial specificity).
3. The *exploration* of the potential to transform social exclusion mechanisms

To embark on such quest, two analytical tools were employed: first, the use of radar (hexagon) charts to analyse, juxtapose and compare the socially innovative features of three initiatives (two main cases and one complimentary one) (Figures 61-65). This comparative analysis

yielded the second tool: a three-stage evolution **path or scheme** to help explain the emergence and development of initiatives. Even though none of the initiatives fully followed it, their different trajectories served as pieces of a puzzle that complemented each other. They suggest that the progression *in consecutive order* through the three stages is important for the transformative potential of the initiative (Table 7).

The **first thesis** of this study is based on the apparent *positive correlation* between (1) an initiative's fulfilment in consecutive order of the three-stage evolution path of Table 7 and (2) its socially innovative features of Figure 61. Furthermore, the embeddedness of initiatives in their urban and larger contexts makes them unable to be transformative if the contextual sphere does not change as well. Therefore, it seems that achieving transformative power requires the fulfilment of both aspects (1) and (2), as well as tailored-made actions to dismantle (physical, economic, social, and mental) barriers that exclude.

A **second thesis** is proposed based on critical reflections from the Latin American case. Medellín's history of urban governance beyond the state, and specifically in the 13th commune, request the consideration of *terrorist groups* as a fourth (deplorable but real) element in the city's struggle for power. In contexts where armed groups have a heavy presence, the traditional state-market-civil society triangle is only *partially useful* to describe and analyse urban power relations.

Consequently, the positive reconfiguration of power through multi-lateral efforts, especially from the state and civil society, can transform social exclusion mechanisms and the entire city by recovering stability, autonomy, quality of life, and ultimately: peace. This suggests the theoretical relation between social innovation and peace, and thus the practical recognition of socially innovative initiatives as tools for peacebuilding. This link has the potential to be explored and applied in many contexts around the world, especially in the Global South.

To conclude, this master thesis wants to evince that 'the Social Innovation phenomenon' does have the potential to transform mechanisms of social exclusion and resolve pressing social problems, if the entire contextual sphere moves in that direction. Initiatives alone, nor their scaling up or out would suffice. Mechanisms of social exclusion have multiple and complex layers with origins in fabricated physical, economic, social, and mental barriers. The transformative potential thus lays on socially innovative initiatives that mobilise actor networks and resources (part of the urban context) to attend the *causes* of their own exclusion: that is to break down the fabricated and normalized barriers and their oppressive structures.

Chapter 6

Recommendations

The stakeholders for whom research can yield recommendations are commonly conceived as public actors or policy-makers, private actors, NGOs and the third sector, and other researchers. However, the usefulness of these established categories is debatable. They are mingling, merging, and their influence and decision-making power range widely. It is increasingly difficult to draw distinction lines, given the proliferation of hybrid entities with mixed functions, interests, and financing schemes. Also, new forms of public-private-(people) partnerships and other collaboration forms transform the scope and nature of their agency. Therefore, there is a need to reshuffle more critically who research is directed to.

The following categories and recommendations are proposed¹⁰³:

For academia and theoretical advancement:

1. Further research can be devoted to SIIs not in the labour market, responding to other types of exclusion.
2. To expand on the second thesis, research could explore the conditions of possibility that the modifiable urban context can create to stimulate social innovation and peacebuilding. Especially interesting are other cases of armed conflict in Africa, Central America, and the Middle East.
3. It is encouraged to create distant comparisons that advance comparative urban research and challenge the abundant reluctance to perform international analysis especially across north-south (Robinson, 2011).
4. Strive for ‘knowledge alliances’, that is the collaboration between researchers and practitioners through the accessibility of ‘references’ (the knowledge produced) in practical form to the ‘referents’ (whom the research/knowledge is about) (Novy and Stigendal, 2018).

