# How to grow social innovation: A review and critique of scaling and diffusion for understanding the growth of social innovation[1]

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"Solutions to many of the world's most difficult social problems don't need to be invented, they only need to be found, funded and scaled". *Judith Rodin*[2]

## 1. Introduction

The idea of 'scaling' or 'scaling up' is increasingly the dominant framing for how success is understood in the field of social innovation (Dees 2004, 2010; Westley, 2010; de Bruin & Stangl, 2013). For many in the social sector, scale is a kind of Holy Grail. According to Bradach (2010), "there may be no idea with greater currency in the social sector than 'scaling what works'." This is by no means restricted to academia. The language of scaling is particularly common in the wider ecosystem of blogs, articles and grey literature that has sprung up around the term social innovation. It has been promoted by a wide range of actors, from management consultancies like McKinsey: 'Social innovation: A matter of scale' (Davis, 2010) to technology sites like Techcrunch: 'How do you scale social innovation start-ups?' (Kochi, 2013). It is also common among policymakers. A report from the Bureau of European Policy Advisors describes how "the field of social innovation remains fragmented and there is a need for more developed networks…to nurture and scale up social innovations" (BEPA, 2010). Similarly, a recent paper from the World Economic Forum and the Schwab Foundation entitled *Breaking the Binary: Policy Guide to Scaling Social Innovation* speaks of the need to "enhance and scale the impact of social innovation models pioneering solutions to many of the most entrenched social and environmental problems we face today" (Schwab Foundation, 2013).

But scaling is not the only way of framing discussions about the growth of social innovations. There is also an extensive and older literature that conceptualises the growth of innovations in terms of diffusion (Rogers, 1962; Greenhalgh et al, 2004). In this paper we examine the literature on both scaling and diffusion and analyse how appropriate each of these framings are to the broad field of social innovation. While scaling is a useful way of conceptualising the growth of certain kinds of social innovations, we argue that there are limits to its usefulness beyond the field of social enterprise. In addition, even though diffusion captures some of the complexity associated with spreading innovation, the literature has limited practical use in helping plan or facilitate that diffusion. We conclude that neither the concepts of 'scaling' or 'diffusion' will be adequate to describe all the ways in which different social innovations grow, spread and become institutionalised.

[2] Judith Rodin, quoted in Davis, 2010

These issues about the terms we use to conceptualise growth go beyond semantics; rather they point to some of the weaknesses in the way social innovation is currently discussed. If we want to talk meaningfully about the growth of social innovations, then it is necessary to talk about specific types of social innovation, each of which will have its own distinct language for growth and associated literatures. We end the paper with a first suggestion for a typology of different forms of social innovation and ways of thinking about growth for each.

## 2. Scaling

The use of 'scaling' in the social field can be traced to discussion in the NGO and development literature concerned with the capacity of non-profit organisations to impact on major challenges such as global poverty (Edwards and Hulme, 1992; Uvin and Miller, 1996). More recently, the concept of scaling features frequently in grey literature in the field of philanthropy and grantmaking which looks at non-profit readiness for scale and how grantmakers as 'impact investors' can take ideas to scale (Major, 2011, Koh, Karamchandani and Katz, 2012).

The literature that deals explicitly with scaling social innovation is typically concerned with unpacking what scaling might look like in different contexts and strategies for achieving this. An early paper by Dees et al (2004) outlines three distinct strategies for spreading social innovations: dissemination, affiliation and branching. Dissemination is about "providing information, and sometimes technical assistance, to others looking to bring an innovation to their community" (Dees et al, 2004: 28). Affiliation is about creating formal relationships with specific agreements to create an identifiable network. Branching is "the creation of local sites through one large organisation, much like company-owned stores in the business world" (Dees et al, 2004: 28). The authors suggest we think of these three forms of scaling as a continuum that requires an increasing degree of central co-ordination and increasing resources.

