

MATRYOSHKA DOLLS AND BOUNDARY INFRASTRUCTURING – NAVIGATING AMONG INNOVATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

In several present discourses and practices that are involved in innovation and development projects it seems like there is a strong emphasis on management and planning with agreements and clear goals as the crucial components. In this paper we propose another approach that more acknowledge the complexity and messiness of innovation. We will discuss how we through Malmö Living Labs have navigated across an ecology of ongoing projects and innovation policies that we try to merge into something coherent and meaningful in multiple ways. The networks resemble the nested Russian Matryoshka dolls; unveiling one dimension you find another one. Inspired by the concepts of boundary objects and boundary infrastructuring we will argue that, by acknowledging these concepts as the strongest common frame during complex collaboration across disciplines and communities of practice, an informal, creative and flexible practice can get more space to flourish.

INTRODUCTION

Chris Mowles made a keynote on the 2011 PINC conference where he, based on the accepted conference papers, argued that he could distinguish two very different approaches or narratives to innovation that were represented at the conference. According to Mowles both are important/crucial and interdependent, but one of them, which he labelled the “management narrative”, was very dominant. The other, that almost seemed to be suppressed by the first, he termed as the

“complexity narrative”. The management narrative brings forward key concepts such as planning, control, strategy development, common visions and agreements and heroic managers that make rational choices. The complexity narrative on the other hand takes a more mundane approach and view innovation as something that can't easily be fixed in models or abstractions and where innovation constantly emerge in everyday life through “ongoing active participation in the exploration of difference and diversity in organisations or communities”(Mowles 2011).

Jesper Blomberg who is a researcher in management and organisation at Stockholm business school has similar to Mowles found that most narratives and literature about development projects stress that successful projects needs clear, fixed and common goals with clear boundaries and that they are well planned. However, he could from studying several different development project present findings that were quite contrary to this view. In practice, the most successful projects seem to have been less planned and allowing undefined boundaries as well as imprecise and different goals to reside within the project group. What has been the most characteristic aspect of successful practice is continuous negotiation and flexibility. He could actually state that (although most management handbooks proclaim the opposite) projects that have been the most rigorously planned also have been evaluated as the least successful (Blomberg 2003).

Despite the dominating management narratives and perspectives on innovation and development projects it's possible to find support for a complexity narrative in several disciplines. In the field of urban development

Nabeel Hamdi put forward emergence as more crucial than planning and strategic design though the latter he argues often inhibits progress and development (Hamdi 2004). The discrepancy between plans and the situated nature of human social interaction brought up by Lucy Suchman among others (Suchman 1987) has for long also been central to the field of participatory design. Finally, not only in innovation work but also in the more “stable” everyday practice, informal strategies seem to be more suitable to both handle unexpected situations and keep up the everyday work, compared to plans and formal procedures. Argyris and Schön have termed this informal and often situated and unarticulated approach as theories-in-use, which they compare to “espoused theories” that are the official and more idealized description of work (Argyris & Schön 1996).

We have for many years been involved in the participatory design field and bringing up this rhetoric within that research community would be to kick in open doors. However, when participatory design lately has moved from a workplace focus towards engagement in multiple public spheres and we have started to collaborate across organizational and community borders and multiple sites, the complexity of collaboration has increased (Björgvinsson et al 2010, 2012). This multifaceted continuously evolving “collaboration matrix” constantly brings up different views on innovation, policies and projects and makes it once more important for us to challenge the still hegemonic management narrative on innovation and most often also acknowledge the importance of informal strategies. What can you agree upon in these emerging collaborations or do you need to? What could be the consensus or do you need any? How can you navigate in a plurality of innovation policies and local practices?

We will in this paper elaborate these questions by discussing how we have explored innovation (or rather alternative future making) through Malmö Living Labs and tried to move beyond a precisely defined and well-planned project construction into more open-ended explorations together with heterogeneous stakeholders.

