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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

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Volume 1 of 1
Dynamics of the Morphogenetic Social Enterprise: A Critical Realist Perspective
by
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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The overall aim of this research is to generate critical insights into strategic decisions made by social actors in the process of developing and managing a SE (social enterprise) that facilitate social change. This focus covered two areas of influence the agency of the social actor and the structures that surround a SE development. Embedded in a critical realist paradigm, an emancipatory stance is taken to SE, which recognises this phenomenon as having dynamic and emergent properties. The critical realist position, in which this research is grounded, calls for the need to be aware of the consciousness of individuals, their social relations plus societal structures and how all of these factors will have their own causal powers. However, crucially when these powers are put together a different reality may be observed.

Therefore, this inquiry began with an exploration of the dilemmas faced by social actors when setting up and managing a SE which lead to a questioning of how SE could be meeting the needs of dominant agency structures such as a social investor. To help understand what might be happening two other theorists were introduced. Archer and her Morphogenetic Approach and Habermas and his Theory of Communicative Action. Archer provided an analysis tool that established a link between the social actor at a community level, the social action they take with others, and their interaction with agency structures. Habermas provided a focus on the social skills and knowledge of the social actor and how we manage the complexity of the world through sub systems such as economics, politics and science. These concepts have been expanded further by exploring Gramsci's concept of hegemony and counter hegemony. Gramsci opposed economic determinism by emphasising the political significance of tensions with social economic action that operates within a wider superstructure.

If SE is part of the significant political tension that maintains status quo then how would a SE address issues of social change and aid emancipation, more specifically create alternative responses and paths and provide a range of skills that enable SE to find a consensus on decisions. How does SE become a counter hegemony? Bridging these theories led to the creation of an analytical dualism framework that incorporated the emergent interplay between structure and agency over time which, stimulated a reflective process.

The resulted in an empirical investigation of twenty social entrepreneurs situated in social enterprises that serve a defined geographical community employing an orientational qualitative inquiry. This research led to the following significant contributions from this thesis. On a theoretical level the development of a new framework of social enterprise. This framework demonstrates how social entrepreneurs interact with agency structures and explicates underpinning processes of decision making and learning to manage emergent strategies in

developing a SE. This framework has created a multi-level synthesis of the social entrepreneurs trajectory, at the micro individual level, with the meso relational dynamics of decision making around social purpose alongside the interface of meso-macro levels of emergent SE strategies, with a focus on how they interact to influence hegemony.

The methodological contribution of the thesis lies in the operationalisation of a critical realist methodology to the social enterprise and social entrepreneurship domain which, entailed both deductive and inductive approaches. Two new techniques were introduced into the interviewing stage 'debating through visual stimuli' which enabled quality data to be forthcoming and the second was narrative within a semi structured interview to help reveal both identity and experiences of participants. The contribution to practitioners in SE provided indicators of what needs to be understood for success in social change. This takes the debate away from a purely organisational practice and refocuses decision making on the political and dialogical practices in which they engage. Especially to how individuals own set of circumstances, history and desires become integral to a SE whilst agency structures become intrinsic to the barriers not of the construction of SE but to the aim of social change.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Iain James Lucas declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been

generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Dynamics of the Morphogenetic Social Enterprise: A Critical Realist Perspective

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this

University;

2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other

qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception

of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear

exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. Parts of this work have been published as:

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Gower Publishing, p 215-232.

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Signed: Iain Lucas

Date:

01 January 2016

Χ

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Chapter 1: Overview and Introduction to Thesis

1.1 Researcher's Reflexive Biographical Account

The focal point of this thesis is the strategic decisions made by social actors in the process of developing and managing a social enterprise (SE). This focus covers two areas of influence: the agency of social actors and the structures that surround a SE development. Before explaining and debating these influences, I will begin by placing this work into its immediate context. I have started this thesis by detailing the researcher's own reflexive biographical account, because the motivations for exploring SE have heavily shaped this thesis in a manner that should be revealed. Revealing the biography of the researcher at the beginning provides both the context of this work, and also acts as a means of maintaining quality qualitative work from the very start. Allowing the reader an insight into the researcher's identity and voice should further enhance the authenticity of the research. In effect, the aim is for me, as researcher and social enterprise practitioner, to raise issues through my story, whilst questioning my own intuitive understandings. The end result is a series of reflective conversations with my situation (Schon, 1983), that provide an understanding for the reader as to why this research has been pursued.

This reflective conversation has the potential danger to create a reinforcement of a researchers own intuitive understandings. This requires a greater understanding of identity and the influence of such issues has upon on the methodological aspects of research processes, such as sample criteria. The criticism could be that a sample may not be representative of the SE demographic, such as representation from ethnic groupings. However, the aim of the reflective process is to enable a researcher to challenge such cultural bias and ensure limitations of any process is acknowledged. This limitation could be very striking if representation is of persons of a similar demographic such as gender. However, it is unlikely that participants will have a cultural background that matches the researcher. That is, are participants all white, English male aged 47, born in South London and grew up in a working class family.

My father fixed cars in a lock-up in Surrey Docks, and my mother kept the books. My childhood and education was poor, and, when I was 16, I joined the Army. I served for four years until I was medically discharged. The experiences I gained as a boy soldier, such as Arctic warfare and working in other extreme environments, provided an inner strength that has remained with me ever since.