Figure 1: Dees, Anderson and Wei-Skillern (2004) spectrum of scaling mechanisms



dissemination    affiliation    branching

central co-ordination
resource requirements
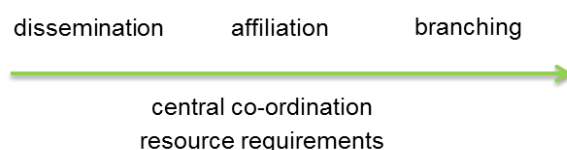
In a more recent paper, Lyon and Fernandez (2012) develop a typology of strategies for scaling, using case studies of early years' providers in the UK as their focus. Their typology includes three kinds of scaling: growth within the organisation, formalised relationships with other providers, and open access sharing and disseminating for good practice. At one end there are strategies very much focused on the activities of a single organisation, and at the other there are strategies which are about providing tools and resources to enable others to take on an innovative practice. They argue that these types of scaling represent a spectrum that moves from high to low levels of control over how innovations are implemented, and low to high scale of impact of innovations. In other words, there is a key trade off between impact and control: "with increases in scale, the original innovator wanting to scale up will have less control" (Lyon and Fernandez, 2012: 11).

Both of these typologies make clear that while scaling in the business field refers to organisational growth, in the social field the key idea is 'scaling social impact'. While this term is often asserted without further definition, one definition is provided by the Centre for the Advancement of Social Entrepreneurship (CASE) at Fuqua Business School as "the process of increasing the impact a social purpose organisation produces to better match the magnitude of the social need or problem it seeks to address" (CASE, 2008).

As well as typologies, there have been some attempts to build models to describe what is necessary for successful scaling. For example, Bloom and Chatterji's (2009) SCALERS model draws on learning from strategic management, organisational behaviour and marketing to identify seven different drivers for scaling a social venture: Staffing, Communicating, Alliance-building, Lobbying, Earnings-generation, Replicating and Stimulating market forces.  A later paper (Bloom and Smith, 2010) builds on this model in two ways: highlighting the theoretical foundations on which it is built, and then testing it out empirically. Other work has looked in more detail at specific routes to scale, such as social franchising (Tracey and Jarvis, 2007).[3]

The common thrust of this work is that social innovators and entrepreneurs need to move beyond thinking about scaling as organisational growth and focus instead on scaling social impact. Dees et al (2004) state that their typology is intended to demonstrate to innovators that there are "various mechanisms for spreading their impact" other than organisational growth and central co-ordination. Similarly, Lyon and Fernandez note in their typology that "there is a need to go beyond a preoccupation with growth within specific organisations" (Lyon and Fernandez, 2012: 14). In addition, Clark et al (2012: 5) in their review of the literature on scaling over the past decade, note that there has been a shift "away from the concept of scaling as organisational growth and towards the concept of scaling impact, or the outcomes the organisation has generated beyond just the organisation itself". They note increasing interest in what they call non-replication strategies as opposed to forms of scaling that involve geographical replication (setting up new sites or branches). These non-replication options include "affiliating with new partners, disseminating ideas about change models directly or indirectly, working to change policy environments and other strategies to create thought change or promote a social movement" (Clark et al, 2012: 5).

Some recent work on non-replication strategies includes the concept of open sourcing and "becoming the platform upon which users innovate" (McPhedran Waitzer and Paul 2011). This has also been explored through a case study of KaBoom!, a US non-profit that was able to scale its impact by disseminating its model online (McLeod and Fulton, 2010).

This focus on scaling impact as opposed to scaling organisations has been presented by some as a new direction for the fields of social innovation and social entrepreneurship. McPhedran Waitzer and Paul (2011: 143) argue that "a new paradigm has emerged in recent years that focuses on scaling social impact without necessarily increasing the size of the organisation

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[3] Tracey and Jarvis' paper is an example of more conceptual detailed examination of a route to scale. They attempt to develop a theory of social venture franchising by assessing how far common theories of commercial franchising (the resource scarcity theory and the agency theory) are applicable to social franchising. They use detailed analysis of a social enterprise franchise which failed – Aspire – to develop a number of propositions about social franchising. Although they acknowledge this does not amount to a definitive conceptual analysis of social franchising (and they are cautious about over generalising from a single case study), it does, they argue, "move us closer" to a theory of social venture franchising.

behind it".  Bradach (2010: 28) even suggests that "finding ways to scale impact without scaling the size of an organisation is the new frontier for work in our field".