Although striving for long term working relations rather than pre-defined projects we have encountered not only an ecology of people, artefacts and processes that we try to bring into artful integration (Suchman 2004), but also an ecology of ongoing projects that we try to merge into something coherent and multiply meaningful. The cases we will discuss have been situated in the intersection between our Malmö Living labs activities, the European funded project Periphèria, the city of Malmö’s projects Climate smart living and Sustainable cities as well as in the intersection of living labs, social innovation, participatory design and public management.

BACKGROUND

In contemporary innovation strategies some cornerstones for successful environments have gained

increased attention. Firstly, we can observe how the understanding of participation as foundational for successful contemporary innovation strategies has been increasingly spread far beyond the participatory design community. Likewise the notions of design, “design thinking” and human-centred design are seen as strong drivers in innovation processes. Finally, the role of new media, and the way new media can pave way for inclusive participation models have been seen as promising components of for example open innovation. These expectations on ‘open innovation’ imply not just the industry but also to the ways government and other institutions work and collaborate with society (Chesbrough et al. 2006).

In Malmö, with a base at the university we are heavily engaged in experiments within this field, and have conducted a long number of research innovations and projects in collaboration with external partners from the industry, the public sector, NGO’s, academia among others. In this work methods and ideas from Participatory Design, Social Innovation and Living Labs have been foundational frames for setting up partnerships and collaboration projects between a diverse set of actors. While some of these activities are project-based or have had the character of more free-standing research experiments, a major focus has also been how to build resilient networks and long-standing relationships. An integral and important part of building such “networks of design” is the actual network of living people and organizations. In many cases such networks hoover around a specific project, dealing with specific issues. A living lab approach can however also build longstanding relations to stakeholders without having a specific project in mind, instead trying to localize innovative potential among communities and people. It becomes an issue to, not only understand the everyday practices and needs among stakeholders, but also to build a mutual trust that extends beyond specific project activities. Malmö Living Labs is a cluster of community driven living labs situated in Malmö in the south of Sweden with three nodes; the STAGE, FABRIKEN and the NEIGHBOURHOOD. Although different in orientation and geographical locations, they are all based on participatory- and user-driven design and innovation activities and of central importance in the work; they all grow out of social movements. Cases discussed in this paper come chiefly from activities based on The Neighbourhood lab work, and especially in the participation in the EU funded Periphèria project.

DESIGN AND OPEN-ENDED EXPLORATIONS.

It’s a myth that projects have clear boundaries and strict timelines and they never start from scratch (Blomberg 2003). When Periphèria started we had already through Living Lab the Neighbourhood been involved in some small-scale explorations driven from a citizens and community perspective. Through these we had engaged with diverse NGO:s in design activities to explore the

potential of social innovation and collaborative services. This work was mainly focused on a specific neighbourhood Rosengård in Malmö that is characterized by a large population of immigrants from other countries. The district has been reported as having a lot of social problems, being an area of conflict, a tight population, high unemployment rates and the highest child poverty in Sweden. This image is also contrasted by many and the area has a huge variety of creative movements, many of a grass root character. The focus on this area as well as most of our ongoing activities, networks and stakeholders was brought into Periphèria.

The collaboration with the City of Malmö started a short time before Periphèria entered the scene and it started because some civil servants on key positions at the environmental department and the central city office found out about our design driven urban explorations and contacted us. One was responsible for a huge EU-funded project called “Sustainable cities” that aimed at renewing Rosengård towards sustainability. Another was in charge of the “Area based program”, an initiative that by using new approaches focused on economic and social recovery on four urban areas of which Rosengård was one. Without signing any contracts or agreements we tried to see how we could find shared interests and a way of working together. Crucial to mention, was also that we quite soon realized that these civil servants and we shared some common values and interests in exploring new ways of working.