At the age of 20, I found myself back in South London with no work and living in various different types of accommodation. By chance, I secured a council flat in Thamesmead, through Greenwich Council. I then decided that I wanted something different from life, and would train to become an actor. I enrolled in a performing skills class at Goldsmiths College, and another course in East

London for performing arts. This course had a mix of people from all over London with a variety of backgrounds, which gave me my first real experience of working with different cultures. Whilst on the course, I did some work experience at the Albany Empire in Deptford. After my work experience, they employed me as a part-time youth arts outreach worker on various South London council estates. My life began to take a new direction.

This mixing with community art workers, together with the courses I was attending began to raise my consciousness about who I was and the world I lived in. At the end of my course in East London, I was hoping to go on to drama school, but was not sure how to pay for it. I then found out that if you did a degree at the same time, your course fees were paid for. The course that accepted me was Dartington Art College, and it was initially a community theatre course. However, during the first year, it became a combination of live arts and experimental theatre. Despite this change, I became more intent on working in communities, using the arts and theatre techniques as a means for social action. This desire led me to become involved in 'Theatre of The Oppressed' (Boal, 1974), an approach to theatre that challenged hegemony. This understanding of theatre was influenced by Friere's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (1972b).

My final performance for my degree involved a large forum theatre event, part of the repertoire of 'Theatre of the Oppressed', with live music and a bar. The performance was well received, both by the local community and my examiners. I was then approached by some of the local people who had been used in the performance, and other practitioners to do more of this type of theatre work. It was at this stage that my first SE was created. Prompted by a combination of financial constraints, children and an opportunity to train as a Careers Guidance Advisor, I resigned from the company. Through my training in therapeutic techniques, I became skilled in one-to-one counselling, and expanded my existing abilities to work in a group therapeutic setting. I was involved in special schools, worked with excluded pupils and was eventually seconded to the Youth Justice team. After four years as an adviser, I left and studied for an MBA. This was followed by a move to Southampton, prompted by my partner's promotion, where I found a new job in a deprived community.

My role involved economic development for an SRB (Single Regeneration Budget) programme, and I would then spend the next ten years working in this community. The SRB programme was nearing its end, and the council were seeking an exit strategy, in effect a legacy body. This led me to write a business plan for the successor to the SRB. With the short-time scales involved, I was appointed as an interim CEO until a recruitment process could take place. The SE was registered as a company with a unique shareholder structure, which allowed residents within the geographical area served by the SE to become shareholders: one share, one vote; ten shares, one vote. The company was established, the majority of the board being residents, with co-opted

professionals to support. Then, through an open recruitment process, I was appointed as the CEO.

As the SE progressed, it became clear that the political climate was not in favour of this community-led SE. This left us with just our original start-up money, which was used to try and sustain local projects inherited from the SRB and create an income-generating business. It was at this stage that we separated out the only profit- making activity, selling our own branded computers. We raised £7000, and this, combined with existing customers and our own knowledge base, was used to launch our new company. The profit activity began with selling computers, and changed over the years, entering different markets, with new products, including software development. It was this enterprise that kept the SE alive.

Due to lack of resources and a determination to be independent and self-sufficient, our strategy began to change. The aim became simply to listen and support local individuals and groups so that they could achieve their goals. This was not an advocacy role as defined by London (2008, p.313), but instead the goal was to enable local residents to advocate for themselves. Resources would always be limited, and direct funding would not be available for our particular approach to community development. For funders, there was no guarantee of achieving any outcome, let alone the outcome desired by them. One example of the social change achieved by the SE was when the Chair of the Residents Group, organized by the local authority, needed to step down from the post due to ill health. The SE was informed about this situation, and we approached various residents and encouraged them to put themselves forward. They could perform the role, but just needed some encouragement and initial support to gain confidence. The SE Chair attended the meeting, and subsequently described what happened:

"At the general meeting more people had turned out than ever before. The agency representative from the council announced that the residents group would be disbanded as there was not a chair available. At that moment one of the residents stood up and said they would be chair. This in itself felt like a great moment but it did upset the representative from the local authority. She duly noted that a treasurer was still needed for the residents group to function. This was my favourite moment, residents just started standing up and saying they would be treasurer, and one stood up and said they would take the minutes, another vice chair, it was like Spartacus".

Having set up and managed a SE, I have been referred to, and sometimes called myself a social entrepreneur. This section reflects on the perception of social entrepreneur. According to Dees (1998, p.3), a social entrepreneur's central criterion is to create social impact based on a social mission, rather than wealth creation. Dees conceptualises them as a 'special breed of leaders' (Dees, 1998) who aim to enact change at the community level and distant themselves from power structures (Alvord *et al.*, 2004).

However, their leadership requires a reconciliation of creating social value, whilst simultaneously ensuring economic sustainability. This involves a vision that sees a positive social and financial outcome as equally possible, (Smith *et al.*, 2012). This type of leadership may be characterised as a servant, steward, change agent, citizen and visionary (Maak and Stoetter, 2012; Germak and Robinson, 2014), in which they have ambitions for their beneficiaries, in spite of difficult circumstances. The social entrepreneur is both an agent of social change and transformational leader, who shows passion, inspires others and builds relationships to gain resources from likeminded individuals and groups (London, 2008). Over time, he/she needs to develop advocacy and communication skills to ensure they gain resources.

This picture of the social entrepreneur reflects both the participants I have met, and, hopefully, part of my own approach to the work I do. However, at the beginning of this thesis, and in my reflexive mode, I wish to challenge this interpretation. Is there another side to the social entrepreneur? In addition to the social entrepreneur qualities outlined above, is there another motivation, to be an agent provocateur, to manipulate and create desire for social action? This is not a social change agent wanting to create harmony or resolve issues, but I believe they want disharmony, to break the status quo in communities, to challenge both the community and the dominant agency structures. For me, as a social entrepreneur, the social enterprise model gave me an opportunity to undertake this social actor's role. If I reflect back to when I first created Headbangers Theatre Company, the subjects and the mode of delivery had been about standing up and challenging society's structures. Subsequent work was alongside disfranchised groups, so that they could become empowered and challenge society's role for them.

