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Locally identified solutions and practices: a critical realist investigation into the geographies of social innovation in the context of neighbourhood policing

Timothy Peter Curtis

United Kingdom

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The University of Northampton

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1. BACKGROUND/ RATIONALE

In 2012, in response to a request from a senior officer of Northamptonshire Police to learn how to 'do intensive engagement better[1]', the author rapidly developed a toolkit of activities, a consistent and repeatable set of tasks for PCSOs and their supporting team to gather a group of interested and engaged members of the public, understand the crime and contributing social problems and develop sustainable interventions to improve public safety. This toolkit (Curtis and Bowkett, 2014) was developed over six months with PCSOs and all the PCSOs in the county were given a day's training in its use. Thereafter, the PCSOs were given the opportunity to field test the toolkit in a variety of situations in the county.

The purpose of this PhD research is to refine the toolkit, from being rapidly 'cobbled together' from professional experience, to a more substantive and authoritative method of social innovation through:

- Investigating the background of development of the tool, working back into the theoretical antecedents of the work
- Reviewing the pilots of the toolkit that the PCSOs developed
- Reviewing a wider set of theoretical tools and empirical evidence.

The primary focus of social innovation theory and literature has been the evaluation of the social innovation, with limited work undertake on developing 'theories of change' and 'design-thinking'. In social policy too, it seems that most of the focus of academic research and professional consulting is on the evaluation of the social policy intervention rather than the design of the intervention itself. An outcome of this research could be to flip the evaluation of this toolkit for police officers into a toolkit for the design of social innovation design, and into supporting improvements in the design of public policy interventions. The generalizability of this toolkit, designed and tested in the community safety environment, could be in the design of any social intervention, from a social enterprise, to an international development project to a public policy.

At a time when local authorities, health trusts and development agencies, who are partners to the Police in any given locality, have experienced severe spending cuts, the complexity of reducing crime and the causes of crime become ever more 'wicked'. The introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners and Panels in 2012 as elected representatives in policing at a regional level also highlighted the challenges of providing locally sensitive police services. This research project was conducted through the

[1] Pers Comm Superintendent Richard James 7 Dec 2012

University of Northampton in conjunction with Northamptonshire Police that primarily aimed to specifically target and reduce crime rates within specific areas (identified through the Jill Dando Institute Vulnerable Localities Index (Tompson, 2012) through more effective and sustainable policing methods.

The Police were once viewed as the only authoritative group that should or could tackle crime and promote safety in the community. Today however, this has changed as the whole public sector is increasingly developing a new partnership culture between groups and organisations. It is also becoming increasingly clear that community citizens themselves are a crucial part in reducing crime (Myhill and Quinton, 2011). Effective community action can best be achieved through greater levels of 'citizen control' which involves residents and the police working together along with other groups involved in that community. (Garland, 1996) recognises that preventing and controlling crime is difficult for the government alone, instead others must be made more aware that they also hold the responsibilities in order to persuade people to change their behaviour and practices, with what he calls the 'responsibilization' strategy. This therefore involves a comprehensive process of community engagement through the local residents of the area. This is essential as it allows residents to become actively engaged so that they can develop their awareness and better understand the issues affecting their community in order to better communicate and develop new opinions, perceptions and skills that will assist the police.

Ledwith (Ledwith, 2011) suggests that practitioners are attempting community engagement but they still have little understanding of why they are doing it and how to do this effectively. The Police however need to be guided on the processes that they must undertake for successful results thus a toolkit was devised that contained a step-by-step guide along with definitions and analysis that explains the way through each process individually. This toolkit outlines a set of activities that can be led by PCSOs to shift away from locally identified priorities to developing, in collaboration with community members, Locally Identified Solutions and Practices (LISPs). This approach is a response to the observation that there continues to be a mismatch between the community's perceptions of crime, and actual crime incidents. It also further reinforces the Peelian principle that the police are citizens in uniform and therefore their decision-making processes within localities should be made with all groupings of residents, rather than 'on behalf of'. The activities outlined in the toolkit are designed to help the PCSO investigate and thoroughly analyse problems in the locality, with the active involvement of residents and other community stakeholders, in order to arrive at mutually agreed solutions and practices that reduce the conditions for crime. The objective of the toolkit

was to equip PCSOs and members of the public to work together towards mutual solutions. It is not a process owned by the Police, but rather a way for the Police to help organise other stakeholders to help achieve their goals. It is built around a core strategy of 'rich picturing', which allows communities of which PCSOs are a part to explore how each other perceive a community problem and develop joint solutions for the challenges neighbourhoods experience. The toolkit was a fundamental part of this research project as it not only acted as a tool for the Police to better understand their role and their community, and how to combine these two, but it is something that they can refer to so that this project can be sustainable once the research project is completed.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

A key trend in community development literature comes from the field of asset-based community development, mixing in with Alinsky's (Alinsky, 1946, 1957, 1974) community organising and participatory approaches developed by (Ledwith, 2001). Further, strategies of identifying, and developing, social capital theory (Jacobs, 1961) within communities has influenced the field strategies. Seeking and developing the assets of a community, rather than seeing them as deficits and bundles of needs is most closely associated with (McKnight and Kretzmann, 1993), but picks up on the contested notion of social capital popularised by (Putnam, 1993, 1995), drawn from the work of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977). Social capital, for Putnam in Bowling Alone was characterised as "social networks have value", made up of humans (with skills and trust), non-human resources (nodes) and ties (connections) between them[2] that function in particular ways (Granovetter, 1973). Despite the contestation about the value of the concept, the ability to identify and measure social capital, and underlying problems of power (Skogan, 1992) social capital, slips across into ABCD world as an asset that needs to be identified first, before deficits and needs are considered. The needs/deficits model is embedded in Police culture, such that the National Decision Model (Maguire and John, 2006) section of Values states "We will work with communities and partners, listening to their views, building their trust and confidence, making every effort to understand and meet their needs[3]." This constructs the communities as 'needing' the police to make the locality safe, neglecting strategies that the individuals and communities may have already established to create a basis of safety. The starting point for ABCD practitioners is to audit the community to identify what already makes the community (more or less) safe, and what can be done to invest in those assets to improve safety. Individual victims and communities who see this happen "begin to see themselves as people with special needs that can only be met by outsiders" (McKnight and Kretzmann, 1993, p.2).

Community assets to keep the community safe may exist, but they may not be active, (latent or nascent) or may fail at critical moments due to neglect or loss of key nodes or links at critical times. Bonding capital creates networks that trust one another, but the ability to deploy such social capital (especially when stressed or vulnerable) is limited by the bridging capital available to the community. Bridging (and linking) capital (Woolcock 2001: 13-4) allows the community to go outside the immediate set of resources to

[2] Perhaps more developed in Actor-Network Theory, particular the role of non-human actants (Latour, 2007)

[3] http://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/national-decision-model/the-national-decision-model/#powers-and-policy-consider-powers-and-policy [Accessed 07 January 2015]

enhance or activate underdeployed capital. This might be knowing a person in the planning department, and knowing what questions to ask, to get a planning permission for a community centre which might not be available to a marginalised community, even if they had the money to build the centre. Social capital literature does not adequately theorise power or the valorisation of the capital, so Saul Alinsky's strategies for radical community organisers is required to activate bridging agents, to catalyse the required change (Alinsky, 1946). Social capital explains community connections well, but theories of power (explicit, but untheorised in Alinsky, and theorised in Foucault and Bourdieu) are essential to make the network active and purposeful.

A second strand of literature comes from the policing literature. These journals focus more on the techniques and skills of the Police for the importance of community engagement and solving crimes within the community. Much of the police literature focuses on policing methods as a way of helping the community (Davis, Henderson and Merrick, 2003; Hawdon, 2008). Hawdon (2008) looks closely at a community's perceptions and relationship with the Police identifying a correlation between police legitimacy and trustworthiness to improve resident cooperation, still, however, in the mode of policing being the primary service. Like much of the literature on social capital is again a crucial concept in this research report suggests that trust and legitimacy has a key influence on a community's social capital, similar to the findings in our own research. Davis, Henderson and Merrick (2003) believe that there is no one appropriate model for community policing which has been noted for a number of years.