### 2.1    The problem with 'scaling'

The literature on scaling social impact is clearly at an early stage of development. As Clark et al (2012:6) note, work on what they call 'non-replication strategies' is "newer, less formalized and less complete".  They comment that "there are few case studies, almost no empirical studies and very few tested or generalizable theories".  Indeed, as we have noted, in much of the literature it is widely asserted that scaling impact is preferable to organisational growth; but much of the literature ends with that assertion.

We argue that there are some inherent difficulties with applying the mantra of 'scale impact not organisation' to the field of social innovation. First, it is questionable how well this terminology moves us beyond thinking through an organisational lens. As Meyerson, Berger and Quinn (2011) highlight, the work of scholars that urges those in the non-profit sector to "attend to impact rather than size" still "tends to focus on ways to maximise the impact of a focal organisation".  This is not surprising since the terms 'scale', 'scaling' and 'scale up' are all firmly rooted in an organisational context.

Second, 'scale' and 'scaling up' both have clear connotations of starting small and growing larger. Of course in some instances, this will be just the right metaphor; for new social ventures (as with any start-up), growing into a sustainable operation is a key focus, particularly in the early years. But not all social innovations are social ventures or grow like social ventures. In many instances, innovators are working within established systems or institutions. This is especially the case in the public sector where innovation rarely starts from scratch with a new pilot project which is then grown into an institution or public service. Of course new institutions are created, but more often, existing structures and services are reformed, adjusted and adapted. This point is made by Cullinane (2013). Writing about the challenge of innovation in public education she says, "given these inherent complications, it's arguable that the basic premise of 'scaling up' – that one starts with small pilot projects, and then grows the number of colleges or individuals served – is untenable."  Indeed, there are cases where innovation at scale (i.e. at the national rather than project level) or systemic innovation might be more useful ways of conceptualising the growth of social innovations within the public sector.

Third, the concept of 'scaling' has strong connotations of standardisation and central control that are at odds with the nature of problems that social innovation generally addresses. Scalability is about the ability to increase capacity without a huge increase in overheads. This is particularly applicable to manufacturing where the aim is to achieve economies of scale: as you produce more of the same product, the average cost per unit decreases as fixed costs are spread over more units of output.  Of course in the social field where context is crucial, reinvention and adaptation will always be at least, if not more, important than standardisation; social outcomes are not 'products' that can be easily made to formula and packaged.  Yet this idea of efficient production of identical units of 'social impact' is exactly what is suggested by Bradach's (2010: 27) frequently quoted statement that we should be concerned with "how we can get one hundred times the impact with only two times change in unit size".

This issue becomes clear when we think about the context of social innovation and public services. While scaling might have been appropriate terminology for a mid twentieth century model of public services based around the idea of delivering standardised packages of care, it does not sit well with more recent discourses on public sector innovation (Murray, Caulier-Grice and Mulgan, 2009). Here ideas of 'personalisation' (Leadbeater, 2004), 'empowerment' (Craig and Mayo, 1995; Communities and Local Government, 2008), and 'co-production' (Stephens, Ryan-Collins and Boyle, 2008) are the dominant narratives around innovation. All of these involve complex interactions between individuals and state providers, and as some have argued, a new conception of the state as 'relational' (Cooke and Muir, 2012). Terminology of scaling up, which has strong associations with standardisation, is at odds with these important currents in thinking about public sector innovation.