SE is not so much about finding an enterprise solution, as about providing the resources to enable real social action to take place, without external resources being used to divert the counter-hegemony action. Crucially, what I found is that SE can provide an independent living wage. This was because creating an enterprise whose customers were diverse and outside of the community I served, provided a reliable income source. This enabled me to create problems for power without being beholden. Undertaking this research, developing greater understanding and asking questions of SE has been driven by the desire to understand whether I am alone, or unique in this thinking.

Alternatively have I been developing a SE which has always been a part of the hegemony equation? Critical to this process is that, if I had been different or were replaced, would the community I served have more enterprise units, more employment, and would life have been better overall? If I had been the responsible leader that is required (Maak and Stoetter, 2012), would life be better for the beneficiaries? I believe I have the skills and knowledge to follow the perceived model of social entrepreneur, but equally I get angry and frustrated. I often remind myself how the work I do fulfils a personal motivation, and I know what I do is unusual. However,

I also know that, with the right support and training and a desire to understand the world, many more people can do what I do, given the opportunity.

1.2 Purpose and Objectives

The questions I have posed myself as a SE practitioner and now a researcher, have led to the purpose of this thesis. That is, can I help social actors understand that if you create a SE, is it possible to achieve the desired social change? The aim is to explore the affect that social actors and agency structures have upon the emergent strategies of a SE. It is supposed that, by providing a greater understanding of the causal mechanisms that create the strategy of a SE, the better equipped the social actor will be to develop a counter-hegemony organization. This ability for a SE to be counter-hegemony will in turn help SE social actors achieve the desired social change.

The research objectives do not focus on purely organizational practice, which would only produce a process to measure the outcomes to understand if SE, as a social phenomenon, has impact. This would neglect the political and dialogical practices of social enterprise (Cho, 2006), although it would undoubtedly show that SE phenomena can have a varied reality, yet all be valid, especially when linked with the understanding of management and entrepreneurship theory. The intent of this research is not about validating a type of organizational practice, but about understanding the social actors and agency structure discourse associated with the social phenomenon of SE. It thus focuses on gaining an understanding of how such a phenomenon relates to the complex layers in society from the micro world of the social actors, to the meso level occupied by agency structures and the macro dynamics of dominant societal frameworks.

To achieve this aim, this research explores the strategic decisions made by social actors of a SE. The first objective seeks to gain a better understanding of who the SE social actors are, and how they decide on the purpose of a SE. The second objective is to explore how their narrative affects the SE strategy. The final objective is to again explore the narrative effect on SE strategy, this time by examining the agency structures surrounding the SE.

1.3 Discursive Context of Social Enterprise

Chapter 2 begins the thesis by exploring the discursive context of social enterprise, to demonstrate how the discourse of the SE phenomenon provides a grand narrative of policy and operational issues. This leads to a preliminary conclusion that academic literature exploring the experiences, failures and understanding of those involved and the effect they have on SE emergent strategies is not widely available. This inquiry therefore begins with an exploration of the dilemmas faced by social actors when developing a SE, and justifies why SE is a phenomenon

worth researching. Before moving forward, an answer to the ongoing question of what actually is a SE is provided. This is achieved by avoiding a definitive answer, and opting instead for a series of themes surrounding the underlying philosophy of social actors involved in SE.

In Chapter 3, having clarified what is meant by social actor and agency structures, a closer examination of the interrelationship between dominant agency structures and social actors developing a SE is undertaken. Specifically, this is how relationships evolve for social actors when they receive, or try to gain resources from a dominant agency structure, such as a social investor or grant funder, regardless of their SE categorisation.

Allowing for some clarification on the debate of SE definitions, and an exploration of how social actors risk losing access to various resources, the next chapter delivers a proposition. What if SE is being coerced into meeting the needs of a dominant agent structure? This question is expanded upon by reflecting on the concept of hegemony, in particular showing how hegemonic structures operate. The chapter concludes by bringing together the theoretical concepts discussed, and creates a framework that supports the development of the research questions. This framework combines concepts of hegemony according to Gramsci (1971; 1985) with an explanation of how social actors interact with agency structures, using the theories of Habermas (1984; 1987) and the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1995).

1.4 Thesis Methodology

Chapter 5 begins by revealing the paradigm underpinning this research. However, before revealing the approach taken, a discussion on the role of paradigms in research is offered. This is achieved by examining the definition of 'paradigm', followed by an introduction of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) four-grid paradigmatic approach. The criticism that such an approach may restrict debate and, hence, research methods, is then addressed. Acknowledging this criticism, the thesis explores the critical research and philosophical assumptions of the paradigm. This discourse focuses on the specific paradigm of critical realism, which is then discussed as the underlying paradigm in the thesis research. This is further explored through an elaboration of the terms 'ontology', 'epistemology' and 'methodology' in relation to the nature of this research.

The following section develops the paradigmatic debate of how we understand the world, by focusing on the research design, methods of data collection and approach taken in the data analysis to achieve the research objectives. The aim was to produce a research strategy which acknowledges that an individual's experiences colour their own personal representations. However, research can also show how people's experiences also have a relationship with their external environment, and that the two perspectives are linked (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000).