Myhill's (Myhill, 2006) systematic review of community policing literature identifies the impact that 'community engagement' and indicate that intensive community engagement, somehow, improves policing outcomes, although detailed and robust evidence is still sparse. Part of the modest outcomes are driven by a lack of understanding and consistency across a range of topics (Myhill, 2006/2012, p.4) with respect to implementation. In general, the Police are not in control of a significant proportion of community outcomes, and the processes and approaches to community engagement are vaguely reported, making it difficult to establish how the initiatives impacted on better outcomes. The November 2003, the Home Office Green Paper on police reform (Policing: Building Safer Communities Together) contained a section on 'increasing community engagement', but it neither defined community engagement or established how it can be 'increased'. Similarly, the 2004 White Paper (Building Communities, Beating Crime) called for "a constructive and lasting engagement with members of their community". 'Engagement' itself as a term seems to indicate an awareness of a need to hear the voice of the neighbourhood, but is constructed within a

wider frame of 'customer service' focus and therefore engagement is limited to understanding 'need' rather than capability. Myhill's definition of engagement involved "enabling citizens and communities to participate by sharing power with them" (p17) which pushes the Police further up the Arnstein ladder of participation. Arnstein's original (Arnstein, 1969) work, however, did not include a theory of co-production, switching from 'delegated power' to 'citizen control'. In Policing terms, this could represent a loss of control, so a midpoint of producing safety in collaboration with the neighbourhood in question is needed. Myhill proposes the following definition "The process of enabling the participation of citizens and communities in policing at their chosen level, ranging from providing information and reassurance, to empowering them to identify and implement solutions to local problems and influence strategic priorities and decisions" (Myhill 2006/2012, p19), without defining what the 'process' should be. The challenge for the LISP project was to develop a consistent and repeatable 'process' of 'intensive engagement' whilst allowing for the uniqueness of each neighbourhood.

A third strand focusses on the theories underpinning the analysis of the complex social problems and decision-theory to promote solutions. The action research identified that community engagement was focussed almost entirely on identifying (mostly using flawed survey techniques) problems rather than solutions. This further reinforces the 'service' deficit mentality that communities have problems and the Police have solutions to those problems. Indeed, the policy -known as Locally Identified Priorities or Problems (LIPS)- seems to appear in Policing documents in a consistent format. "Working with partners to solve locally identified problems" appears in the Policing Plans for Northamptonshire[4] , Thames Valley[5] East Ayrshire[6] and Shropshire Council[7], but was translated into LIPS interactions and the underpinning policy was to ensure more people are engaged to register their LIPs, individuals registering their LIPs are representative of their local community, and LIPs are used to direct operational response to identified community need (through analytical products and action plans)[8].

[4] www.police.uk/northamptonshire/SCT151/priorities/ Accessed 08 January 2015 https://www.facebook.com/northantspolice/posts/10152074152549549 Accessed 08 January 2015 http://www.northamptonshireneighbourhoodwatch.co.uk/da/61419/New_locally_identified_priorities_.html Accessed 08 January 2015

[5] www.thamesvalley.police.uk/yournh/yournh-about-nh-pol.htm Accessed 08 January 2015

[6] docs.east-ayrshire.gov.uk/crpadmmin/.../local%20policing%20plan.pdf Accessed 08 January 2015

[7] Www.shropshire.gov.uk/place-plans/whats-a-place-plan/ Accessed 08 January 2015

[8] Intensive Engagement Project Brief R M Dankowych 18/09/12 - Version 5

In *Archaeology of Scientific Reason*, M. Foucault asked Comment se fait-il que tel concept soit apparu et nul autre à sa place?, (Gutting, 2010, pp.39-40) that is, under what conditions does a word come to mean what it signifies for us today? This section considers the development of the term 'innovation' and its connection to the idea of social innovation.

The fourth strand of literature is the notion of Social Innovation which is key for social enterprises. It is deemed to be the feature that distinguishes them most clearly from charities. Indeed, the Social Enterprise Coalition, in its response to the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills' Science and Innovation Strategy Consultation, claimed that social enterprise is an inherently innovative business model. Innovation was the subject of a series of Office of the Third Sector position papers by (Westall, 2001; Aiken, 2007; Leadbeater, 2007; Nicholls, 2007). The National Endowment for Science and Technology (Parker, 2009) and the Young Foundation (Mulgan *et al.*, 2007) have also engaged in this field with significant reviews of the literature and exhortations to all sectors of society to realise the implicit value of innovation to society. Christopher Freeman even went so far as to say, 'not to innovate is to die' (Freeman, 1995, 2013, p.266) in his famous study of economics of innovation.

Entrepreneurship and innovation is also closely associated with uncontrollable mavericks (Taylor and LaBarre, 2009) or deviant (non-conformist) personality traits (de Vries, 1977). Other authors have focussed on innovation in the public sector (Newman, Raine and Skelcher, 2001; Mulgan and Albury, 2003), but few have explicitly considered innovation in social enterprises, except by separating social enterprises as organisations from social entrepreneurship as a process of innovation (Leadbeater, 2007). By separating the enterprise from the entrepreneur, Leadbeater allows innovation to be considered as an individual behaviour rather than an organisational process, such that innovation is promoted heroically by the talented individuals and only restrained by personal ethics rather than governance. Fewer authors have explicitly considered the ethics of innovation (Glor, 2002; Hanekamp, 2005; Fuglsang and Mattsson, 2009). Whereas in the private sector innovation can often be an end in itself, for Hartley, in public services innovation is justifiable only where it increases public value in the quality, efficiency or fitness for purpose of governance or services (Hartley, 2005). For others, public sector innovation becomes necessary to keep pace with, in the words of Will Baumol, 'the free market innovation machine' (Baumol, 2002, p. xiii).

Mulgan et al. state that 'At its simplest, social innovation can be seen as "new ideas that address unmet social needs—and that work"' (2006, p. 2). The challenge of simple

definitions is that the breadth and generality of the concept is so broad as to invite critique and clarification. Mulgan's (admittedly non-academic) definition implies that social innovation comprises only ideas (rather than the implementation of the ideas) and that the ideas must be new. This definition leaves unclear what a 'social need' might be, as opposed to a social problem, and also does not define for whom (or how many or how much) such a new idea might work, just that it works.

The term 'social innovation' emerged in Dealey and Ward's (1905) textbook, *A Text-Book of Sociology* and again in Bogardus' (1922) textbook, *A History of Social Thought*. In both textbooks, the term appears in the context of social change and the conservativism of some, for whom social innovation might 'upset their comfortable existence' (Bogardus, 1922, p. 416). Frequency of the use of the idea peaked in the 1950s, then in 1973 and in 1988, remerging from 1994 (Google Ngram Viewer, 2018[9]). More recently, web searches for the terms has grown steadily from Dec 2005 to a high point in April 2014, after which it falls (Google Trends, 2018[10]). Mulgan's definition represents an early definition in what one might term the 'modern' period of use, in the context of a greater governmental policy focus in the USA, UK and EU first on social enterprise, then social entrepreneurship, and finally widening the scope of the policy emphasis to social innovation, culminating in the rapid decline of similar policies like 'big society' during the 2010-2015 Conservative—Liberal Democrat government in the UK.

Definitions after Mulgan's seek to clarify and systematise some of the more ambiguous terms within the concept. Nicholls opens out the notion of social innovation from 'idea' to include 'form of specific ideas, actions, frames, models, systems, processes, services, rules and regulations as well as new organisational forms.' (Nicholls *et al.*, 2015, p. 2), finding that it comprises 'two interlinked conceptualisations of social innovation, focused on either new social *processes* or new social outputs and *outcomes*' [my emphasis]. More than just a new idea, social innovation becomes a composite of social processes and outcomes. Mumford also includes the making and reforming of relationships in this, exploring 'how people should organize interpersonal activities, or social interactions, to meet one or more common goals' (Mumford, 2002, p. 253). Westley and Antadze deepen the impact of the changed nature of the social relationships to 'profoundly change the basic routines, resource and authority flows, or beliefs of the social system' (Westley and Antadze, 2010, p. 2).

2.1. CRITICAL REALISM

[9] https://books.google.com/ngrams/info Google Ngram viewer [18 Jan 2018]
[10] https://trends.google.co.uk/trends/explore?date=all&q=%22social%20innovation%22

The author has long been committed to a critical and emancipatory project in academic and real-world research (Curtis, 2008, 2011; Curtis, Herbst and Gumkovska, 2010). In engaging with critical realism, from a prior commitment to critical theory, the "realism" part of the label is straightforward, but its criticality is less clear. The idea of "critical" realism does not appear at all in Bhaskar's first major book, A Realist Theory of Science (Bhaskar, 1975). The idea of critical philosophy is important and prominent in his second book, The Possibility of Naturalism: A philosophical critique of the contemporary human sciences (Bhaskar, 1978). Post-'post-modernist' thought doesn't have to be critical in the Marxist sense, because its main project is to resolve the impasse created by post-modernism.