THE AREA BASED PROGRAM

The civil servant responsible for the “Area based program” expressed a huge interest in social innovation and design and at first it seemed as this could be a great opportunity for collaboration. However it would turn out that this would not be an easy achievement. Although the head of the organisation (and others) promoted Medea at Malmö University as a collaborating partner and the basic principle behind the organisation would be open collaborative formats with design inspired approaches, it would turn out that some key civil servants were reluctant to collaborate with us. Trying to do an inquiry into why this was the case and what we could do to overcome it would turn out to be hard. Also the whole notion of design was not very well received by many and turned out to pose several challenges; one of them regarded the design vocabulary. To deal with this, one of our colleagues together with a group of civil servants (that promoted collaboration) did a serious effort to re-formulate the vocabulary so it would fit the municipal language and culture using phrases such as: The empathic perspective! Collaborative problem formulation! Test early and test again! Despite this effort, it turned out to be hard to have the Area based program as a shared platform that we could work from. However, we could continue our work by collaborating with Sustainable cities, but these two municipal projects were deeply entangled which potentially would endanger our opportunities to collaborate constructively.

SUSTAINABLE CITIES

Although we shared the core values of “Sustainable cities” (increasing sustainability), the majority of the planned activities regarded investment in new physical infrastructure such as a new ecological housing stock and a new train station, nothing of this was easy to connect to our ongoing interest in local communities. One of the subprojects, “The path”, that aimed at enhancing public space in Rosengård and create a better connection between the city center and Rosengård through new public meeting places and activity areas, seemed as a better starting point for collaboration.

It was during this phase the lab also joined Periphèria where researchers and citizens from five European “smart cities” experiment together to promote sustainable lifestyles. The project aims to unleash the potential of Future Internet and Internet of Things to bring about the transformational shift in urban structures, lifestyles and work styles required to reach economic, social, environmental and cultural sustainability. This occurs through the Living Lab-like co-design and co-creation of specific city infrastructures and patterns of behaviour driven by Future Internet possibilities such as Social Networks, Web 2.0, sensed and geo-referenced data, Serious Games, etc. Our focus in this paper is not the designs themselves, but rather how our interaction with the Malmö Municipality and other actors that have been involved in the collaborative design. We got a formal contract and commitment from the leading managers at the environmental department that they would collaborate with Periphèria. However several of the concepts and the vocabulary behind Periphèria such as “Internet of Things”, Living Labs, didn’t seem to make sense for the civil servants. Still we thought it would be good to somehow connect this framework.

Compared to the Area-based program the attitude towards collaboration was much more open and when we started we did it on very informal grounds without formal agreements and detailed plans. We participated on each other’s workshops and we tried to make use of each other’s networks and collectively mobilize competences. From our living lab networks we brought in RGRA and Herrgårds Women association, two NGO:s we had collaborated with previously. We also brought in two interaction design companies, Unsworn Industries and Do-Fi, and successfully convinced the municipality that new technology and interaction design potentially could strengthen their efforts to establish new public meeting places. Something that led to that the municipality did a “creative” public procurement to hire their services (elaborated more below).

The environment department brought in the Girls Association and connected us to the Street office and to the local municipality of Rosengård. They also connected us to another project Eu project *CLICC* - Climate Living in Cities Concept and yet two other civil servants. This project was strongly related to

Sustainable Hilda, which is a housing cooperative in Rosengård with 768 apartments and approximately 2000 people that have decided to invest in a sustainable approach when renovating their buildings (Investing in solar energy, taking care of day water etc). We had already been involved with Sustainable Hilda in our previous work and had some difficulties to get sustained engagement from the residents, but joining forces with the civil servants in CLICC would proven to be very valuable and seriously strengthen the range of what we could achieve.

Being a rather ordinary background section, describing the projects and actors that form the source of data for our reflections, the above section reveals a complex web of entangled projects, agendas, aspirations, actors and interests, to which many innovation researchers are familiar. In fact over-viewing all aspects of the network turns out to be similar to the nested Russian matryoshka dolls; unveiling one dimension you find another one, which in its own term contains a series of others, of which some remains invisible. It can be illustrated in the figures below.