The research design begins by providing details of the chosen deductive and inductive strategy and the orientational qualitative inquiry of critical theory, and its implications on the research processes. This leads to the creation of the research sampling process, and research sample criteria adopted. This provides a table outlining who the research participants were, together with their SE and some background. The following section goes on to describe the process of data collection, and how semi-structured interviews, narrative and the use of visual stimuli were employed. After detailing the data analysis process, an explanation of the importance of quality qualitative research and reflexivity is provided.

1.5 Research Findings and Significant Contributions

The focus of Chapters 6 and 7 is on the thematic analysis findings, and provides descriptive examples of the participants and their social enterprise context. With the first research question asking for a deeper understanding of the people involved in SE, this section details their backgrounds and social context. To structure this data analysis, specific headings relating to the analytical framework presented in Chapter 4 are used. In particular the analysis has been placed into definitive areas associated with Archer's morphogenetic approach (Archer, 2003). The thematic analysis then moves from the individual participants, to detail their relationships with agency structures. Chapter 7 combines these findings and begins, through a process of interpretation, to document the key areas that help to meet the original purpose of this research, that is, the desire to help social actors understand whether, if you create a SE, it is possible to achieve the desired social change.

This final chapter of the thesis outlines two types of important academic contribution: theoretical and methodological. On a theoretical level, this thesis has developed two new frameworks. The first framework is an extension of the analytical dualism of the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1993) and combines the life agent framework of Habermas (1984; 1987) and Gramsci's (1971; 1985) theory of hegemony. This produced a framework of analysis that combines individual properties and dimensions of agency structures and social actors, placing them on a time line. What results is that the Life Agent interacts with Agent Structures over time through emergent interplays and is placed in the field of hegemony.

The second framework is the Morphogenetic Social Enterprise. This framework demonstrates how social entrepreneurs interact with agency structures, and explicates the underpinning processes of decision-making and learning to manage emergent strategies in developing a SE. It brings together important elements of SE, which were previously under-researched, or researched in isolation from one another. This forms the interdisciplinary nature of the current research and the contribution it makes to the fields of strategy and entrepreneurship.

The methodological contribution of the thesis lies in the operationalisation of a critical realist methodology to the social enterprise and social entrepreneurship domain, entailing both inductive and deductive approaches (Patton, 2015). Within this critical realist methodology, the use of two new techniques for interviewing participants was adopted. The first was called 'debating through visual stimuli'. The use of visual stimuli was important, because applying it before the interview as means to avoid continued debate about "What is a SE?" enabled quality data to be forthcoming around the key themes of the interview process. The second was the use of narrative within a semi -structured interview that helped reveal both the identity and experiences of participants.

One of the key purposes of this research is creating a unique contribution to provide practitioners with further understanding of SE. This was achieved by utilising the research findings detailed in the final chapter. It has been proposed that social entrepreneurs should be provided with some indications of what they need to understand for success in social change. These proposals also raise other issues surrounding the phenomenon of SE, which, whilst needing further research, take the debate away from mere definition and organizational practice, enabling practitioners to gain an understanding of the frameworks and discourse of the SE political and dialogical practices in which they are engaged. Especially relevant is how an individual's own set of circumstances, history and desires become integral to a SE, whilst agency structures become intrinsic to the barriers, not of the construction of SE, but to the aim of social change.

Chapter 2: Social Enterprise and the Pursuit of Social Change

2.1 Social Enterprise Emergent Strategy

This chapter explores the discursive context of social enterprise, and begins by providing an explanation of the dilemma faced by social actors when setting up a SE, and why strategy plays such a significant role. This is followed by detailing as to why SE is a phenomenon worth researching and exploring what a SE actually is. This exploration provides a detailed account of the discourse surrounding SE, in which a series of themes surrounding the underlying philosophy of social actors is proposed. These themes are then formed into a categorisation of SE. This is not to solve definitional debates, but to enable a closer scrutiny of the role played by social actors and agency structures within the development of a SE.

As Archer (2003) states when addressing the idea of social change, it will be the deliberations which determine what we make of the constraints and enablements confronted, what opportunity costs we are prepared to pay, and whether we consider it worthwhile joining others in the organized pursuit of change, or the collective defence of the status quo (Archer 2003, p. 52). This summary of the deliberations could be an indication of the journey that social actors must undertake when creating a SE, the exploration of such dilemmas being a focus of this thesis. Whether this plight is faced by an individual or a group, the strategic decisions they take when setting up a SE, and the ongoing process of trying to address a social need will be examined. A better understanding of the long-term impact on the social purpose that drives forward the social enterprise can be gained through the strategic decisions and the choices made by the social actors involved. The reason for concentrating on strategy is that the commitment of important resources that set precedents, and the direction of action all derive from the strategic decisions taken. Put simply, it is the strategy that decides where you want to go, and how you want to get there, (Economist, 1997)

One theory of how strategy is created in organizations is the concept of an emergent strategy (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985). The notion of an emergent strategy starts with an organization setting out on its journey with an intended, deliberate approach to the strategy of the enterprise. This strategy would be concrete in detail with no ambiguities and would involve all organizational actors, yet have no influence from external or internal sources. Despite this deliberate approach, the enterprise does not maintain its intended strategy, and, instead, ends up with a realized strategy. It is suggested that, in the process of delivering a deliberate strategy, it changes and is re-formulated by the unrealised strategies being dropped, while emergent strategies infiltrate the

deliberate strategy. These emergent strategies embed themselves into operational action and remain consistent, even though they had not been decided upon intentionally.