Fourth, the concept of scaling also fails to capture the political nature of much social innovation. Particularly within the public sector, innovation usually involves competing claims for power and resources. It often entails new laws, regulations or entitlements. This point is observed by Tonkinwise (2010) writing about design for social innovation. Even social innovation design projects that often seem far removed from the political sphere (he gives the example of various sharing economy projects such as meal sharing schemes) will usually need to interact with government in order to 'scale'. He comments that in many cases "these sorts of social innovations need to get regulations changed. Amplifying social innovations would demand rewriting laws as a result of carefully designed electoral pressure." This aspect is also poorly captured in narratives about 'scaling social impact'.

The language of 'scaling up' or 'scaling impact' might make sense in the context of social enterprises or other social ventures. But to what extent does this terminology resonate with other forms of social innovation? We argue that scaling does not provide an adequate framing for many other forms of social innovation such as developing new legislation (e.g. new entitlements and rights), or re-designing existing services (e.g. innovation in health and education).

## 3. Diffusion

Another dominant concept for spreading an innovation is that of diffusion. If terminology around 'scaling' tends to suggest organisational growth, then in diffusion studies, the focus is firmly on the adopter of the innovation or the innovation itself. The literature here is also much more extensive than that around scaling, spanning 60 years of scholarship. While we do not attempt to summarise this exhaustively, below we provide a brief overview of diffusion studies and assess the contribution this might make to the discussion of spreading social innovation.

### 3.1    Early diffusion theory

Diffusion studies are primarily concerned with the question: why do some things spread more quickly than others? Early research conceptualised diffusion as the adoption of ideas or practices by individuals, largely through imitation and discovered that the adoption curve was s-shaped (Ryan and Gross, 1943). The most influential thinker in the field of early diffusion studies is Everett Rogers (1962) whose *Diffusion of Innovations* remains a dominant text on the

subject. Rogers argued that differences in the rate of adoption can be attributed to the nature of both the innovation and the adopter. He suggests we can identify a set of six attributes or characteristics of an innovation that influence and determine the rate of its diffusion. These include whether the innovation is simple to adopt, whether its benefits are observable prior to adoption, whether it is compatible with existing values and behaviours. Rogers also argues that adopters can be categorised into distinct groups: innovators, early adopters, the early majority, the late majority and laggards.

Both of these frameworks have been challenged by later research. The idea that diffusion and adoption are dependent on the attributes of an innovation assumes that we can identify any given innovation as possessing attributes in an unproblematic way. But as Dearing (1994: 19) and colleagues point out, conceptualising innovations as 'having' attributes tends to "obscure the importance of human perception in the diffusion of innovation". Different actors may perceive attributes very differently; attributes are not necessarily fixed or stable features, and on their own are not sure determinants of their adoption or assimilation. Similarly, the categorisation of adopters has been criticised by later researchers. Greenhalgh et al (2004: 143) suggest that adopter categories are "misused as explanatory variables" and are "over-simplistic and value-laden terms." It is clear that people fall into different categories depending on the innovation and so the concept of fixed adopter characteristics is as problematic as the concept of fixed attributes of an innovation.

One of the aspects of earlier diffusion studies that still endures is the importance of diffusion networks – that is, the role of mass media, opinion leaders and interpersonal contacts. Coleman et al (1966) found that doctors who were linked in more interpersonal networks were faster adopters of a new drug than those who were more isolated. Granovetter (1973) also identified the importance of interpersonal networks and argued that 'weak ties' (acquaintances) rather than strong ties (of friends and family) played a critical role in the diffusion of innovations. He suggested that weak ties act as bridges between tightly knit social groups and therefore facilitate the transfer of information and innovations across those subgroups.

### 3.2 Organisational diffusion

Early diffusion research was very much focused on individuals as adopters and was "essentially institution free" (Tarrow, 2010). The first attempts to look at diffusion in the context of organisations tended to simply transfer lessons from classical diffusion studies so that "each organisation in these studies was reduced to the equivalent of an individual" (Rogers, 2003). However later work has looked at diffusion in organisations as a distinctive area of study. This literature is particularly relevant for social innovation to the extent that we are interested in the complex process of spreading innovations across existing systems and organisations.