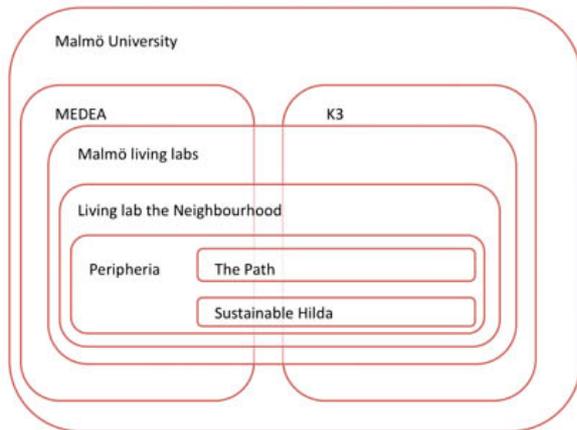


Figure 1: Matryoshka dolls: Who we are when we approach the others.

As researchers we are based in and move between two different institutions: Medea-Collaborative Media Institute and the School of Art and Communication. Within MEDEA our work is focused around Malmö Living Labs and especially within The Neighbourhood lab. The lab hosts the Periphèria project, which collaborates with the Environmental department that in turn hosts Sustainable cities, The Path and CLICC. (Not to once more mention all methodological approaches and all the other collaborating stakeholders such as NGO:s and business partners).

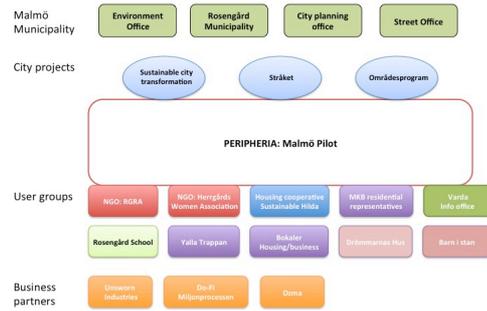


Figure 2: The network base of actors for the Neighbourhood Living Lab when entering the Periphèria project

From this "angle" the network seems fairly manageable and we can see some clear boundaries between actors, projects, business partners, NGOs and the municipality. But as innovation activities proceeds specific processes, sub-projects and alliances are formed.

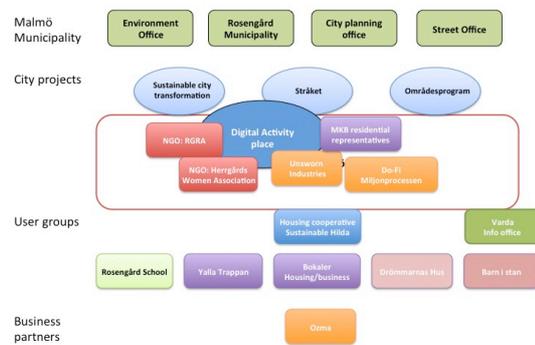


Figure 3: A specific set of actors gets engaged in the Activity Place and The Path project.

In parallel, at the same time and with partially overlapping people, other alliances and sub-projects are instantiated. Both researchers and municipality officers can have different roles in these formations and over time people also move around, ending up in another project or sectors of the municipality. These networks movements are important for the long-term relation building.

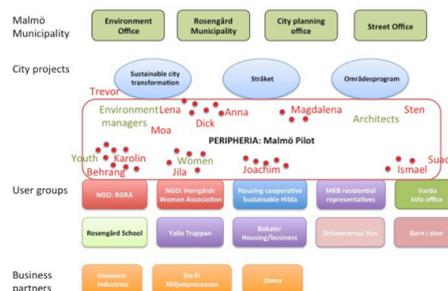


Figure 4: Individuals with sometimes fixed positions in the network, but at times "floating around".

ON ROLES AND PLANNING; SOME PARTICIPATING VOICES

Eventually all this informal collaboration has produced many tangible results; a set of energy meters for the residents in Hilda with an accompanying data portal, a mobile installation for opinion expressing using sms and imagery, a public "Shared Boom box" and an open geo-data app for smartphones. These are prototypes, but perhaps having even more potential is a large cluster of developed ideas and concepts that can be taken further by any actor in the network into new alliances and projects. Looking back, very few of the activities that led to these results could have been planned or even foreseen.

During a joint workshop and following up discussions when we, the municipality and interaction design companies summed up and discussed the process the civil servants made a lot of interesting statements that in different ways related to informal processes and a complexity narrative on innovation.