Critical realism emerged as a philosophy (Bhaskar, 1975, 1978, 1979, 2010; Archer *et al.*, 2013) that has developed and been debated for over 40 years creating many varieties and versions of realism that are not entirely consistent with one another (Keat and Urry, 1975; Archer, 1995; Archer and Archer, 1996) Critical realism parses the difference between ontology and epistemology, whereas positivism and social constructivism conflate[11] the two (Johnson and Duberley, 2003). CR asserts the existence of reality[12] (Greek: ὄντος ontos) independent of human experience about which we can acquire justified knowledge (Greek ἐπιστήμη episteme) whilst recognising the inevitability of the knowledge being limited, contextual and contingent[13]. Where positivism posits that there is an ultimate reality, and it is reliably analogous to our perceived (epistemological) empirical reality, social constructionism (in its post-modernist extreme) claims there is nothing real except the surface, nothing real behind the hyperrealism of what we perceive and experience (Baudrillard, 1994; Eco, 1995; Poster, 1998[14]) - the only thing that is real is what we think about the real[15]. The ontological is confused or conflated with the empirical in both these positions. If they are separated out (as in Table 1), so that ontology is not implicitly driven by epistemology or vice versa, critical realism allows for a reality that is independent from human knowledge

[11] Bhaskar's epistemic fallacy

[12] Although constructionism is typically applied to the social realm, at an epistemological level it also applies to physical reality. Solipsism denies that there is even a physical reality beyond the personal identity experiencing a sense perception. Solipsism was first recorded by the Greek presocratic sophist, Gorgias (c. 483–375 BC) who is quoted by the Roman skeptic Sextus Empiricus as having stated:1) Nothing exists. 2)Even if something exists, nothing can be known about it. 3) Even if something could be known about it, knowledge about it can't be communicated to others.

[13] I use the word contingent in its philosophical context. Aristotle. Rhetoric.

[14] "The simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth—it is the truth which conceals that there is none. The simulacrum is true".

[15] Misquoting René Descartes

(but perhaps not as simply permanent and unchanging as a positivistic naïve realism?[16]) and our knowledge of that reality is (sufficiently) reliable but contingent on the limitations of human perception[17] and the impermanence of reality, ontologically.

Table 1 Summary of epistemologies and ontologies

	Ontology (Reality)	**Epistemology (Knowledge)**
Positivism	Independent and permanent	Certain and reliable
Critical realism	Independent and enduring	Reliable but contingent
Social constructionism	Dependent and fluid[18]	Unreliable and relativist

Summarising the work of Bhaskar, Elder-Vass notes that: 'the empirical domain includes those events that we actually observe or experience and the actual is the domain of material existence, comprising things and the events they undergo. The real also includes 'structures and mechanisms' that generate those events' (Elder-Vass, 2010, p. 44).

Choosing a methodology within this study, and therefore deciding on what constitutes evidence within that methodology, could start with interrogating the epistemology of the LISP methodology itself. If this epistemological stance, intuitively selected by the author during the development of the LISP approach, is consistent with CR, then the methodological strategies will also be consistent and decisions about what constitutes evidence will also become clear. In a way, this entails both a 'looking back' to the development of the LISP, its intellectual antecedents, and its ontological and epistemological assumptions, and a 'looking forward' through the development of the LISP toolkit to its implementation to identify consistent threads that not only demonstrates how LISP works (what mechanisms are activated) but also gathering evidence through which those mechanisms might be identified in a similarly consistent manner. This form of abductive reasoning allows us to shuttle backwards and forwards between the 'how did LISP come about' historical question and 'how does it work to

[16] For example, non-physical reality like the existence of capitalism is not a permanent phenomenon, but its existence is stable and knowable
[17] So, fallible, but not all episteme is equally fallible
[18] Paraphrasing (Bauman, 2013)

create social impact' forward looking question, using the same epistemological assumptions, and the same ontological position that the LISP approach, and how it is implemented, are equally real.

3. CRITICAL REALISM AND SOFT SYSTEMS METHODOLOGY

Cybernetics, or the study of self-ordering mechanisms, gave rise in the 1940s to two key insights: that systems or collections of phenomena or objects in complex relationships control themselves autonomously through the transmission of information within feed-back loops[19]. This developed into 'second order cybernetics' in which the process of observing a system was also recognised to be part of the system. Further recognition in systems design in organisations and complex constructions like oil refineries (Hall, 1962) recognised that when applied to human systems, even the advanced computational systems could not predict human behaviour. People, through self-reflection and communication, have the ability to conceptualise themselves and the systems of which they are a part. The systems exist objectively but enable and constrain behaviour, but their conceptualisation of the system is constructed by the system itself and their agency making reflexivity in critical realist research important.

These led to an alternative systemic approach to problem solving in organisations- what became known as 'soft systems thinking' as opposed to 'hard systems'. Checkland (Checkland, 1981; Tsouvalis and Checkland, 1996; Checkland and Scholes, 1999; Checkland and Poulter, 2006) fully articulated this as Soft Systems Methodology, which, he argued, was based on Husserl's phenomenological social theory, i.e the way in which humans perceive the reality about them, particularly the invariant features. SSM is also influenced by insights into system dynamics of the Club of Rome (Meadows, 1972) and complexity theory (Stacey, 1996; Lewin, 1999).

Mingers is the primary theorist of the links between CR and SSM (Mingers, 2014). He traces the development of both CR and SSM to the crisis in Cartesian reductionism, citing *gestalt* theory with respect to the extent to which we perceive and think in wholes (Ritter, 1919). Haeckel's notion of *umwelt* or environment, and Heisenberg's principle of uncertainty as key ingredients in Bhaskar's eventual theories of relationships, emergence, hierarchy[20] and boundaries, and Elder-Vass' (Elder-Vass, 2005) emergent powers or properties. These ideas cover the *structural* elements of systems. The p*rocess* elements are also eclectically influenced. Bertalanffy's (Von Bertalanffy, 1950, 1972) concept of open systems is highly influential here; that some systems in question are not statically structured but are in a state of dynamic equilibrium or self-regulation- later

[19] One sees here a natural progression from thinking of passive objects being operated within a system to objects becoming agents (non-human ones), a leap made by Latour in conceptualising 'actants' (Latour, 2004).
[20] Mingers points out that this is not a simple hierarchy like a ladder, but more like Russian dolls nesting inside one another (Mingers, 2014, p. 30)

developed into the idea of homeostasis (Cannon, 1926). The work of Peter Senge (Senge, 1990) in Qualitative System Dynamics and Stermann (2000) takes these concepts into organisation studies, but the paradigm shift happens with Checkland's SSM – "we need to remind ourselves [he says] that we have no access to what the world is, only to descriptions of the world… that is to say epistemology…it transfers systemicity from the world to the process of enquiry" (Checkland, 1983, p. 61). This seems to leave Checkland as a phenomenological social constructionist, unable to picture reality, only to describe our perceptions of the world, but Minger traces a different -route, from CR towards SSM.

In 'The Introduction of a Realist Theory of Science' (Bhaskar, 1978) outlines the fundamental concepts on which CR is built. The world consists (for Bhaskar) of *structures* and *mechanisms* that have *powers* and *liabilities* to generate the events they create. Bhaskar's work is not specifically influenced by the systems discipline but Minger maps the connections between his work and SSM. Table 2 provides a summary of those common concepts. Although both sources do not explicitly cite each other, it is clear that the concepts, and how they are used, have a strong affinity, with only boundaries being an SSM concept that does not have a corollary in CR; even though a boundary is a fundamental part of defining what a 'structure' might entail and what mechanisms or things a totality might contain.

Table 2 A comparison of CR and SSSM concepts modified from (Mingers, 2014, p. 37)

Critical realist concepts	**Soft Systems concepts**
Structures, mechanisms, things, totality, parts, wholes	Systems, parts, wholes
Powers, liabilities, tendencies, holistic causality	Emergent properties
Internal relationships	Relationships
Open and closed systems	Open and closed systems
Emergent properties	Emergent properties
Intransitive and transitive domains	The observed and the observer
Mechanisms generate events	Structure generates behaviour or process
Tensed rhythmic spatial processes	Process, dynamics
Autopoesis	Autopoesis
Transformative agency	Soft systems, second order cybernetics
	Boundaries

3.1. SSM AS A STRUCTURED ENQUIRY

The initial question a researcher should ask is not 'which methodology?' but 'what do I need to know and why?'. This will then inform the best way to collect that information and what to do with it. Methodology is more often a case of systematically reviewing all the types of research method, and seeking to establish its fit with either a paradigm of methodology (qualitative or quantitative) or on the basis of a priori expectations as to the validity or authenticity of the data produced. Whilst triangulation[21] (Denzin, 2017) is

[21] *Investigator triangulation:* involves multiple researchers in an investigation

vital in terms of data, method and those undertaking the analysis, so too is coherency of the methods across the process of structured enquiry.

The types and genres of data required to explore a complex problems situation is probably as complex as the situation itself. Mingers and Brockelsby (1997) illustrate this with a model developed from Habermas (1985) and Searle (1995), which demonstrates that the material objects that exist in each Intensive Engagement/LISP case (documents, LISP proformas) interact with our social world (the crimes and antisocial behaviour) as well as the personal worlds of the agents involved (prior experience and opinions about the artefacts and interactions (Figure 1).