For city-makers and the realization of theoretical advancement:

- *For city government, urban planners, legislators, and institutions with tools available to create conditions that lower soft and hard barriers between people:*
 1. An urban agenda of social urbanism is preferred over neoliberal ‘urban entrepreneurialism’ (Harvey 1989). Urbanism is a tool for social transformation and investment in social infrastructure, culture, and education has higher returns for the inhabitants. Profitable activities can be done with other cities, but not with the citizens nor their commons.
 2. Finding alternatives to socio-economic stratification systems and explicit labeling of "vulnerable areas", "ghettos", and "no-go zones" would help to decrease socio-spatial stigmatization (a mechanism of exclusion). While this is useful for identifying needy areas, its public dissemination exacerbates socio-spatial inequalities and discrimination of the very same people the ‘labeling’ policies try to help.
 3. There is a need to expand institutional support to empowered collectives, i.e. endorsement, visibility through public events, prizes and recognitions, project grants, mediation support, or expansion of social capital and networking.
 4. Furthermore, a true long-term transformation towards a future better society requires attention to education policy today to foster principles of non-discrimination, solidarity, human rights, equality and ethics in primary education levels.
- *For initiatives fighting exclusion that have direct interaction with vulnerable groups, and thus have the potential to influence conditions of possibility for empowerment:*
 1. While the good intentions of social inclusion programs are commendable, having an attitude of assistance providers and *giving* or transferring empowerment to vulnerable groups is rather paternalistic and it reinforces current unequal power structures. It is

¹⁰³ Recommendations will vary greatly depending on the context. Therefore, tailored-made advice will be separately diffused to stakeholders in Medellín and Malmö along with a condensed version of the research study.

recommended instead to mobilise energy and resources towards creating environments for personal development and cultivation of a spirit of resilience in the face of adversity. This requires a distinct attitude of facilitator in creating conditions and opportunities for the ignition of empowerment from people themselves.

2. It is not always necessary, or even desirable, to scale up or out. What is necessary to have a transcendental impact is to address mechanisms of exclusion: to attempt to dismantle physical, economic, social, and mental barriers between people (even if small scale).

- *For all readers and civil society, in general, to break with mental barriers to inclusion:*

1. The practice of solidarity, compassion, and sharing knowledge in all aspects of life can also have a transformative effect. Following the networking principle of “Do not look for what others can do for you, but what you can do for others”, can promote mutual understanding and open-mindedness to change attitudes that oppress and exclude.
2. Cultural and knowledge exchanges pose an opportunity to practice tolerance, non-discrimination, and (re)construction of imaginaries of a more inclusive social and urban environment.

- *For whoever feels excluded:*

A current condition of exclusion can be turned into a challenge or opportunity for a future situation of inclusion. Ironically, an ingredient of social innovation is social exclusion, but the response is what matters. The tools and the vehicle used to change an unsatisfactory situation are decisive, for example, to adopt a constant state of personal and professional expansion, and cultivate a drive for high aspirations despite current limitations.

On the face of exclusion, dare to create one's own inclusion, through the expansion of social capital, building collectives and fighting back with creative and alternative ways outside established parameters. It is also important to question one's cultural norms that entail any self-imposed exclusion. However, the aim of the fight is rather for mutual understanding and coexistence rather than inclusion into a majority's imposed structures.

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Interviews (See Table 3 and Table 4)

Appendix 1

‘Other knowledge is possible’: Latin American views of social innovation

The need to include this appendix is inspired by Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ book *Other knowledge is possible* (2008). It is an example of ‘counter-hegemonic’ writing, questioning the epistemology of the culture, morals, and norms that are predominant in today's globe. He argues that mental imperialism from the global north shapes the knowledge and overall perspective that is widely upheld. Nonetheless, far from a direct critique to western knowledge and in specific SI theories, the idea here is to highlight that the conversation is extensive with acceptable input from a myriad of different lenses.