First of all the process was regarded as successful. The following quotes were voiced by municipality officers taking part.

"What's most interesting is the process. I wouldn't hesitate to repeat this collaboration and process! We have no assignment to develop new ways of working for the municipality, but I wish we could have it."
"Collaborating in this very informal way is not that common. Both partners have a very positive attitude, which makes it work".
"Co-production has got a more prominent position through this work"

Transcript 1: Municipality officers' voices from the workshop.

Most agreed on the necessity of having flexible work plans and allocation of resources for co-design activities, and that the more formal structures actually had to be bypassed:

"The reason this has been a success is that we have trespassed administrative borders and moved out from our roles and comfort zones. Rules and administration are not adapted to handle this kind of process. If you have to well defined and clear roles you also get stuck"
"If we would formalise more, it would become clearer what effort and responsibility you could expect, but it would also become harder to move beyond the strict project boundaries and it would limit our opportunities."

Transcript 2: Municipality officers' voices from the workshop.

"Quite a lot of urban development is situated in transdisciplinary constellations, sociologists, architects etc. Precise framings for how constellations are set up do not really exist, it is very much "trying out" who will collaborate. This is a unique project with flows of people and new ways of thinking are called for."

The collaboration worked despite very different goals. It was not seen as disturbing with a multitude of agendas and it was recognized that this actually is the case also

in an organization that is often perceived as being homogenous.

"Regarding shared goals and indicators we have different perspectives also within the municipality. The street office has their view. The environmental office on their side view project outcomes from the perspective of Sustainable cities and the inherent goals in that project."

"We have never discussed common goals or visions."

Transcript 3: Municipality officers' voices from the workshop.

Interesting project results often emerge outside the scope of the project. Such added value should be identified and worked upon.

"It can sometimes be valuable to show results that are beyond or outside predefined projects goals. One example is the collaboration with Kryddgårdsskolan (local school) that I often put forward although the school not was supposed to be a part of the project."
"But it takes more time and resources than we actually have and therefore we have to report added value."

Transcript 4: Municipality officers' voices from the workshop.

Also in the process of creative procurement that initiated some of the collaboration a lot of sensitive issues emerged that calls for an informal approach. The municipality had recently got a lot of negative media attention for unclear procurement. Still the civil servants were interested in involving the competences of the specific interaction design companies we brought in and not only order a finished solution but rather order an open explorative process that could produce many creative ideas. This couldn't have been planned beforehand (they would never have gotten permission to do it) also the open-ended way of working is very far from the standards within the municipality.

As said by a senior officer from the public administration in charge of the Path project;

"These are unique products, which we have no experience of.....why should it be so hard to explain this uniqueness and that other more creative procurement models can be used. Standardization is problematic when procuring and developing such products"

Transcript 5: Senior officer from the public administration in charge of the Path project

One the one hand this quote addresses how an alternative way of working against municipality policies, the creative procurement that in several aspects went beyond existing policies. On the other hand it also implied how the officers tried out a new role taking part in co-design instead of the more common model "analyze-decide-procure".

DISCUSSION

How do we make sense of this entanglement, and how can we constructively work against joint goals, when it becomes apparent that the goals in most cases only

overlap partially? It is from this angle that we might see "joint goals" as a kind of boundary objects, not completely aligned, but "common enough". Many expectations on "toolboxes" and transferable methodologies for engaging and sustaining networks are voiced from innovation actors, but for many action-based researchers that seems like an immense challenge.

FORMALIZING RELATIONS?

Within the discourses of open innovation and living labs methodologies the issues of formalizing relationships, roles and responsibilities have been highlighted by many as being central. For example, Mulder et al highlights how governance deals with the organization of the Living Lab as a whole and the interaction between its members, and how that organization is key to user-involvement (Mulder et al. 2011). Examples are commitments and responsibilities of the members, financial arrangements for the joint infrastructures as well as mutual arrangement in respect to using each other's technologies and services.