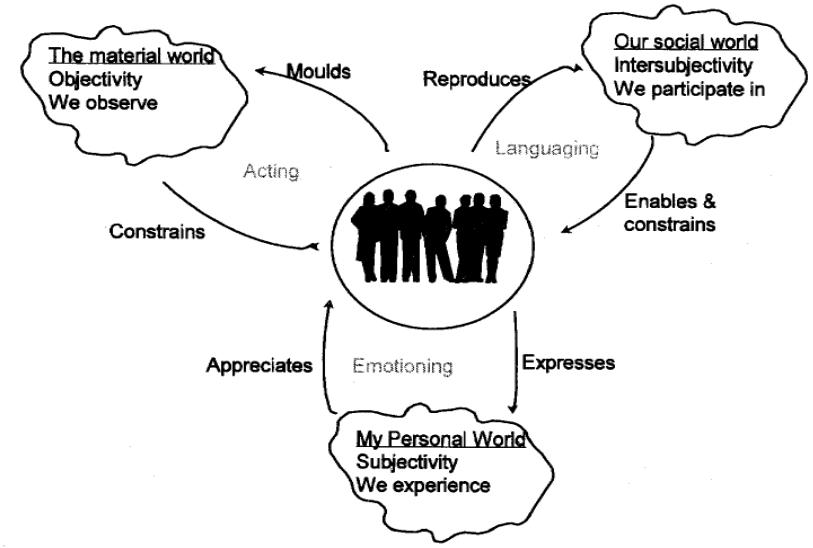


Figure 1 Three dimensions of problems situations from Mingers and Brockelsby (1997, p. 493)

Theory triangulation: involves using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomenon
Methodological triangulation: involves using more than one method to gather data, such as interviews, observations, questionnaires, and documents.

4. THE CASE STUDIES

Case No.	Location	Origin	Priority Area	Crime	Confidence	Stable team	Mgt involved	LISP Quality
1	Spencer/Asian Gold	Pilot	yes	down	up	yes	yes	Gold
2	Spencer Haven	Pilot	yes	down	up	yes	yes	Gold
3	Holy Sepulchre	Pilot	no	steady	steady	no	no	Silver
4	All Saints Kettering	Pilot	yes	steady	steady	no	no	Silver
5	Daventry Skatepark	Pilot	no	low	up	yes	no	Gold
6	Towcester	Self generated	no	down	up	no	yes	Bronze
7	Daventry no LISP	N/A	no	steady	steady	yes	no	None
8	Wellingborough no LISP	N/A	no	up	down	no	no	None

Figure 2 Summary of LISP case study data

Figure 2 above shows a summary of the key features of the LISP initiatives arising from the programme of experimenting with LISP strategies between 2012 and 2014, and which form the raw material for this investigation. They have not been selected because of any a priori theoretical features, from which to draw conclusions, but stand as the nine cases where an experimental LISP project was implemented, or attempted.

The analysis of five of the best implemented of these cases using SSM will enable testing for the presence of the Pawson 'hidden mechanisms' but also to identify any new hidden mechanisms as 'grounded theory', i.e. systematic generation of theory from data that contains both inductive and deductive thinking. In more strictly critical realist terms, 'abductive and retroductive inference[22]' are tools of analysis which enable researchers to refine and redevelop social theory.

The first column of Figure 2 indicates the locations in Northamptonshire covered by the LISP case study projects. The second column **[Origin]** reports on whether the LISP project had been generated as part of the original 2012-13 round of pilot projects or had been self-generated by teams after, and independent from, the pilots. The third column **[Priority Area]** indicates whether the location was informed by a Priority Area report produced in May to August 2013. This Priority Area reporting provided detailed crime hotspot data, and were provided to 5 high priority areas[23] for Northamptonshire Police. The fourth column **[Crime]** indicates whether the officers interviewed indicated that crime in their LISP project areas was low throughout, had increased, stayed steady or reduced during and after the main LISP activities. The interviewer did not ask this question directly, so as not to lead the interviewees in their observations. The fifth

[22] Abduction involves analysing data that fall outside of an initial theoretical frame or premise. Retroduction is a method of conceptualising which requires the researcher to identify the circumstances without which something (the concept) cannot exist. Used in conjunction, these forms of inference can lead to the formation of a new conceptual framework or theory (Danermark *et al.*, 2005)

[23] It is understood that no high-level review of demographics, crime patterns or vulnerabilities across the whole force was used to inform the choice of 'priority areas'.

column **[Confidence]** reports whether the interviewees indicated whether confidence in the police had improved, reduced or stayed similar. Again, the interviewer did not lead the specific question. The sixth column **[Stable Team]** indicates whether the PCSOs (as leaders in the LISP pilot activities) had been stable throughout the LISP process, whether PCSOs were new to the locality or whether other team members had been replaced. This gives an indication of the consistency with which the LISP leaders were able to maintain the LISP activities over an extended period. The seventh column **[Mgt involved]** indicates whether the interviewees reported significant levels of sergeant or inspector oversight, guidance or support during the LISP process. This indicates the extent to which the LISP project was embedded within the policing team's priorities and activities and the ability of those involved in the LISP project to affect the senior levels of the force. The eighth column [**LISP Quality]** reports on the score achieved by the teams in submitting their LISP project information in the form of a proforma document for evaluation by the researcher. The scores (bronze, silver and gold) were evaluated against a common set of criteria to establish the 'quality' of the intensive engagement effort. These criteria included: extent of social capital accessed; ability to analyse the complexity of the issues; ability to use ambiguous or incomplete data to be creative; ability to address the root causes of a problem rather than symptoms and; evidence of reflecting and evaluating feedback.

In the LISP areas where all the features in Figure 2 were 'in-line' with each other [the Asian Gold project centred in Spencer ward (Case 1) and the Spencer Haven burglary project (Case 2)] the interviewees indicated greater satisfaction that the LISP projects had been successful in the terms that the LISP documentation identified. These are entirely based on the reported impressions of the interviewees who are Police officers and Police & Community Support Officers. It was not possible, within the scope of this project, to establish whether the citizens involved agreed.

The cases have been grouped together in terms of the quality of the LISP pilot. This quality is not a judgement on the quality or efforts of the PCSOs or their supporting teams, but rather reflects the opportunities and time available to them for working on these pilots. All the PCSOs involved were dedicated and hardworking, even if they did not always agree with the approach or understand the nuances of the approach, given the limitations of one day of training. The types of problems situations that arose in the pilots were such that even 18 months of work on them full time would not have allowed the PCSOs to fully implement the LISP stages. Instead, PCSOs regularly reported 'on tape' and off the record that they were being abstracted from neighbourhood duties by reactive calls for service, especially because the centralised response 'control room' was

not concerned with the existing workload of PCSOs but was tasked to handle and pass on calls as rapidly as possible. This meant that PCSOs were having to respond to all the calls that the centralised control room passed on to them, regardless of what else they had to do, or wanted to do. Finding and securing meetings with the right people in the community at the right time is hard, and doing so on an irregular shift pattern was even more difficult. These and many other factors beyond the control of the PCSOs and the police force prevented full implementation of all the stages of LISP. None of the pilots got to the stage of evaluating their interventions according to 'what success looks like for the stakeholders', and only a few got as far as even eliciting what that success would look like for themselves, beyond their own police-centric crime rate reduction targets.

4.1. CONTEXT-MECHANISM-OUTCOMES CONFIGURATIONS

Pawson (2013), in his review of hundreds of innovations and evaluations in the public sector, concludes that the following ingredients are critical factors (in his terminology, hidden mechanisms) that create successful interventions, and crucially support the mainstreaming and scaling of such interventions into organisational and cultural change. These mechanisms or ingredients can be compared with the main ingredients in the Intensive Engagement approach. It is important to note, however, that Intensive Engagement using the LISP toolkit is not really an intervention itself, but a way of going about designing and delivering interventions that are more robust and resilient- the question of Evidence Based Policing shifts from 'what works' to 'how do we make it work better?'