The thesis’ literature review is based on the theoretical constructions of the global north. It is authored by a group of leading scholars from a network of European universities (especially KU Leuven and members of the *SocialPolis* platform). Given that one of the case studies is located completely outside of the European context, the natural question is: does the global south have something to say about SI? This appendix ventures to explore views of social innovation from Latin American literature.

As in Europe, there is also a great variety in the meaning of SI in Latin America. Generally speaking, the same debate is found between interpretations of SI associated with technological and economic progress with some societal benefit, versus a vision of SI as a process of collective construction and community development that aims to improve the quality of life of disadvantaged groups in some sense. While in European SI literature the two visions constantly clash, in the Latin American literature surveyed, there seems to be an intriguing mix between the two interpretations of SI, as if they could coexist.

For example, the Colombian Morales Gutierrez in his article “SI as an emerging reality in development processes: A proposal for analysis” (2008), subscribes to the European strand of SI that focuses on “human-centered community development”. SI emerges from pressures by systemic failures that produce massive social segregation and impoverishment. In his aligned interpretation, Morales Gutierrez calls “Phenomena of SI” to the SIs: urban actions that originally close the inequality gap and pose a non-resignation, non-conformity stance, an act of resistance to a situation of social exclusion and poverty (ibid).

Mexican and Nicaraguan authors such as Sampedro Hernandez and Diaz Perez, also advocate for a type of "SI for inclusive development" and are critical of innovation as economic development without social benefits (2016). They favor innovation in "informal environments" with diversity of participants, especially from marginalized groups "the poor and the weak" (ibid). However, while innovation equals the creation of opportunities for these groups to improve their quality of life, it is economically ruled by their definition: "products, processes, and services inside and outside the market tailored towards satisfaction of needs of the population lacking resources", and their attitude is paternalistic, viewing innovative interventions as problem-solving top-down prescription projects (ibid).

Along these lines, several authors intertwine seemingly conflicting interpretations of *economic* (technological/entrepreneurial) innovation and *social* innovation (Alva Fuentes 2014; Sampedro Hernández and Díaz Pérez 2016; Zambrano Valdivieso et al. 2019), hardly reconcilable from a neo-Marxist perspective. It can be argued that such deviation from a

mutually exclusive understanding of economic and SI, is in itself a lack of understanding of the systemic failures of the capitalist system that produce social exclusion. An undivided stance can also be taken as a vehicle for understanding their common elements. Regardless of the author's perspective, the paragraphs that follow extract three common theoretical elements that can contribute to a broad review of SI.

The first element is **knowledge**. Alva Fuentes only considers academic knowledge (produced by universities) and commercial knowledge (produced by companies), pointing to the pressure that is created by competitiveness among individuals, companies, and cities to “innovate” and create more knowledge of these two types (2014). However, a ‘third type of knowledge’ is possible about the working of communities (produced by the people), i.e. daily, constant, small-scale learning processes at the local level, in which this creation and appropriation of knowledge also yield a personal and community *value*.

Second, **networks** are key for knowledge exchange, to share and interrelate experiences, which leads to mutual learning (Alva Fuentes 2014; Morales Gutierrez 2008; Zambrano Valdivieso et al. 2019). *Social capital* is necessary for SI to emerge: it determines the ability and easiness for people to work together for a common goal. Social capital is built through sharing knowledge, and these networks promote continuous learning among the members so, there is a reinforcing process (Sampedro Hernández and Díaz Pérez 2016). Furthermore, it is important to not only create new knowledge but also the capacity to adapt it to its environment, so that SI can germinate.

And the third element is the **environment**. Alva Fuentes talks about “*Ciudad del Conocimiento*” referring to the knowledge (academic and commercial) that is produced under urban competitiveness (2014). However, an environment of competitiveness does not incentivize individuals to share knowledge but to capitalize on it. Therefore, it is contradictory to talk about SI in a competitive environment where knowledge has *economic value*. SI rests on the premise of evolving beyond individual competition and towards collective values and goals, where knowledge has *social value*.