Diffusion in organisations is still very much a contested field (Rye and Kimberley, 2007, Robert et al, 2009). [4] However, it is possible to trace a number of common themes that make clear the complexity associated with spreading innovations.

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[4] Rye and Kimberley (2007) argue that it is still the case that "we have no widely accepted theory of innovation adoption in organisations". Others have explored why there seems to be slow progress in terms of agreed findings in this field. For example, Robert et al (2009) highlight that one of the major problems stalling progress in this area

First, organisational diffusion offers us a more nuanced understanding of what 'adoption' looks like. Complex innovations are not usually a 'thing' with fixed boundaries, but are typically made up of a hard 'core' of irreducible elements (for example, a new kind of operation procedure) and a 'soft periphery' of structures and systems in the adopting organisation that need to form around it in order to support its implementation (Denis et al, 2002). The development of these structures and systems represents the process of adoption, which is best studied using a qualitative approach of behaviour within organisations over time (Fitzgerald et al, 2003).

Second, the process of innovation (from idea generation to diffusion) within organisations rarely follows a predictable, staged pattern (Van de Ven et al, 1999). We should think of organisations not moving "sequentially through an ordered process of awareness-evaluation-adoption-implementation" (Greenhalgh et al, 2004: 143). Rather, we should recognise the adoption process as being "complex, iterative, organic and untidy".

Third, decisions to adopt are not made only on the basis of a rational assessment of the strength of evidence for an innovation's benefits. While scientific evidence is important, it is "not sufficient in itself to ensure that an innovation diffuses in practice" (Fitzgerald et al, 2003). Indeed, Fitzgerald et al. (2003) challenge the idea that there is some single entity that is called 'evidence' – rather there are competing bodies of evidence that will be debated and discussed amongst professional networks.

Other important topics of study include the concept of organisational routines (which can reinforce the status quo and make the adoption of new processes difficult) (Edmondson et al. 2001) and the impact of the climate of teams who are responsible for adopting an innovation (Gosling et al, 2003). Other work has highlighted the importance of framing for innovation diffusion. Karl Weick's (1995) book *Sensemaking in Organisations,* makes clear that when people are called on to enact an innovation, they do so by ascribing some meaning to it. To be assimilated, innovations need to make sense in a way that somehow relates to previous experience and understanding. Others point to the importance of mechanisms that will legitimise or delegitimise an innovation. For example, Westphal et al (1997) note that "as innovation spreads, a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance". (Westphal et al, 1997: 148).

Fourth, work on organisational diffusion also acknowledges that the diffusion of innovation is closely connected to existing power and interests. Moss Kanter (1989) has highlighted the political and confrontational nature of innovation in organisations. Innovation, she argues is "at its core…replete with disputes caused by differences in perspectives among those touched by an innovation and the change it engenders." Others have noted that it is easier to build support for change the more that the risks and benefits of an innovation map onto the interests, values and power of the actors in the adopting organisation (Denis et al, 2002). Still others have highlighted the importance of relationship to national and local policy agendas for successful diffusion (Hughes et al, 2002). However, in general, the relationship between organisational diffusion and wider dynamics of politics and power remains an under-researched area (Greenhalgh et al, 2004).

is the lack of clarity in many studies over the type of innovation being studied, the stage of the process being considered and the type of organisation included in the study – making comparability problematic.

3.3     Diffusing social innovation?

How useful is the diffusion paradigm for thinking about social innovation? We argue that it is a helpful frame in a number of ways. Most importantly, recent diffusion studies highlight the inherent complexity of spreading an innovation. It is clear from even the brief summary above that the diffusion of innovations is never a linear, orderly or easily co-ordinated process. This perspective is often missing from discourses on 'scaling impact' which usually imply that spreading a social innovation is something that can be controlled and planned for in ways analogous to organisational growth.