4.1.1. CONTEXTS

There was significant debate throughout the development of LISP, and after the pilot studies, as to what constituted a 'LISPable' project. Implicitly throughout was the notion that the crime types had to be 'sufficiently public' to be conducive to the community-based intervention process. Clearly there are 'private' crimes that would not be appropriate contexts for a LISP process, including domestic violence, person-to-person abuse or negligence or even inter-neighbour disputes, or crimes types hidden from public view, such as drug or human trafficking. A much later initiative using LISP, in a different Police force, was considering community responses to the cultures that propagate Female Genital Mutilation, but the project didn't proceed. Another project also considered the theft of catalytic convertors from vehicles as part of an international organised crime network, so 'hard crime' could be included, but this project was limited to PCSOs as the primary agents of change, not detectives or serious crime officers, so

the boundaries of how 'public' a crime type ought to be has not yet been tested, and cannot be exhaustively tested here. Instead, a broad notion of 'sufficiently public' has to be retained (at least for the purposes of this study) where by the crime types to be tackled are not merely a matter of private dispute between two people, or such that the solutions could not be developed or implemented by members of the public or public institutions. Therefore, we can arrive at three possible context statements:

Table 3 Contexts: Any district or locality in Northamptonshire, selected by pre-set screening criteria

C1	**Vulnerable** locality or area of significant multiple deprivation, and
C2	Long-term **chronic crime** patterns
C3	**Complex**, publicly contested crime types inc ASB, SAC

The cases can now be compared, using these 'contexts' as a frame, as shown in Figure 3. The numbers in the columns to the right of each text are merely a numerical impression of the extent to which the case meets the context criteria (1 being lowest and 5 being highest relative to the other cases)

	Context		Case 1: 'Asian Gold'		Case 2: 'Spencer Haven'		Case 3: Holy Sepulchre		Case 4 Kettering 'All Saints'		Case 5: Daventry skatepark		Case 6: Towcester Retail		Case 7: Daventry No LISP		Case 8: Wellingborough no LISP	
C1	**Vulnerable locality or area of significant multiple deprivation**		Highly vulnerable locality, high on indices of multiple deprivation, excluded minorities being targeted	5	Very vulnerable group of residents, with learning difficulties etc, relatively deprived locality	5	No real residents involved, vulnerable group of perpetrators, homeless and substance abusers. Neglected & underutilised district with multiple vulnerabilities	5	Area of multiple deprivation, significantly high short-term rental, transient population mixed with long-term elderly residents	5	Not a residential area, no significant deprivation.	2	Prosperous retail environment, not a location with multiple deprivation	1	ASB from nearby residential areas, not especially identified with multiple deprivation	2	Very deprived locations, very poor engagement with policing, transient population	5
C2	**Long-term chronic crime patterns**		Short-term spike in crime raised attention, but long term crime patterns high	5	Short-term spike in crime raised attention, but long term crime patterns high	5	Short-term spike in crime raised attention, but long term crime patterns high	5	Wider context of nearby night-time economy disturbance, extending to street outside and yard behind shops. Rough sleeping and litter affecting church users	5	Public disorder disturbances typical of town centre public sports and retail locations, anti-social behaviour hotspot	4	No evidence of elevated crime patterns compared to other retail environments	1	Short-term seasonable pattern of ASB	2	Long-term crime patterns in whole town are higher than equivalent populations	5
C3	**Complex, publicly contested crime types inc ASB, SAC**		Burglaries might suggest individualised weaknesses, but community 'problem situation' was actually tackling the problem, rather than the crime itself	5	Burglaries were ostensibly private, but families, carers and advocate groups made the problem situation public	4	Street drinking, drug taking and sleeping rough witnessed by office and church users	5	Business owners were the 'community', residents were only involved if interacting with the shops or church	4	Public space, sports grounds outside shops, bus stop and police station. Relatively limited number of stakeholders	3	Primarily thefts from properties. Community expressed as 'retailers' collaborating rather than customers or residents	2	ASB, motorcycles along a disused railway track	2	Wide range of public and private crime types. Insufficiently defined to one or more themes	4
				15		14		15		14		9		4		6		14

Figure 3 Summary of all cases with respect to 'contexts'

The analysis shows that the four detailed case studies (Cases 1 to 4) are the strongest to meet the three context criteria, accompanied by Case 8, where no LISP occurred. The other cases were particularly weak with respect to long-term chronic crime rates, despite the complexity of the problem situations.

4.1.2. MECHANISMS

Widening beyond just the body of evidence from policing intervention, Pawson (2013) identifies (in his terminology) 'hidden mechanisms' that create successful interventions, and crucially support the mainstreaming and scaling of such interventions into organisational and cultural change. Having analysed the case studies in turn, proposed a further set of possible mechanisms that had not already been identified in the police literature or by Pawson. These three sets of factors have been brought together into Table 4. A commentary has been provided as to the features of LISP that connect to the proposed mechanism. These could be the 'triggers' that are essential to activate the mechanisms to create the outcomes

Table 4 Mechanism Ingredients in LISP Intensive Engagement

No.	Proposed Mechanism	Features of LISP based Intensive Engagement
	Neighbourhood Policing Evidence: What works	
M 1	In-depth understanding of people, place and problems	In-depth investigation of the police crime problem in the context of the other problems experienced in the locality
M2	Full and consistent application of interventions	The training (and subsequent evaluation of the quality of LISP work), and standard proforma
M3	Sufficient 'dose' of intensive engagement with sufficient time	Success, i.e. depth of understanding of the problem and success of the interventions is determined by the working group rather than police timeframes
M4	Proactive contact	Deliberate choices are made at the screening stage about the importance of the locality to policing outcomes. Process requires identification of all potential stakeholder groups, including hard to reach.
M5	A group of residents	Where community organisations appropriate to the problems don't exist, the LISP process creates the social capital and networks to allow this to happen
M6	Joint problem solving	Co-production of the problem analysis and solving stages is central

	What is promising	
M7	Highly connected individuals	The LISP working group is made up of 'highly connected and highly capable people'
M8	Support is won	Working group members elicit a clearly understood self-interest that underpins expected successes to secure and 'win' support
M9	Attuned to community dynamics	The rich picturing processes develop a nuanced and empathetic understanding of the community and the issues and tensions within it.
M10	Tacit skills	Training, with the aid of the publicly available handbook, briefings to senior officers and a process of identifying the best implementations of LISP and mentoring of officers ensure that police skills are embedded and propagated across the force
M11	Not reliant on multi-agency delivery	Where statutory partners are actively engaged, LISP provides a clear and discrete method for limited involvement. Where statutory agencies are not engaged, LISP provides a clear evidence base for Police and community to hold statutory agencies to account.

	Pawson's Public Policy 'Hidden' Mechanisms	**Mechanism Ingredients in LISP Intensive Engagement**
M13	Recruit the stakeholders with care	Looking for the most highly connected, capable, and motivated: whose self-interest and motivation to contribute to public safety is understood
M14	Create expectations of change	Intensive Engagement is oriented towards collaboratively deciding on what change is needed, to design Solutions & Practices
M15	Demand effort from stakeholders	The LISP approach is designed to flip the Police response from 'what can we do?' to 'What solutions have you got?' for the Police.
M15	Offer encouragement and feedback	The process is designed to recognise existing assets and capabilities that the community, with the help of the Police, that can be enhanced to support Police outcomes (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993)
M17	Build trust and resilience	Long-term, locally based relationships are key to developing mature LISP informed interventions
M18	Make accommodations for set-backs	The embedding of the Motivational Interviewing 'stages of change model' (Prochaska and DiClemente, 1982; Rollnick and Miller, 1995; Miller and Rollnick, 2012) accounts for set-backs within the process of engagement
M19	Explain the theory of change	The theory of change for LISP is described as "collaboratively designed solutions and co-produced practices are more robust than short-term projects and limited engagement"
M20	Share execution and control of the intervention	The whole LISP model is built on recruiting capable and connected decision-makers and resources to the support of Police outcomes, and an attempt to 'loosen the reins' of Police controlled design and implementation
M21	Ensure onward external continuation	The purpose of the community designing and delivering the interventions that are unique to a locality is to ensure that the Police have a 'step-back and sustain' (rather than an exit) strategy freeing resource up to tackle other localities and problems, leaving a self-sustaining legacy

	Additional insights from case study	**Mechanism Ingredients in LISP Intensive Engagement**
M22	Stable team	Inspectors ought to be clear about the resource implications of choosing to undertake a LISP, in terms of long-term commitment (against a backdrop of 'weeks of action' and three month long 'operations'). Outcomes based resource planning is required within LISPs rather than activity based.
M23	Responsibilisation	This LISP hinged around a form of responsibilisation, a quid pro quo where the attention of the police shifted from being visible through patrols to being the distributor of socially valuable goods- the smartwater etc. Rather than this being devalued though being given away, the LISP established a 'transaction value' – being required to complete the 6 points of action before receiving enhanced 'attention' through the distribution of freebies and receiving funding from the PCC.
M24	A mix of 'contingent' interventions	The PCSO was clear that a number of different strategies, that could be introduced at different times, and with drawn if they don't work, would strengthen the initiative. The six point action plan developed in the Asian Gold burglaries case is insufficient here, and over 20 different initiatives are used, including those that are existing successful practices
M25	Perspective taking	A cognitive shift required to think of all the different stakeholders in a given problem situation, and systematically think through their interest and investment in the status quo in that context. The needs to be a deliberate attempt to this, at the point of evaluating the potential stakeholder group. The interests (and perhaps importantly, the self-interest) of the stakeholders need to be considered, as does the lived experience of those stakeholders (empathy).