These three theoretical elements (knowledge, networks, and environment) help expand the conceptualization of SI to include changes in the process of manifestation of needs, in forms of cooperation, in communication, and in an adequate urban governance that facilitates such processes (Zurbano, 2008 in Morales Gutierrez 2008). Those are important elements for the emergence of SI, but it is also important to reflect on the ‘conditions of possibility’ for such ignition to take place, first at the personal level, then at the collective level.

Is this *ignition* or *drive to innovate* always present in human nature? Do societies gravitate always towards, the better, faster, bigger ways, what has been called ‘development’? What happens when the drive is not present? Why not? does social exclusion always necessarily work as pressure to create and innovate looking for social inclusion alternatives? What happens when there is stagnation at the exclusion situation? SI as an intrinsic act and desire of overcoming from ‘the excluded’ entity itself, requires *conditions of possibility* e.g. empowerment conditions at the individual level to then transcend to a collective.

The personal drive is one of the most subjective and hardest elements to research, but it is an important initial determinant. To power individuals ‘personal engine’ to pursue a better situation (individual empowerment) can be seen as a *pre-condition* to SI that perhaps has been overshadowed by the European emphasis often placed on the power of the *collective*.

Therefore, to see SI as a creation process is also to acknowledge the *creation* of ‘conditions of possibility’ at personal and collective levels and as a source of opportunities for development (Morales Gutierrez 2008; Sampedro Hernández and Diaz Pérez 2016).

With the great variety that exists in academic literature within the region and within countries, this writing does not expect to generalize about regional or continental views of SI. The inquiry in Latin American literature intends to open a door to what has been written about SI on the other side of the Atlantic. It enriches the dialogue from various points of view which could lead to interesting theoretical insights emerged from a different empirical social reality. While a longer and more systematic review is needed to yield a regional comparison of literature trends in SI, some juxtaposition can be made.

Points of congruency are the view of SI as a response to systemic failures expressed through social exclusion, and the “glocal” focus, recognizing the importance of networks and territorial dimension in local community development (Morales Gutierrez 2008). It can be said that European and Latin American perspectives agree on the start and the finish of SI, but not on the means. The start is with the necessity to satisfy the basic needs of disadvantaged people, and the end: systemic change (Zambrano Valdivieso et al. 2019). However, there is great variety in the “how” to go from point A to point B.

In European literature, there is a clear dichotomy of SI discourses, also reflected in a bifurcation between urban practitioners and academics: on one hand, working on the tacit promotion of capitalism and neoliberalism, and on the other, a critique of such systems. The Latin American discourse seems less polarized, manifested in the blurry lines between entrepreneurial innovation with SI. Therefore, placing high responsibility on the government /companies to adapt, create, and disperse (not only products and services) but also *processes* of social inclusion and satisfaction of basic needs.

In Europe, the urban governance between the state and citizens is somewhat antagonistic or at least, agonistic (Mouffe 2015). SI theories favor people-led innovation processes, such as the self-created inclusion, participation, and co-creation, while most governments manage the city by urban entrepreneurialism practices. Across the ocean, the state is more intertwined with innovation processes and thus receives higher faith (and demands) to improve quality of life (e.g. through social urbanism). Some scholars conceive SI “through public policies and institutional structures that promote [social benefits and wealth] distribution” (Guth 2005 in Sampedro Hernandez 2016).

Variations in the perception of social reality across geographies yield to different contributions, in this case: (1) the importance of individual empowerment for the ignition of SIIs, (2) the role of creation and transfer of knowledge through social networks and their mutually reinforcing mechanisms, and (3) a proper environment for innovation. SI refers to those new happenings on the rearranging of actors and actions on urban governance that lean towards the citizens' power of city-making while redesigning and reconciling power dynamics with the market and the state. SI speaks of changes in power relations between these urban governance actors, but also about changes in the power of individuals at personal and collective levels that have the potential for citywide transformations and beyond.