Such emergent strategies will have come from external influences that impacted the environment occupied by the enterprise. In a social enterprise context, the deliberate strategies may be driven by an ideological purpose which originated in a shared belief, where the intentions of the SE exist as a collective vision of all actors (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985). This process of deciding a strategic direction, a collective vision, leads social actors to identify political opportunities, frame issues and problems and mobilise constituencies (Rao *et al.*, 2000, p.240). This social action then drives forward collective attempts to instil new beliefs or cultural norms and values into a social structure, thus creating the social enterprise. It is the intention of this thesis to explain this process with the aim of understanding how social actors and agency structures effect the strategic decisions taken, including the unintentional emergent strategies of the SE. This knowledge will provide social actors creating a social enterprise with a better understanding of how to be successful in the organized pursuit of social change.

2.2 The Phenomenon of Social Enterprise

The reason for focusing on the emergent strategies of a SE is that the growth of social enterprise in the UK during the past twenty years makes it a unique social phenomenon, which is having a significant impact on society, making it worthy of further exploration. The possible impact of and interest in SE can be seen by the significant role it plays in government policy, where it is hailed as the new way forward for solving societal issues. Laws are being passed and White Papers issued that specifically promote the use of SE, such as: the Public Services (Social Value) Act 2012; Health and Social Care Act 2012; The Localism Act 2011; Open Public Services White Paper (2011) (Nicolopoulou *et al*, 2015). These Government acts describe ideas that support SE, equally showing how SE should focus on delivering public services. Public sector employees themselves are to be encouraged to set up a SE. The expectation is that these employees will bring their expertise, experience and knowledge to create SEs. Once the SEs have been freed from state constraints, they will be more efficient, customer-focused and innovative (Nicolopoulou *et al*, 2015). Their purpose becomes a vehicle for public services that aims to deliver these 'better' than a bureaucratic public sector, by embracing entrepreneurial people in smaller and leaner organizations (Thompson, 2011).

This appropriation of SEs as organizations of social change by the state is another reason for examining such a phenomenon. Does this phenomenon become a mechanism for a dominant group to maintain their status through the widespread appropriation of SE by society? If this were the case, then SE could represent a re-engineering phenomenon. What is assumed to be a radical approach to social justice is actually a reinforcement of a social imbalance. What might happen to

SE is that it becomes subdued by institutional force (Reid & Griffith, 2006; Nicolopoulou *et al*, 2015). The need for a substantial critique of social enterprise has become more relevant, as the dominant perception of this phenomenon is that it has already passed the test of critical scrutiny (Dey and Steyaert, 2012).

This increased appropriation of SE in meeting society's interests can be observed in the very comprehensive institutional support structure that has been developed in the UK (Nicholls, 2010). This institutional support of SE has only been developed recently, despite social entrepreneurship, or 'entrepreneurial activity with an embedded social purpose' having been in existence for many hundreds of years (Austin *et al.*, 2006). This is, in large part, due to being directly supported by Government since 1997, when New Labour came to power (Teasdale, 2011). This continued with the Coalition Government supporting SE through the new office of civil society. Indeed, in the Government's Public Administration Committee's Seventeenth Report they focused on 'The Big Society', one of the objectives of this inquiry being to assess the desirability and implications of encouraging innovative forms of public service provision by social enterprises, co-operatives and the voluntary sector (Nicolopoulou *et al*, 2015).

This has come into sharp focus as the Government aim to shift power from central government to local communities (Coote, 2011). 'We are all in this together' (Cabinet Office 2010, p8) is a term that has been used extensively to justify spending cuts and welfare reform, 'austerity'. The SE is highlighted as the form that will carry the concepts of big society vision forward and achieve the shifting of power. Currently, this discourse is reflected in the literature through a grand narrative that employs vehicles of policy and operational issues. This has included extensive examination of how a SE should be defined (Nicolopoulou *et al*, 2015; Teasdale 2011; Hervieux, Gedajlovic, and Turcotte 2010). However, the literature has not explored the experience and understanding of the social actors involved in SE, and the effect that an individual or group's composition has on their operations, and, in particular, their emergent strategy. By using empirical research that focuses on the decisions and emergent strategies of a SE, a critical management perspective can be employed to examine why and how SE may or may not be a mechanism for solving societal issues. This will include discourse around the influence of the social actors and agency structures upon SE strategy. The intention is to find out if an alternative social venture would have been created if the emergent interplay between social actors and agency structures were different.

2.3 **Definitions of Social Enterprise**

One of the reasons that SE could be used by dominant groups to maintain their interests is that at present no consensus has been reached as to what a SE is. In this discourse, a SE or agency structure can ignore objections to their practice by providing their own definition, claiming that their SE definition allows such actions. The table in Appendix A_is a chronological list where one

can peruse some of the comprehensive discourses from both institutions and academics, around the question, "What is a SE?" The simplest of these definitions has been articulated as "a business organization that takes into account human society" (Doeringer, 2010, p.292). These simple definitions have evolved over time, and have enabled agency structures to promote and support the SE that reinforces their own interests. In their analysis of different data sources, Teasdale *et al.* (2013) show that the large increase in SE can be explained by political modification to further particular ideological agendas. This has resulted in the sidelining of its role within the wider societal themes of freedom, power and resistance, whilst consensus on SE remains allusive.