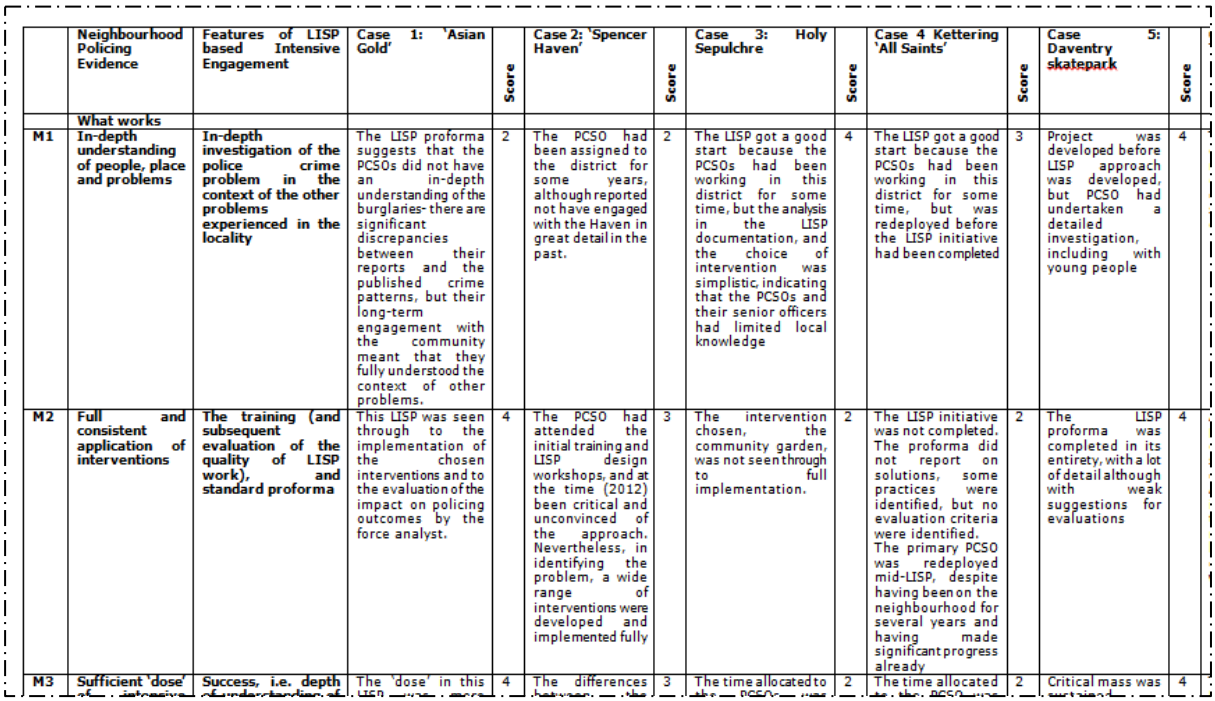
M26	Hidden community	Attention should be paid to the less obvious communities of interest. Whilst there was a strong sense in which the street drinking was being driven by transient workers and off-licenses exploiting the immediate situation, the more powerful communities of interest were the estate agents, landlords and employers, whose interests in the features of the problem situation were significant but invisible. When doing the scanning stage in the early part of the LISP process, there needs to be a more specific attention given to the owners or operators of buildings and consider them as a part of the community of interest
M27	Connecting communities	The briefing in the LISP documentation regarding the stakeholders is to ask whether they can be connected to together. This is too oblique. This case indicates strongly that vulnerability localities suffer from low bonding social capital (especially when the residents are transient) and social cohesion is low. Bringing eastern European workers together may be a part of the solution, but also bringing together business interests (who might not understand their responsibility to a given neighbourhood) like landlord and employers of specific segments of the population (bridging social capital). This requires much harder work bringing together and motivating stakeholders who might consider their contribution to a neighbourhood to be even more minimal than the transient residents.

The mechanisms can then be evaluated. Figure 4 shows a part of that process. In each case, the mechanism (M1) 'In-depth understanding of people, place and problems' is drawn from the literature of what works in policing research. The features of the LISP toolkit that are designed to enact or trigger that mechanism are also given- in the case of M1, the in-depth investigation of the crime problem situation is a vital part of the LISP guidance, and the first stage of the LISP proforma. Then each case has been evaluated to establish the extent to which this mechanism has been enacted in the case. This is done both qualitatively, with a value statement, and semi-quantitatively with a nominal score from 1 (poor implementation) to 5 (thorough implementation)24.

So, in the snippet in Figure 4 below, we can see that the Holy Sepulchre street drinking and Daventry skate park projects (Cases 3 & 5) dealt with the mechanism of 'understanding people, place and problems' in depth, using a variety of investigative tools such as rich picturing. The Asian Gold and Spencer Haven projects (1&2) on the

[24] This nominal valuation has been done by the researcher. A subsequent step could be to undertake a 'pair-wise ranking' exercise with various stakeholders in the research project to derive a more robust and agreed valuation. This had been mentioned in the first outline of the LISP toolkit "Proposed procedure for Community Resilience Strategy toolkit" dated 30/10/1012 Section 14 (from page 52) of the 14th edition of the LISP toolkit dealt with this procedure in some detail, but was dropped in the final version for being too advanced.

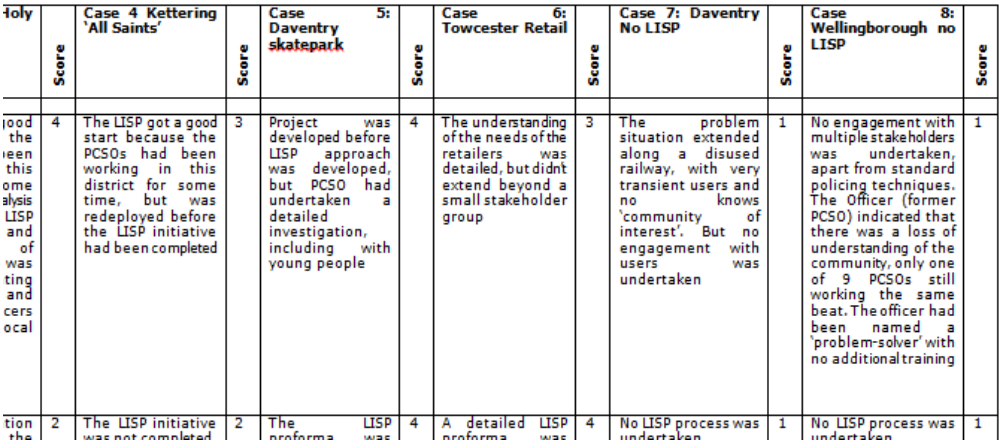
other hand were less thorough in their investigations, particularly at the start of the project, although the Spencer Haven project was very innovative in the systems diagrams that had been developed.



	Neighbourhood Policing Evidence	Features of LISP based Intensive Engagement	Case 1: 'Asian Gold'	Score	Case 2: 'Spencer Haven'	Score	Case 3: Holy Sepulchre	Score	Case 4 Kettering 'All Saints'	Score	Case 5: Daventry skatepark	Score
	What works											
M1	In-depth understanding of people, place and problems	In-depth investigation of the police crime problem in the context of the other problems experienced in the locality	The LISP proforma suggests that the PCSOs did not have an in-depth understanding of the burglaries- there are significant discrepancies between their reports and the published crime patterns, but their long-term engagement with the community meant that they fully understood the context of other problems.	2	The PCSO had been assigned to the district for some years, although reported not have engaged with the Haven in great detail in the past.	2	The LISP got a good start because the PCSOs had been working in this district for some time, but the analysis in the LISP documentation, and the choice of intervention was simplistic, indicating that the PCSOs and their senior officers had limited local knowledge	4	The LISP got a good start because the PCSOs had been working in this district for some time, but was redeployed before the LISP initiative had been completed	3	Project was developed before LISP approach was developed, but PCSO had undertaken a detailed investigation, including with young people	4
M2	Full and consistent application of interventions	The training (and subsequent evaluation of the quality of LISP work), and standard proforma	This LISP was seen through to the implementation of the chosen interventions and to the evaluation of the impact on policing outcomes by the force analyst.	4	The PCSO had attended the initial training and LISP design workshops, and at the time (2012) been critical and unconvinced of the approach. Nevertheless, in identifying the problem, a wide range of interventions were developed and implemented fully	3	The intervention chosen, the community garden, was not seen through to full implementation.	2	The LISP initiative was not completed. The proforma did not report on solutions, some practices were identified, but no evaluation criteria were identified. The primary PCSO was redeployed mid-LISP, despite having been on the neighbourhood for several years and having made significant progress already	2	The LISP proforma was completed in its entirety, with a lot of detail although with weak suggestions for evaluations	4
M3	Sufficient 'dose'	Success, i.e. depth	The 'dose' in this	4	The differences	3	The time allocated to	2	The time allocated	2	Critical mass was	4

Figure 4 Example of the evaluation of the Neighbourhood Policing Evidence mechanisms

Further to the right of this large spreadsheet of analysis is the commentary on the performance of the cases that were summarised in the previous chapter. Figure 5 shows that the Daventry and Wellingborough projects (cases 7 & 8) did not implement Mechanism 1, and were therefore given the lowest value.