Appendix 2

The “people-centred development” approach to social innovation: A case from India (Hulgård and Shajahan 2013)

The Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) in Mumbai, is an example of how sometimes academic institutions can act as a liaison between the state and the needs of the community and bring research into action and mediation. The institute started as a graduate school, but through the years it has evolved to be a very engaged actor in the community and the city. This is mainly due to their full-fledged emergency responses in times of crises such as the 1948 Independence and partition of India, the 1993 earthquake in Maharashtra, and the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami (ibid).

TISS has become such an important actor as to launch a partnership-based intervention, a transformation project in the M East Ward district in Mumbai. The developmental deficits and vulnerabilities of this particular district are some of the most acute when compared to Mumbai and all India, and the proximity of the TISS to this district urged an intervention to improve the human condition of its inhabitants (ibid). The interventions, both in response to crises and in this community development, follow the people-centred development (PCD) approach, placing high importance in collaboration alliances, and direct participation and co-creation with the people directly affected by the intervention.

PCD also derives from the Open Model of Innovation (OMI), which states that “networks and inputs from the outside are important features of the innovation process”, this advocates for a permeable membrane for exchange between various knowledge (re)sources (ibid). The concept of ‘open innovation’ recalls the work of Sousa Santos “Other Knowledge is Possible” (2008) with the critique against the “epistemicide”, the killing of other types and sources of knowledge due to the colonization of the western philosophy and perspectives.

Souza Santos proposes to engage in dialogue and negotiations from the perspective of *epistemic diversity*. This means having respect and appreciation for other types of knowledge than from “the experts”, and more concretely allowing space for this diversity to flourish and be exchanged. This inspired advocacy for co-constructing knowledge between academia and the communities at the heart of the research/intervention, this is what Novy and Stigendal (2018) call “knowledge alliances”, and Hulgård and Shajahan (2013) “epistemological openness”.

What is most interesting from this example from India, is the degree of involvement and commitment of an academic institution, to community development and improvement of the human condition. The TISS has gone beyond the widely encouraged “collaboration” between different actors/sectors, to become itself an *agent of change* and has taken enormous concrete actions in the participative process of community-building, and solution-provision to unmet needs. Like in this case, SI can arise from higher institutions, but it must work at the local/neighbourhood level *vis a vis* the people principally affected by any intervention in the area, and who are a valuable source of local knowledge.

Hulgård and Shajahan display this case as socially innovative, and it is evident how this case fits under the theoretical framework of SI (2013). These efforts are focused on the satisfaction of human needs and it could potentially change the social relations that residents

had with the government or other institutions regarding service provision and prioritisation of their needs. This initiative also empowers citizens, as they feel the institutions and planning bodies with the capitalisation of resources, do hear, respect and appreciate the knowledge they bring to the table.

Nonetheless, it is important to also examine the model for sustainability in the long-run. An intervention like M East Ward district transformation project is very commendable, and it should be encouraged. However, challenging and questioning its seemingly weak spots is needed to make the model more solid for further implementation. For example, the PCD model places great emphasis on co-creation of knowledge and community participation during the process, but also the empowerment of the community needs to be such as to begin to raise challenging questions to the *status quo* and create political mobilisation for change.

It can be argued that “community participation” and “new combinations” (of actors, resources, and methods), are essential components to SI, but they alone, do not lead to the “success of sustainable people-centred social innovation” in the long-term (ibid). In this case, SI emerges as a reaction to social exclusion mechanisms, it is a manifestation in response to the *effects* of the problem, but it is also important for any initiative to analyse and attend the *causes* of exclusion mechanisms, to begin with, thus becoming a *strategy* for change.