This situation has prompted commentators to argue that the next challenge for researchers should be an analysis that identifies more interesting mechanisms and consistent models for developing SE (Galera and Borzaga, 2009, p.225). In the following section, this debate is opened up to meet such a challenge by developing a categorisation of SE within broad-based strategies. This is not simply a way to pinpoint criteria for judging a SE, but a means to help gain a deeper understanding of SE and its strategies. The aim of this thematic approach is to refocus the debate away from organizational practice, and towards the underlying philosophies that agents gravitate to when setting up a SE, creating a platform for a series of challenges to both orthodox and heterodox views of social enterprise. This has resulted in a SE categorisation that draws upon the deliberate strategies that are inherent in social actors and agency structures' ideological approaches to problem solving, yet rarely acknowledged. These strategies have been decided upon because the detailed analysis of definitions began to reveal a pattern of strategic priorities within the numerous definitions. Despite the fact that some SEs overlap their characteristics between categories, they still maintain their distinct strategic drivers.

2.4 Social Enterprise Categorisation

2.4.1 Mission-driven Social Enterprise

The first of these strategic drivers, being mission-driven, has an ideological approach that advocates social change from a capitalist perspective, and promotes the concept of the individual entrepreneur in pursuit of profit. This paper labels such an approach as 'mission- driven' to reflect the focused individual social entrepreneur. This approach is rooted in the concepts of social entrepreneurship, and influenced heavily by writings where concern is expressed that SE should focus on the frameworks of actual organizational practice, rather than idealised conceptions (Dees and Elias, 1998). As the Skoll Foundation (2012) articulates on their approach,

"Social entrepreneurs remain central to our strategy, because their vision and innovations are at the core of our hope for a sustainable world of peace and prosperity". This requires the promotion of opportunity recognition and goal-orientated behaviour associated with creating added value linked to community benefit (Chell, 2007). In fact, a social enterprise definition which is gaining ground, particularly in America, tends to qualify social enterprises as organizations running commercial activities that are not necessarily linked to the social mission, but with the goal of collecting income to fund social activity.

This understanding of SE has been criticised for its reinforcement of the individual social entrepreneur as a 'knight in shining armour' ready to rescue society. This is seen as an approach that ignores the pluralism involved in SE development (Ridley-Duff and Southcombe, 2011), resulting in SEs developed by employees and beneficiaries being excluded from investment. This is because the SE constructed by a community is not worthy of investment or respect, as investors' understanding of a SE is synonymous with an individual, not a community. This leads to an inevitable causal effect of investors and funders sidelining SEs that differ in character and motivation to the mission-driven SE. This process of exclusion is achieved by establishing a perceived high level of dependence for emerging SEs, only creating the institutional arrangements that provide support to individual social entrepreneurs, as opposed to the group. This can be seen in the development of organizations such as UnLtd and the Social Investment Bank (Cabinet Office, 2011), which have been created to support the goal-orientated social entrepreneur.

What has emerged from this mission-driven approach to SE is that agents who adopt this approach have a clear drive to pursue social change, but such drive for change is dominated by the capitalist context. This has prompted others to adopt a more pragmatic definition, where a SE has the primacy of social aims, and their primary activity involves trade (Peattie and Morley, 2008). Hervieux *et al.* (2010, p.38), have recently included the pursuit of a social mission, using both social and economic wealth generation, reinforcing the approach of capitalism. This is because capitalism gradually and over time begins to create a structure of competing forms, in which the social cultural activities and the resulting institutions create rules of economic organization that enable individuals, but constrain communities (Amin, 2009).

2.4.2 Non-profit Social Enterprise

In contrast to the capitalist orientated SE, another strategy emerging from the discourse that has been influenced by the social economy is the use of a non-profit orientation to pursue social change. This driver has been labelled as the non-profit SE to reflect the dominant practice of not seeking profit maximisation. As stated by Stryjan (2006), key operations to facilitate the capture of economic opportunities that maximise profit should not be allowed to neglect the driving force of a SE, its social purpose. This ensures that the non-profit SE remains focused on community service (Defourny, 2001). Within this driver, one of the key characteristics that differs from the US

understanding of a goal-orientated SE is that SE should not be maximising profits, but should seek social change.

The criticism of this SE approach is that the SE actors do not possess full strategic decision-making responsibility and authority (Diochon and Anderson, 2009). This has been the same picture in the social economy for some time, where external donors are relied upon for operational funding (Austin et al., 2006). It is because, as with the mission-driven SE, the economic drivers of society are what dictate an organization's focus, even if that focus is another's interest (Diochon and Anderson, 2009). The reality of our capitalist context inevitably renders the non-profit SE subservient to donors' interests. This is because it is the dominant group which provides the economic capital to social actors that enables the SE to survive. Thus placing the SE too close to the dominant agent structures of society, will just communicate another's interests, rather than those of the beneficiaries. This will not only fail to resolve issues of poverty and injustice, but make long-term sustainability more difficult to achieve (Hulme and Edwards, 1997). highlighted by Clotfelter (1992) and Galera and Borzaga (2009), there is evidence that non-profit institutions tend to address opulent consumption, and few of them serve the poor as a primary goal (Clotfelter, 1992). It is hard for the non-profit universities, schools, museums, orchestras, theatres and other organizations to claim that they are directed at the poor and needy (Ben-Ner, 1994).

2.4.3 Socialisation Social Enterprise

In contrast to mission-driven and non-profit social enterprise, the last ideological driver has, historically, been motivated to meet community need. This is the co-operative sector, where pluralism and communitarianism are the central drivers to pursue change. This approach has been labelled the socialisation SE, to reflect agency structure desire for social membership. This perspective has many similarities with both the non-profit and the mission-driven SE, but significantly promotes organizational citizenship and stakeholder rights to capital ownership (Ridley-Duff and Southcombe, 2011). Contrary to the domination of capitalism, others, such as Ridley-Duff and Southcombe, (2011), argue that SE should be viewed from a socialisation perspective based on worker co-operatives and employee ownership (Teasdale, 2011).