Holy	Score	Case 4 Kettering 'All Saints'	Score	Case 5: Daventry skatepark	Score	Case 6: Towcester Retail	Score	Case 7: Daventry No LISP	Score	Case 8: Wellingborough no LISP	Score
ood the een this ome alysis LISP and of was ting and cers ocal	4	The LISP got a good start because the PCSOs had been working in this district for some time, but was redeployed before the LISP initiative had been completed	3	Project was developed before LISP approach was developed, but PCSO had undertaken a detailed investigation, including with young people	4	The understanding of the needs of the retailers was detailed, but didn't extend beyond a small stakeholder group	3	The problem situation extended along a disused railway, with very transient users and no knows 'community of interest'. But no engagement with users was undertaken	1	No engagement with multiple stakeholders was undertaken, apart from standard policing techniques. The Officer (former PCSO) indicated that there was a loss of understanding of the community, only one of 9 PCSOs still working the same beat. The officer had been named a 'problem-solver' with no additional training	1
tion the	2	The LISP initiative was not completed	2	The LISP proforma was	4	A detailed LISP proforma was	4	No LISP process was undertaken	1	No LISP process was undertaken	1

Figure 5 Further detail of the evaluation of the Neighbourhood Policing Evidence mechanisms

This process is continued across all 20 mechanisms, those from the neighbourhood policing literature, and from Pawson's hidden mechanism list. The nominal scores for each of the 20 mechanisms across all the 8 case studies can be brought together to provide an indication of the strongest and weakest mechanisms at work across the cases, as illustrated in Figure 6.

	Mechanism	Features of LISP based Intensive Engagement	Case 1: 'Asian Gold'	Case 2: 'Spencer Haven'	Case 3: Holy Sepulchre	Case 4 Kettering 'All Saints'	Case 5: Daventry skatepark	Case 6: Towcester Retail	Case 7: Daventry No LISP	Case 8: Wellingborough no LISP	Total Score across Mechanisms	Rank
M1	In-depth understanding of people, place and problems	In-depth investigation of the police crime problem in the context of the other problems experienced in the locality	2	2	4	3	4	3	1	1	20	8
M2	Full and consistent application of interventions	The training (and subsequent evaluation of the quality of LISP work), and standard proforma	4	3	2	2	4	4	1	1	21	7
M3	Sufficient 'dose' of intensive engagement with sufficient time	Success, i.e. depth of understanding of the problem and success of the interventions is determined by the working group rather than police timeframes	4	3	2	2	4	3	1	1	20	8
M4	Proactive contact	Deliberate choices are made at the screening stage about the importance of the locality to policing outcomes.	5	3	5	3	2	5	1	1	25	4
M5	A group of residents	Where community organisations appropriate to the problems don't exist, the LISP process creates the social capital and networks to allow this to happen	3	4	3	2	3	6	1	1	23	5
M6	Joint problem solving	Co-production of the problem analysis and solving stages is central	3	4	3	2	5	4	1	1	23	5
M7	Highly connected individuals	The LISP working group is made up of highly connected and highly capable people.	5	5	4	2	5	5	1	1	28	2
M8	Support is won	Working group members elicit a clearly understood self-interest that underpins expected successes to secure and 'win' support	5	4	2	1	5	3	1	1	22	6
M9	Attuned to community dynamics	The rich picturing processes develop a nuanced and empathetic understanding of the community and the issues and tensions within it.	5	5	4	4	5	3	1	1	28	2
M10	Tacit skills	Training, with the aid of the publicly available handbook, briefings to senior officers and a process of identifying the best implementations of LISP and mentoring of officers ensure that police skills are embedded and propagated across the force	4	4	4	4	5	5	1	1	28	2
M11	Not reliant on multi-agency delivery	Where statutory partners are actively engaged, LISP provides a clear and discrete method for limited involvement. Where statutory agencies are not engaged, LISP provides a clear evidence base for Police and community to hold statutory agencies to account.	4	5	2	2	5	5	1	1	25	4
M12	Recruit the stakeholders with care	Looking for the most highly connected, capable, and motivated: whose self-interest and motivation to contribute to public safety is understood	2	4	2	2	5	5	1	1	22	6
M13	Create expectations of change	Intensive Engagement is oriented towards collaboratively deciding on what change is needed, to design Solutions & Practices	5	4			4	5	1	1	20	8
M14	Demand effort from stakeholders	The LISP approach is designed to flip the Police response from 'what can we do?' to 'What solutions have you got?' for the Police.	5	5	4	3	5	5	1	1	29	1
M15	Offer encouragement and feedback	The process is designed to recognise existing assets and capabilities that the community, with the help of the Police, that can be enhanced to support Police outcomes (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993)	3	4	3	2	4	5	1	1	23	5
M16	Build trust and resilience	Long-term, locally based relationships are key to developing mature LISP informed interventions	5	5	3	1	5	5	1	1	26	3
M17	Make accommodations for set-backs	The embedding of the Motivational Interviewing 'stages of change model' (Prochaska and DiClemente, 1994; Rollnick and Miller, 1995; Miller and Rollnick, 2012) accounts for set-backs within the process of engagement	4	1	1	1	4	3	1	1	16	9
M18	Explain the theory of change	The theory of change for LISP is described as "collaboratively designed solutions and co-produced practices are more robust than short-term projects and limited engagement"	4	4	2	2	3	3	1	1	20	8
M19	Share execution and control of the intervention	The whole LISP model is built on recruiting capable and connected decision-makers and resources to the support of Police outcomes, and an attempt to 'loosen the reins' of Police controlled design and implementation	3	3	3	0	5	4	1	1	20	8
M20	Ensure onward external continuation	The purpose of the community designing and delivering the interventions that are unique to a locality is to ensure that the Police have a 'step-back and sustain' (rather than an exit) strategy freeing resource up to tackle other localities and problems, leaving a self-sustaining legacy	4	4	2	2	4	5	1	1	23	5
		Total score across cases	73	76	55	40	86	86	20	20		
		Ranking be most 'successful' case	2	3	4	5	1	1	6	6		

Figure 6 Nominal ranking of mechanisms across cases

If the nominal scores for each mechanism/case are ranked, as in the rightmost column of Figure 6, it is possible to establish which of the mechanisms across all the case studies were most strongly or weakly enacted. It appears that not all the mechanisms are triggered to the same extent. The idea of a trigger suggest that it is a one-off instant 'hair trigger' moment that fires a mechanism, like a gun. But if the mechanisms have differently weighted 'triggers' (light or heavy), using the same weight of pressure on the trigger might mean that some mechanisms don't fire even when we want them to.

This idea of the 'pressure' that need to be borne on a mechanism for it to be trigged can be used to modify the basic C-M-O model developed by Pawson (shown in Figure 7) into a more developed model shown in Figure 8.

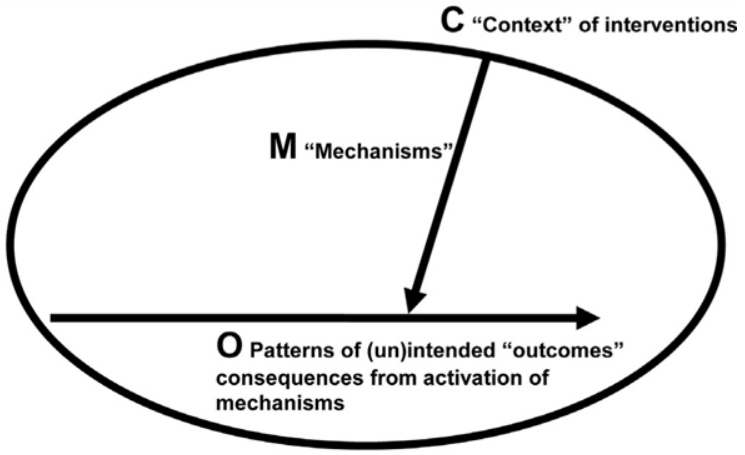


Figure 7 Pawson context-mechanism-outcome model

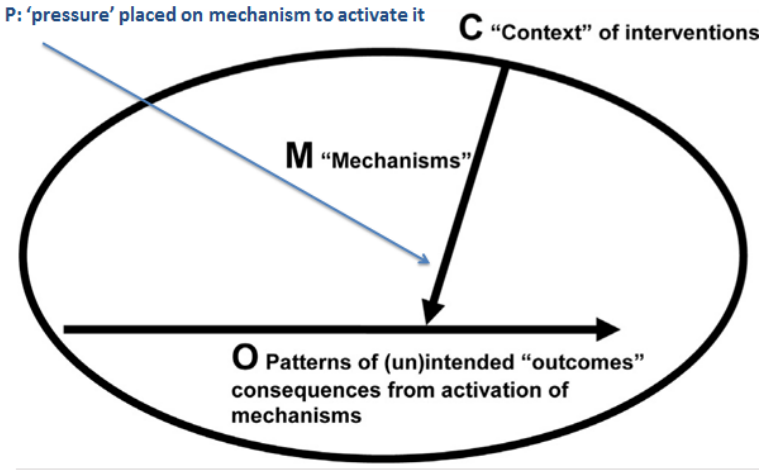


Figure 8 Pawson CMO model modified to show the role of 'pressure'

The rows coloured green in Figure 6 are the highest ranking mechanism, i,e, with the greatest nominal scores across all of the cases, and are singled out in Figure 9.