Scholarship on the subject also highlights the fact that diffusion is a social process. People are embedded in social relationships, so the diffusion of an innovation is shaped by the nature of those relationships. Diffusion is not a rational process; the way in which people interact with and frame an innovation are likely to be more important than evidence establishing its advantages. This is particularly interesting given that a lack of shared metrics for measuring the impact of social innovations is often given as a reason for why spreading innovation is particularly difficult in the social field (Mulgan, Joseph and Norman, 2013). Lastly, research on diffusion within organisations is a helpful reference point for forms of social innovation that take place within complex organisational settings such as education and healthcare.

However, there are also some limitations to the diffusion framing. Looking at diffusion within organisational contexts comes very close to the study of change management in some cases. This will be especially problematic for those who understand social innovation in terms of disruptive rather than incremental change. Some might question how relevant strategies for integrating an innovation into an existing system are to social innovation. On the other hand, diffusion also suggests gradual spread whereas some innovations might be better characterised by "sudden tipping points or cascades of change that are discontinuous" (Westley and Antadze, 2010).

Perhaps the most significant limitation of the diffusion framing is the problem of practical application. Diffusion literature tends to be descriptive, attempting to explain why diffusion of an innovation succeeds or fails. Given the current understanding of the complexity of diffusion and the emphasis on individual organisational context, there is an understandable (and perhaps wise) reluctance to turn this research into prescriptions, recommendations or strategies. There have been some attempts to draw out some rules of thumb for how well organisations are positioned to assimilate innovations, based on the literature. For example, Robert (2009) suggests a list of eleven characteristics that organisations should have if they are likely to assimilate innovations. However, this is still a long way from a set of strategies for diffusing innovation. The fact that diffusion is characterised by ex-post analysis rather than by active strategy may go some way to explaining why 'scaling' has seemed like a much more attractive language for thinking about spreading social innovation.

## 4.  Conclusion

This paper has considered two alternative frames for thinking about the growth of social innovation. We have reviewed and problematized the concepts of 'scaling' and 'diffusion'. We have noted that while scaling might make sense when thinking about the growth of social enterprises, it is not the right lens for thinking about spreading other forms of innovation - such as practices, policies and behaviours - or innovations to existing systems or organisations. And, while diffusion studies give us a more nuanced understanding of adoption processes within organisations and highlights the importance of interpersonal networks in the diffusion process, diffusion models are primarily descriptive tools – they have limited use in helping us to plan for or facilitate diffusion. In summary, neither framing will on its own be adequate for conceptualising growth for every form of social innovation.

Although it may sound like a debate about semantics, we argue that the different frames that are being applied highlight significant issues within the wider field of social innovation. The enthusiasm we observe for the language of 'scaling' in part reflects the current dominance of social entrepreneurship within social innovation.[5] These two concepts are still frequently used interchangeably; the conflation of social enterprise and social innovation was noted by Barraket and Furneaux (2012) who observe that "to date, the social innovation produced by social enterprise has largely been presumed rather than empirically demonstrated".[6] However, there is also agreement amongst researchers that we ought to distinguish more carefully between these concepts. Alex Nicholls visualises the relationship between social enterprise, social entrepreneurship, and social innovation in the following way:

Figure 2: Nichols, Presentation to 4th ISIRC, September 2012



*Social Innovation*

*Social Entrepreneurship*
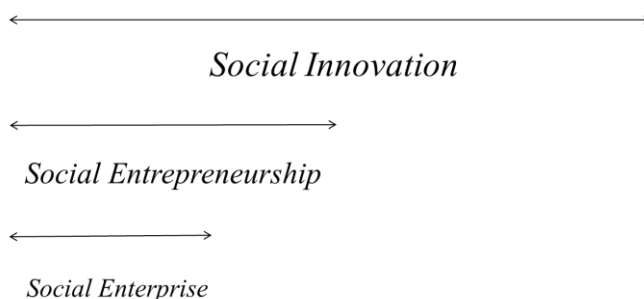
*Social Enterprise*

Here, social entrepreneurship and social enterprise are characterised as sub-sets of the broader field of social innovation. Similarly, Westley and Antadze (2010) take care to distinguish between the three concepts, seeing social entrepreneurship as being concerned with the individual, social enterprise with organisations and social innovation with systems.