However, we have also seen how the opposite; not having specific governance or control mechanisms can create a liberal space for collaboration where traditional roles and ways of working can be contested and tried out in alternative ways. We argue that open innovation, perhaps especially in relation to development of new policies, must include such "free-zones", where experimentation does not only address innovation of products and services, but in similar ways permits public sector officers and other actors to try out alternative ways of "doing what they do". In this way it becomes possible to include organizational change and democratic aspects

Other research disciplines, such as social sciences and political science, articulate conceptions of governance that more relates to democratic aspects than the business biased ones. Combining democratic aspirations with business models and technological innovation increases complexity even further, and it becomes less clear how rigid methodologies and toolbox-thinking will be constructive. For example Sørensen and Torfing observe how networks, in contrast to institutions, are dynamic entities constructed differently, contingently, and continuously, and there cannot be a tool kit for managing them (Sørensen and Torfing 2007). Likewise Borgason & Zølner addresses how, in networked governance a flexible research design is desirable because the roles are not clear (Borgason & Zølner 2007).

From an action science perspective Chris Argyris claims that "Action science must devise some process (1) that will allow participants to make explicit the data they select and the meanings they impose and (2) that will enable them to negotiate the differences in meaning that arise so that they might reach agreement" (Argyris, 1985, pp.237). Our research in general cannot be said to

rest on design as problem solving. It is rather an issue of creating spaces of possibilities for change. The two perspectives intertwine in as much as that there is a focus on specific practice. Our understanding of practice is that it concerns both an established and specific context of doings and also the common understanding that permeates the doing in sometimes tacit ways and thus makes it possible. It is both activity and the reflection necessary for understanding it. This is a knowledge that must be understood socially and it is hard, and at times constraining, both to plan and formalize. Such innovation narratives are closer to the complex ones referred to by Mowles in the introduction.

So we should also try to facilitate learning about change from within practice. The knowledge achieved should be relevant also for forming purposes just as much as achieving purposes already formed. In doing this, forming of purposes, the actor also enacts values. Answering the question "What shall I do?" gives rise to formulating an intentionality that might be congruent with the existing or it might express a deviation from the current normative of practice. (Argyris et al. 1985, pp. 36-37). Expressions of this deviation can be brought back by the participating officers to the organization at hand, in this case the municipality. This would for the officer be to take on a "meta-role", pushing more experimental ways of working. A way of working that calls for "free-zones" where risks can be taken and then evaluated before being brought back to the practice.

BOUNDARY INFRASTRUCTURING

If we acknowledge that we haven't been steered by any detailed planning, agreements, shared goals or visions, what then have brought us together and helped us forward? One widely used and cited concept that tries to elaborate how complex collaboration occurs is Susan Leigh Star's seminal idea of boundary objects. The inquiry that gave shape to the concept was spurred by her desire to understand how cooperation between heterogeneous groups at all could occur. Especially because the common conception (in line with what have been stated in this paper) was that collaborative projects would need agreements and consensus between participants before they could start. From her empirical findings this was seldom the case. Consensus was hardly ever achieved, but still the cooperation most often unfolded without problems (Star 2010). One of her definitions of a boundary object is as follows:

"Boundary objects are those objects that both inhabit several communities of practice and satisfy the informal requirements of each of them. Boundary objects are thus both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use and become strongly structured in individual-site use." (Star 1989 p. 297)

According to Susan Leigh Star boundary objects emerge through long-term collaboration between different communities of practice. They demands work-arounds and “artful juggling” but are crucial when maintaining coherence across these diverse groups.

What have been the boundary objects in our case? Certainly not any common project plan, goal or a digital platform, maybe a better suggestion would be the alternative potential futures of the Activity area and Sustainable Hilda?

Early on the CLICC project had a strong focus on implementing a digital platform where residents at Sustainable Hilda could fill in their CO2 emissions, while our interests were more concerned with how community engagement could improve sustainable lifestyles. The engagement with Sustainable Hilda would offer both these perspectives to reside side by side. The same thing could be said about the Activity area, where we have seen it as an entrance to technology development. Malmö municipality has seen it as a way to co-construct a new public place, The Girls Association as an arena for activities and RGRA as a place where they could promote themselves.