M7	Highly connected individuals	The LISP working group is made up of highly connected and highly capable people,
M9	Attuned to community dynamics	The rich picturing processes develop a nuanced and empathetic understanding of the community and the issues and tensions within it.
M10	Tacit skills	Training, with the aid of the publicly available handbook, briefings to senior officers and a process of identifying the best implementations of LISP and mentoring of officers ensure that police skills are embedded and propagated across the force
M14	Demand effort from stakeholders	The LISP approach is designed to flip the Police response from 'what can we do?' to 'What solutions have you got?' for the Police.
M16	Build trust and resilience	Long-term, locally based relationships are key to developing mature LISP informed interventions

Figure 9 The most active mechanisms across all cases

It is interesting to note that these five mechanisms relate quite closely to a number of discussions across the project about which parts of the LISP process were most important. It certainly seems here there finding the right people, understanding and empathising with the community, reinforcing the tacit skills of the PCSO (so that LISP is not a tickbox process), flipping the conversation with the public but in a context of trust and long-term resilience are the most important mechanisms at this point. This suggests that these are the mechanisms that were most readily engaged with by the PCSOs in a few months after their initial training.

Figure 10 below shows the mechanisms that were least active across the case studies.

M1	In-depth understanding of people, place and problems	In-depth investigation of the police crime problem in the context of the other problems experienced in the locality
M3	Sufficient 'dose' of intensive engagement with sufficient time	Success, i.e. depth of understanding of the problem and success of the interventions is determined by the working group rather than police timeframes
M17	Make accommodations for set-backs	The embedding of the Motivational Interviewing 'stages of change model' (Prochaska and DiClemente, 1994; Rollnick and Miller, 1995; Miller and Rollnick, 2012) accounts for set-backs within the process of engagement
M18	Explain the theory of change	The theory of change for LISP is described as "collaboratively designed solutions and co-produced practices are more robust than short-term projects and limited engagement"
M19	Share execution and control of the intervention	The whole LISP model is built on recruiting capable and connected decision-makers and resources to the support of Police outcomes, and an attempt to 'loosen the reins' of Police controlled design and implementation

Figure 10 The least active mechanisms across all cases

Intuitively, these also accord with the experiences and conversations across the whole project. These mechanisms represent those that have been the hardest to implement. Mechanism 1, the in-depth investigation into the problem, with the depth and breadth necessary was rarely done at the PCSO level, and was only significantly improved when the Priority Area work was published[25]. The 'dose' was also problematic, because PCSO were being constantly abstracted for additional police tasks, so it required a very determined and dedicated sergeant/inspector team to defend the use of the PCSOs time on LISP activities. The police culture is such that time for relationships, trust and resilience is rarely given, with very short timescales across all of policing. This also meant that little attention was given to planning for set-backs. Instead, where a set-back failed, or took too long to happen, the PCSO was taken 'off the task'. This was illustrated in the time that it took the PCSO in the All Saints Kettering case to access the landlords and employers, or the PCSOs in the Holy Sepulchre case being moved on to other tasks just before critical mass could have been achieved. This is also related to the two last mechanisms, in that the police found it difficult to elicit how they thought the world ought to change for crime (and calls for service) to reduce. They also struggled with the idea of co-creating solutions and sharing control over resources, even when those resources were not their own.

4.1.3. OUTCOMES

Desirable outcomes of neighbourhood policing would be incredibly diverse, and impossible to track. Pawson's approach to outcomes is to derive them from 'regularities', patterns of behaviour that he identifies from the policy interventions he is studying. Each of the LISP pilots established (or were supposed to) their own expected outcomes for each project. None of the pilots robustly measured whether the planned outcomes were achieved.

Throughout the interviews, the PCSOs, and in some cases the sergeants identified that reducing crime was not the only desirable outcome. Thus, the outcomes, for the police are more complex than merely reducing reported crime rates. Further, the desired outcomes of the residents and users of a given neighbourhood would equally be complex- perception and fear of crime is not connected directly to actual crime rates, so

[25] Prompting a shift of this task from PCSO to Sergeant and Inspector in future versions of the toolkit

improved feelings of safety and confidence may be as important as actual crime rates, Nevertheless, these are both important measures of police **performance**.

The **effectiveness** of a Police force, based on the 'Peelian principles' and expressed in the HMIC PEEL programme, is assessed in relation to how it carries out its responsibilities including cutting crime, protecting the vulnerable, tackling anti-social behaviour, and dealing with emergencies and other calls for service. Its **efficiency** is assessed in relation to how it provides value for money, and its **legitimacy** is assessed in relation to whether the force operates fairly, ethically and within the law.

Clearly, there is plenty of potential outcomes for the community stakeholders that could also be considered in this process. These could have been derived directly from the case studies themselves, from the outcomes expected by each of the LISP case studies. But, the cases were significantly less clear about the measures for success of the community stakeholders than anticipated, so there is no comparability across the cases. Had the research been able to cover the whole lifecycle of all the LISP cases, and all the LISP cases had decided on and measures progress against a basket of outcomes measures, as the toolkit requires, it would be possible to extend the CMO configuration exercise to cover non-police outcomes. Nevertheless, undertaking the exercise only with police-based outcomes still demonstrates the use of the concept.

Table 5 Outcomes from LISP activity

Code	For whom	Outcome
PO1	Police	**Performance**. Reduced demand, lower crime rates, less enforcement activity
PO2		**Effectiveness/Efficiency** Reduced activity per outcome. Greater focus on prevention than patrolling. Other statutory partners participating fully. Skills and assets levered from community to support crime reduction
PO3		Improved **legitimacy** and/or confidence in policing

5. CONCLUSIONS

The above analysis demonstrates that within the four most active mechanisms operating in the LISP toolkit, strong CMO configurations can readily be constructed between the context of a 'vulnerable locality', i.e that it is an area of high deprivation, chronic levels of crime and a complex problem situation. This doesn't mean that all other types of areas (low deprivation/high crime or low deprivation/low crime or low deprivation/low crime) LISP doesn't work, but, in the terms mentioned above, less 'pressure' would be necessary on different mechanisms. This was discussed extensively during the project, which gave rise to the 'strategising with LISP and the use of the CMO configurations as a tool to design innovative interventions. Rather than using CMOcs to analyse, post hoc, an intervention, one could start with the context, and desired outcomes, or start with context and mechanisms, and predict outcomes. It would also be possible to start with a project idea, understand the mechanisms and desired outcomes, and work back to identify appropriate contexts.

LISP was designed to be used in neighbourhoods identified using the Jill Dando Institute Vulnerable Localities Index, and in which complex chronic crime patterns are a part of wider complex social problems. Four of the pilot case studies have been investigated in detail, using Soft Systems Methodology as a means of structuring the comparison of the cases, and to derive conceptual models of the problem situations. The cases all varied significantly in the extent to which they fulfilled all the requirements of the designed LISP process, but all of those that produced a LISP proforma demonstrated some improvement in the performance, effectiveness and legitimacy. Twenty-seven mechanisms drawn from what works in neighbourhood policing and from other public policy interventions have been shown to be at work in the LISP framework, providing a most robust complex of key activities that make LISP projects successful in the appropriate contexts. This study has demonstrated that the 27 mechanisms satisfactorily map from the vulnerable locality contexts to the PEEL policing outcomes, therefore LISP is an effective new tool in the neighbourhood policing toolkit for engaging with high risk vulnerable neighbourhoods in an effective, legitimate and confidence building manner.

The police need to understand neighbourhoods as "complex systems of friendship and kinship networks, and formal & informal associational ties rooted in family life and person socialisation requirements" not just as a collection of streets, buildings and broken windows. Soft systems methodology employs this strategy for moving from the merely individualistic to the common experience. The research also considers the

organising of crime in and through these complex systems of friend and kin relationships, and intervene at a systems-, rather than individual-, level when tackling organised crime groups. Vibrant and disruptive drug dealing markets occur in, though and because of the presence of other neighbourhood problems, such as anti-social behaviour, high crime, poor quality housing, lack of local employment, or a bad reputation. Understanding these root causes better will ensure that neighbourhood policing tackles the causes of crime not just the symptoms.

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