But although there is general agreement about the idea that social enterprise is just one part of a much wider landscape of social innovation, there is still a lack of clarity and specificity about what else constitutes social innovation. As David Floyd (2013) notes, "we've apparently embraced the idea that supporting social innovation, and investing in potentially profitable

[5] The dominance of social entrepreneurship as a grand narrative or ideology which has received little critical attention has been noted recently by Day and Steyaert (2012)
[6] The ISIRC conference could be seen as an example of this tendency to conflate terminology; while its conference title includes 'Social innovation,' the majority of the content addresses social enterprise and social entrepreneurship.

trading charities and social enterprises to enable them to scale up and grow, are the same thing.  In reality, they're separate activities which sometimes overlap".

What other forms does social innovation take? If we are going to talk about growing social innovation in any way that is meaningful, then we need to go beyond using 'social innovation' generically or as our unit of analysis. Instead we need to be clear about what exactly it is that we want to grow or spread. Different frames for growth will be appropriate to the different types of social innovation we identify. For example, scaling might be an appropriate way of conceptualising the growth of a social enterprise such as Divine chocolate. Here the existing literatures on the challenges for hybrid organisations, as well as business management literatures will be relevant. However, where the social innovation in question is a new form of behaviour that needs to be taken up by organisations, (for example, personalised budgets) the framing of diffusion or implementation may be the more relevant way to think about growth. Similarly, if we are focusing on how a particular entitlement or service becomes part of law, the frame of policy diffusion may be most appropriate.

The importance of developing a typology for social innovations has been noted previously (Hochgerner, 2011). In the typology below, we set out a first suggestion for forms of social innovation and the way growth is best conceptualised in these. In addition to 'scaling' and 'diffusion' we suggest some other terms for denoting growth which might be more relevant for some forms of social innovation. We also indicate the relevant literatures for each that might prove fruitful. Given that social innovation as a field is a way of thinking about much existing activity, we argue it is important to connect it with relevant existing literatures.

Figure 2: A typology of social innovation and forms of growth

| Form of social innovation | Conceptualising growth as… | Relevant fields of study |
|---|---|---|
| New social enterprise/venture (e.g. Divine chocolate) | Scaling; scaling up | Nonprofit management ; social enterprise and social entrepreneurship studies; business management |
| New legislation (e.g. equal pay/anti discrimination legislation) | Policy diffusion | Political science; policy studies; public administration |
| New behaviour (individual led e.g. recycling, ethical consumption) | Diffusion; behaviour change | Cognitive psychology, behavioural economics; communication studies |
| New service (organisation led e.g. personalised budgets) | Organisational diffusion; implementation; systems change | Organisational diffusion; change management |

This typology is an early suggestion. We recognise that it is unlikely to be exhaustive and that there is clearly work to be done to test out how useful are the different frames for growth and to fill out the literatures that might be most relevant.   It also raises a number of immediate questions. First, are the forms of social innovation the right ones? Clearly they interact to a large extent. For example, new behaviours both shape and are shaped by new legislation. And

new ventures can engender new behaviours (for example, the relationship between a Fairtrade social enterprise and ethical purchasing as a form of behaviour). We have also focused on tangible forms of social innovation that can be observed in the actions of individuals, groups and institutions. But is there a case for including new concepts (such as civil rights or gender equality) as a form of social innovation?

Second, this typology raises questions about how we conceptualise levels of social innovation and growth. If we are interested in large scale social transformation, might it be more fruitful to think about how many social innovations of different forms can interact to constitute a social movement? This is clearly a very different question to how we can grow, diffuse or scale different social innovations.

The typology outlined above represents a starting point for discussion. We hope that this paper will contribute to a richer debate on social innovation that moves away from thinking about 'growing social innovation' generically and towards greater specificity and conceptual clarity.

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