It is an immense challenge to cover both the *causes* and *effects* of a problem. Most initiatives of some sort of social benefit attend only the effects, the reflection of an underlying structural and societal problem underneath. The complexity of social problems also requires complex approaches that tackle *causes*, which are not met by individual initiatives alone. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge the difference of focus between initiatives that aim to provide a solution to a social problem vs. the ones that aim to change the conditions or causes of exclusion.

Appendix 3

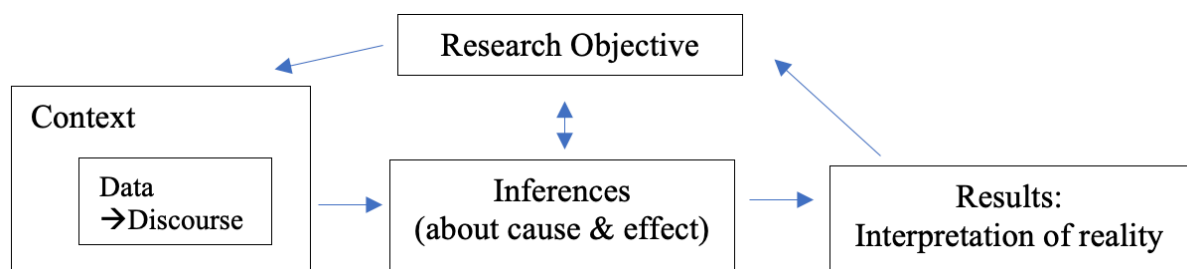
Discourse Analysis

As explained in section 3.1, this thesis takes the approach that reality is subjective, but it can be studied through scientific observation that is *selective* and *interpretative* (Garcia Ferrando and Torres 2015). Therefore, it does not pretend to provide an analysis of "reality" as objective truth, but as an *interpretation of reality* through different tools and through the lenses of people who verbalized their version of it in the interviews. To allowed for such freedom of expression of their interpretation, the *open interview* type was preferred when possible. It helps surpass the limitations of a questionnaire and allows a flowing conversation or dialogue.

Beyond the target information that is desired to be extracted (as in a utilitarian position), the open interview allows the interviewee to also unleash the "internal and latent procession" of his/her vision, the unasked questions (Ibañez 2015). The attitude is rather of collaboration between two "partners" that are constructing "knowledge alliances" (Novy and Stigendal 2018) in the process. This approach stimulates the production of information not included in starting assumptions of the interviewer. The open interview, with a topic guide, helps to generate data and ideas during the interview itself and presents the extraordinary opportunity to analyse the thought process, the emergence of new ideas at the moment, and the priorities of the interviewee in communicating them.

It is through this free dialogue in the open interview that *discourse gets created*. There are three elements as necessary conditions for this production to take place. First, a communicative contract between the interviewee and interviewer, for a disproportionate exchange of ideas and information, along with the power relations derived from that. Second, the verbal interaction between the two, and third, a social universe of reference, which delineates the framework in which the interviewee unfolds his or her system of interactions and therefore relevancy for the investigation (Alonso 2015).

Then, there are several elements of the conceptual structure of discourse analysis: (1) *Data* from the interviews that have constructed the discourse, (2) *context of the data* or the conditions in which it was produced, (3) *objective of the analysis*, to answer the RQs, (4) *inferences* about relations of cause and effect, logically connected to the data and its context, and lastly (5) submitting the inferences and conclusions to *validity* tests (López-Aranguren 2015). The relationship between these elements in the process of discourse analysis can be appreciated in the following figure:



Elements of discourse analysis. Author's elaboration based on (López-Aranguren 2015)

In the “*system of discourses*” (Conde 2015) provided by the interviews, each discourse is developed in relation to another, in a constant feedback of visions and attitudes. In other words, “the circulation of social discourses responds to a complex network of relations and to social, ideological, and symbolic conflicts far from any unilateralism” (ibid.). Therefore, it is necessary to *problematize* it, “to shake the certainty of what is presented as evidence, show how reality is contradicting, locate and interpret the context in which it emerged, and the main transformations that it has suffered” (Alvira and Serrano 2015).