When networks of stable boundary objects emerge you get “boundary infrastructures” that “do the work that is required to keep things moving along (Bowker & Star 2000 p. 313)”. We have in other papers (Björgvinsson et al. 2010, 2012, Hillgren et al. 2011 (also influenced by Susan Leigh Star and Lucy Suchman)) argued for an “infrastructuring” approach to innovation that allows a more on going and open-ended infrastructure to evolve, both regarding constellations, who will participate, and questions and issues, what to explore and how to do it. It is characterized by a continuous process of building relations with diverse actors and by a flexible allotment of time and resources. This more organic approach to innovation facilitates the emergence of possibilities along the way and tries to make use of the creative potential in the heterogeneous city, where serendipity could play a role and unexpected and exiting combinations of people could become productive through a continuous matchmaking process (Björgvinsson et al. 2010, 2012).

With “boundary infrastructuring” we gain a long-term stable but continuously evolving process that allow multiplicity and heterogeneous elements and stakeholders to participate, being member in and move between diverse communities of practice/life worlds.

How can this help us to move forward on a practical level? It makes it more clear for us that we do not need any formal agreements or detailed plans. Actually we can’t formalize agreements between our institutions (except on a very high level where it wouldn’t make sense) because being matryoshka dolls and having multiple memberships where we move between different institutions throughout our collaborations

makes it impossible to know exactly what entity we represent at any specific moment.

By acknowledging boundary infrastructuring as the strongest common frame we also bring vagueness and uncertainty up explicitly as desired qualities that we can agree on. Something that fits very well with a statement from one of the collaborating civil servants: “*We have to be clear and explicit about vagueness and shared responsibilities.*” We also need a culture that allows this vagueness and ambiguity to occur. It has turned out that there are very different attitudes towards this in the municipality. Although the environmental department has no policy document that describes how to work. The civil servants we are collaborating with from that department all agree that they have a lot of freedom to collaboratively explore and make experiments in uncertain areas. As we could see in the section about the Area program this has not been the case in all departments (even if it was promoted from the head of the program). But we believe that the most important is to keep up an ongoing interaction where we can get to know what’s going on in each other’s sites on a regular basis. When we can see common interests or matches we will try to support each other or join forces. A lot of this interaction will be on a person-to-person basis, something that could be seen as vulnerable. However, we explicitly aim for redundancy were its more than one person in each organization that are involved in the collaborations and this will make up a boundary infrastructure that is stable enough.

After some years of joint informal explorations of how to improve urban life, we see boundary infrastructuring as the most stable construction and valuable framework for a long-term collaboration that are beyond any single project.

CONCLUSIONS

We started out by referring to Mowles categorical distinction between two opposing innovation narratives; a “managerial” one, arguing for firm control of planning, distinct roles among actors and goals that are agreed upon. By contrast, we have reported how our work rather support the opposite “complexity” narrative, where roles and project boundaries are blurred and in which consensus can be only partial. Also being “matryoshka dolls” and having multiple memberships makes it hard to set up any meaningful formal agreements between us and the other institutions. Instead the strategy has been to more informally align to ongoing initiatives. By going into joint experiments, sharing risks and responsibilities and keep up the working relations for longer periods of time, we have seen how mutual learning and trust has emerged between partners in the network forming a basis for more sustainable networks.

From the perspectives of participatory design and action-research we turned to the concept of boundary infrastructuring for reflecting on how this way of working can make sense for the participatory innovation

discourse. We have argued that with a strong boundary infrastructuring process an informal and flexible practice can get more space to flourish. However, bringing forward an informal approach is not the same as letting everything loose, and although this is not a traditional management approach, it is still very hard work (often patch work). In this work we spend a lot of time to be as close as possible to the diverse stakeholders' shifting needs, allowing a flexible work plan and allocation of resources for co-design activities when they make the most sense to them. If we can get these activities to make sense within their everyday work they will continue to be engaged.

Today, we feel quite comfortable with our relation to the municipality and other stakeholders and the present and future horizon for collaboration looks promising, very much because we have dared to work very far out in the informal landscape.

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