This categorisation has been employed as it shows a SE construct from a different philosophical perspective to that of the individual, i.e. pluralism and communitarianism (Ridley-Duff, 2007). Although this socialisation approach challenges capitalist structures that promote the individual, it may constrain the desire to pursue change, as it can exist without a defined social purpose. This is because a social purpose is not required for a bona fide co-op, and without this central driver, the resulting structure created may well enable a self-serving group, and equally constrain its impact

on the society of the members involved. Such restrictions can end up producing an enterprise like any other, which legitimately call themselves a SE.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored the discursive context of social enterprise. This required an explanation of the dilemma faced by social actors when setting up a SE. Within this explanation the decisions that social actors make regarding their strategy showed a significant influence on the SE and its ability to meet a social purpose. This led to a detailing of why SE is a phenomenon worth researching and exploring. Equally an understanding of what is a SE was needed. This exploration provided a detailed account of the discourse surrounding SE, in which a series of themes surrounding the underlying philosophy of social actors was proposed. These themes formed into a categorisation of SE. The aim was not to solve definitional debates, but employ a categorisation to enable a closer scrutiny of the role played by social actors and agency structures within the development of a SE.

Chapter 3: Social Enterprise and the Pursuit of Resources

3.1 Social Actors

Despite the discourse on definition coming from a mixture of academic theories (Teasdale, 2011) and creating confusion about the very nature of SE (Lyon and Sepulveda, 2009; Dart *et al.*, 2010), there is one redeeming factor - the desire to pursue social change is still central to social actors. This concept of social change denotes the idea of a 'change the world' attitude, which is widely spread in the SE movement and literature (Bornstein, 2004; Lautermann, 2013). It became evident in the SE categorisation process that, central to a SE, is the social purpose, a desire for social change. This common goal is important because it enables the definition debate to progress away from just a defining debate, to developing a more in-depth understanding of the ability of SE to achieve social change. This is because if social purpose is the distinguishing feature of a social enterprise, then analysing the relationship between social purpose, the social actors involved and the agency structures surrounding a SE will increase our understanding of the SE phenomenon. If social actors are driven by a desire for social change, but have an inclination to gravitate to SE based on their own ideological drivers, they will begin to interact with agency structures that most reflect their strategic approach, be it mission-driven, non-profit or a socialisation SE.

To fully understand if this emergent interplay is happening, the roles performed by social actors need to be established. This should include an understanding of their social conditioning, and how they mediate between agency structures. To explore such topics, this paper has drawn upon the morphogenetic approach of Margaret Archer (1995), with the aim of providing a consistent understanding of the social actor. She defines people as having distinctive properties: the person, the social agent and the social actor. These are treated as three elements of an individual, and how these properties interrelate affects how social structures are transformed or sustained. Therefore, before establishing a consistent understanding of the social actor, we need to build a better knowledge of these sub-components of people and how they interrelate with society.

The first element consists of the person and their personality, which remains with them throughout their life. This person is, by the very nature of being, born into a social context and placed collectively together with others to become a social agent. This social agent is predetermined by such factors as parentage and demographic factors, such as gender, and so happens without choice. This default position of social agent creates the primary agency, which exists by the very fact that people act with a perceived notion of a collective common interest. Primary agents are then regrouped according to their contribution in reproducing or changing

society's structures. For example, some may perceive themselves as having a primary agency of middle class based on their parentage, where they live and the school they attended. This grouping may collectively understand their contribution to society as one that sustains the status quo through leadership. Any type of social actor that people subsequently choose to become is highly influenced by the type of social agent and primary agency they originate from. This is because the social agent heavily affects a person's primary agency, and it this primary agency that becomes a major factor in determining the role in society that is available to a person (Archer, 1995).

It should be noted that the choices you make to become the social actor you want to be are not predetermined. However, even if becoming a social actor is not set in stone, a person must make a choice about their role in society, or sacrifice the ability to obtain a social identity. It is irrelevant that you become a social agent by default, as this originates from your circumstances, and therefore does not constitute your social actor status. This is despite everyone having an individual personal identity that remains with them throughout their life. That is why your personality and the social actor you choose to be will properly exist as their own singular entity, (Archer, 1995, p.258). So any social actor must be positioned in the community as a person with a primary agency, which will have had a strong influence on the social actor that they chose to become. If they are creating a SE, then their primary agency and other social actors' primary agencies will have a large influence on the strategic decisions of that SE.

With the distinctive properties of a social actor established, what happens when they begin to interact with others from a different primary agency? In the morphogenetic approach, when one primary agency starts to interact with another, they begin to create a new type of agency, which is called a 'corporate agency' (Archer, 1995; 2003). These corporate agents are placed together specifically in their own interest groups, and are identified by the social action they take to meet their needs. They can range from self-help groups, community associations and social clubs to large-scale social movements. To ensure this term is not confused with multi-national corporations, I have redefined this term as 'agent structures', to reflect the uniting of an agent's self-interests with others to form a new structure. This now establishes a link between the social actor at a community level, the social action they take with others, and their interaction with agent structures. The particular agency structure examined in this thesis is the phenomenon of SE, and it is believed that this morphogenetic premise can support a deeper exploration of the emergent strategies of a SE.