Appendix 4

Five urban strategies for social inclusion: A more detailed explanation

The C.S.I. (Context, Strategies, and Initiatives) analytical framework is employed to present the empirical analysis of both case studies from the macro to the micro level and facilitate comparison. An essential part of this framework is the mezzo level: the urban strategies for social inclusion that can be identified in each city. This appendix provides greater detail of what was examined in each strategy. This frame is ample to encompass the findings in both cities but specific enough to generate critical analysis of their strategic approaches. The five strategic lines are the following:

- 1. Form of the Instrument:** refers to the predominant strategy that the city uses in terms of structure and temporality of the social inclusion instruments. For example, if it comes in the form of a temporary project, a more permanent program, or taking shape in institutions. Also, it accounts for their emergence baselines: bottom-up vs. top-down. The form of the instrument is often determined by funding sources and channels, as well as the institutional culture of the city. It refers to the method in which inclusion efforts are planned to be delivered to the intended recipients. This category aims to provide ground for discussion and questions if social inclusion, or its quest, is even something that can/should be materialized and/or *delivered*.
- 2. Actors' partnerships and collaboration** examine the existing links and level of interaction between actors with the same mission (in this case, to promote social inclusion in the labour market). This analytical line also considers the places for encounter available for such interaction: i.e conditions to meet, opportunities to collaborate and a physical space dedicated to that.
- 3. Urban planning strategies:** The role of urban planning in (re)shaping the social is fundamental, as the tools to mould the urban physical environment are the same to accentuate or counter social inequalities. This section examines the purpose of recent and current urban planning strategies in each city. This category analyses the discourse, intent, and evidence of concrete actions of the planned transformation of disadvantaged areas, or otherwise. Insights were gained through interviews with urban planners, government officials, residents, and field observations in both cities.
- 4. Empowerment through culture and the role of civil society** explores initiatives in the fields of arts and sports to detect the potential that resides on such initiatives, programs, or institutions. It is analysed how they promote individual and collective empowerment that yields to social inclusion in different aspects of society. Special attention is placed to bottom-up initiatives and their impact at the local level.
- 5. Promotion of economic development** was observed in both cities from different actors and at different levels of governance. This category analyses the focus that has been placed on developing and matching skills with labour market demand. These initiatives come in the form of training and capacity building programs for "the excluded population". It points out the sectors that actively practice this strategy, with a special focus on the public-private balance.

Appendix 5

Details of the ALMOLIN criteria and their link to the research questions

Responding to	ALMOLIN Criteria	Details and sub-questions for analysis
RQ1: The Empirical (the observable social reality)	Social exclusion dynamics	What the socially innovative initiative is reacting to (exclusion-inclusion pair)
		In reaction to deprivation, alienation, exclusion and exploitation, or a combination
		Under which philosophical framework or vision of the improved/ideal reality?
		Significance/acuteness of the exclusion: are basic needs compromised?
	Satisfaction of human needs	Type of human need deprived: food, housing, education, work, etc.
		Limitations due to financial resources, legal or institutional bureaucracies
		What is the solution/alternative provided by the initiative?
	Mobilisation of resources	Social networks, groups, collectives, partnerships (shared values / view towards exclusion)
		Institutional involvement (public, private, NGOs, academia) and in which role
		Financial: security and stability, dependent on internal/external factors, economic sustainability
RQ2: The Actual (context)	Time	Structural or institutional path-dependencies (tradition of relationships)
		Link to the evolution of urban regimes
		Link of the initiative to history of the place
	Space	Relations between spatial scales and levels of government
		Influenced by the relationship of the city with the capital and the state
		Macro: level up from city to metropolitan, regional, national, and international arenas
		Micro: level down from city to business collectives, universities, educational centres, foundations, neighbourhood associations, NGOs, citizens groups, etc.
	Territorial specificity	Neighbourhood / community characteristics as determinant factors in its development
		History and context, why the initiative has developed precisely there, not somewhere else
		Place attachment and sense of identity in the neighbourhood
RQ3: The Real (potential for transformation)	Collective empowerment	Visions, culture and identity building
		Start with a shared unsatisfactory condition of exclusion to develop affinity, group work, associations and/or partnerships between participants
		Presence or emergence of collective group identity and shared goals
		Collective vs. individual empowerment
	Changes in social relations	Reordering of domains between civil society, state and market
		Changes in relations between participants, and between person and society (personal level)
		Changes in relations within the network of actors and sectors (urban level)

Appendix 6

Medellín *Feria de las Flores* (Flowers' Fair) August 2018

The *Feria de las Flores* (Flowers' Fair) is the city's most famous and celebrated event which takes place every August. Residents explained that farmers used to have to endure long and difficult trips carrying heavy *silletas* with flowers from their fields in the surrounding hills to sell them in Medellín's central market. Today, flower *silletas* are carried in parades during the fair to commemorate the hardworking ancestors. This is a vivid manifestation and memory of the physical challenges product of the centre-periphery relations in Medellín.



Appendix 7

Critical Reflections

On inclusion

Exclusion from the labour market, unemployment, is considered a marginal inefficiency for economic and social reasons. Since society is embedded in the economy (Block, 2001 [1944]), being a society member but not part of the economy (no participation on production nor being able to avoid consumption) is stigmatized and condemned. But efforts to reinsert 'the excluded' into a capitalistic system that itself produces social inequalities (Theodore et al., 2012) is paradoxical.

Beyond the good intentions of inclusion efforts, the attempt itself reinforces the current system and its power structures. Labour exclusion is economic exclusion, pressuring for a way out of the crossroads. Therefore, exclusion may not be necessarily bad. It may open a door to questioning the widely, but reluctantly, accepted status quo. It can be seen as an opportunity for critical thinking and the emergence of alternative (separate) social and economic systems.

On equality and empowerment

We are all *not* equal. It is a myth. There is a myriad differences between people that inevitably lead to different treatment. Many are due to radical differences in the access to opportunities and education that determine the mental setting since birth, along with environmental factors like family, culture, and religion. The recognition first of differences, and second of their causes, will allow to change the strategy and methods towards equality.

The notion and efforts towards equality should be redefined from equality of income and resources to equality of opportunities to develop one's potential, to create goals and aspirations beyond cultural boundaries, geographical borders, and mental limitations. A shift in attitude is needed from giving to creating, from training skills to building character, from unsustainable limited financial funnels to fertile ground for *instruments* of development. It is the urban, social, and cultural environment that forms and therefore has the power to transform lives.

Therefore, empowerment is not given but constructed with and by the environment that creates the conditions of possibility for it to emerge and grow. It is not a transfer of power, but a shift on decision-making and autonomy to the ones disadvantaged by current configurations. It is also the ignition of the possibilities to change, by fuelling other agencies, mechanisms, and instruments, with the potential to challenge such configurations.

On the role of the social scientist

During the research, two issues were found with the relationship between references (knowledge being produced) and referents (subjects whom the knowledge produced is about) (Novy and Stigendal, 2018). First, the references do not go back to the referents. Often referents are not even aware of the knowledge being produced of and about them. They do not get to see the movie they act on. Second, qualitative research takes time away from the referents (interviews, etc.) who are growing reluctant to cooperate with researchers because (rightly so) they do not see the benefits of investing their time on researchers.

Therefore, every social researcher has the social mission to involve in a circular cooperation between practitioners and researchers. That is a commitment to translate the knowledge produced into practical and concrete tools “referents” can use in the field. This will also attend the second issue, by returning social benefits from researchers to practitioners and forging “knowledge alliances” (ibid). This is intended to be done with this thesis project itself.