3.2 Creating Agency Structures

When social actors come together to create a SE, another agency structure is created. The new agency structure may consist of social actors with a common primary agency identity, or a

different primary agency, external to their own. For example, in the process of creating a social enterprise, social actors of the same community and with the same primary agency mix with other pre-existing agency structures to gain legitimacy and support to enable their SE to be successful. This process of acceptance may well be a mechanism with causal powers that, through a structure of incentives and opportunities, undermines or supports the very purpose of a SE (Urbano *et al.*, 2010). This requirement for social actors to conform and behave according to the existing agency structures creates interdependence between them. What began as an enterprise driven to change society, a new agency structure, becomes the very vehicle that appears to embrace the strategy of the existing agency structures.

As with the established agency structures, these new entities are not created instantly, but have an historical process in which they are produced. This coming together with others to meet one's interests has existed throughout history, and those agency structures that evolve over time can become the dominant structures of society, the institutions of today. Despite such subjective beginnings, a dominant structure, such as an institution, has the appearance of objectivity, and is continually supported by an environment that develops rules and norms of behaviour over time (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). This premise requires that sociological enquiry should investigate the establishment of any institution, no matter how admired or historically legitimated (Welch, 1991).

Habermas noted a similar phenomenon in his Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 1984; 1987) in which he distinguishes between the social actor and agent structures through his terms 'Lifeworld' and 'System'. His concepts are not identical, but raise the same distinction between the structures of society and the people who occupy those structures. He called the social interaction between social actors of a primary agency "Lifeworld", suggesting that it is their social skills and knowledge that create this lifeworld. System, by contrast, is a method of managing the complex modern world, and is achieved by creating sub-systems, agent structures that will manage specific objectives required by society, such as economics, politics and science. This 'lifeworld' and 'system' concept is also reflected by Bourdieu (1977; 1986) in his proposed concepts of 'capital' and 'dispositions' at the micro level, 'habitus' at the meso-relational level and 'field' at the macro level of analysis (Harker *et al.*, 1990). 'Field' is the system, the agent structure that manages the objectives, whilst 'habitus' and 'capital' relate to the 'lifeworld' of the social actor's primary agency.

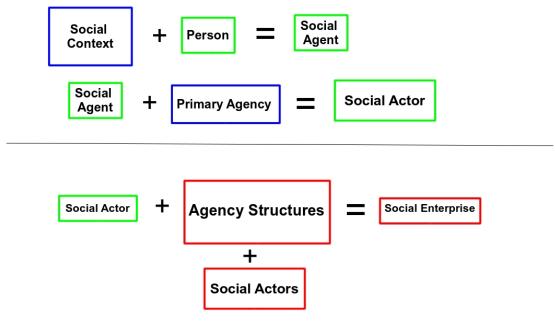
3.2.1 Dominant Agency Structures

Within this analysis of society, these authors have raised the same issue of dominance by structural forces, where social actors within the agency structures can use their knowledge and capital to ensure their interests are met. The pre-existing agency structures achieve such

dominance by over-representation within the 'lifeworld' in which such social interaction takes place. They are then able to manage these systems by forming new agency structures and ensuring they behave within their rules and norms of behaviour. Their interests can then be facilitated by utilising the development of the social relations between them and the social actors. In the case of a SE consisting of social actors from a primary agency that is not dominant, bowing to the institutional pressures of the existing agency structures will require them to conform.

This results in a SE that is designed not in the social actor's own self-interest, but is diverted by the social actors of the dominant agency structure to meet the interests of the institutions they represent. The result is not radical change, but more a reinforced embodiment of the dominant agency structures, as the social actors adopt the habits and rituals of the dominant agency structures, all of which is seen as normal (Scott, 2001). Employing an understanding of ritual discussed by Augusto Boal (1992), it is the habit that makes the monk. Figure 1 is designed to provide a visual representation of this process, noting the dominance of the agency structures and their social actors. In the case of the categories of SE outlined in Chapter 2, the cognitive and moral legitimacies essential for new organizations to overcome their initial vulnerability, are provided by the dominant agent structures of funders/investors (Bruton *et al.*, 2010). To further understand this use of SE social actors and the habits of dominant agency structures, the management of scarce resources will be explored in the next section.

Figure 1 Social Actors & Agency Structures



Adapted from Morphogenetic Approach of Archer (2003)

3.3 Holding on to Resources

The analysis of the monopolization of resources by a dominant group in society to maximise their control, at least for a time, has been explored in the context of education by Archer and her sometime co-author, Vaughan (Welch, 1991; Vaughan and Archer, 1971). They investigated educational settings where small elites held control, and this enabled them to achieve wider aims that were not restricted to education. This situation explored by Archer may well be a mechanism with causal powers that, if understood in the context of SE resource allocation, would enable a better understanding of how an emergent strategy is developed by a SE. The following section will look at the interrelationship between dominant agency structures and social actors developing a SE - specifically, how the relationships evolve for social actors when they receive or try to gain resources from a dominant agency structure, such as a social investor or a grant funder, regardless of their SE categorisation.

The relationship to be explored is between the social actors of a SE and agency structures of the financial institutions of the City of London, referred to as the City. This dominant agency structure has developed over a long period, and is now beginning to take an interest and play an active role in SE. The main task of the City's agency structure is to use their financial mechanisms to provide financial investment to organizations. Notably, the City, funded by the Big Lottery, has recently commissioned a report on documenting the City of London's guidelines on what type of SE they will provide resources for. This information is set out through the City of London's report on SE financial investment (ClearlySo, 2011). Despite the City's long and debatable history, it tries to appear free of interpretations or prejudice, and the rules and norms of behaviour have been made to be purely objective statements. However, through analysis of their history and adopted rules, one can understand this appearance of objectivity. This will aid the process of discovering the type of social actors the City agency structures will facilitate through their allocation of resources.

3.3.1 The Invisible Hand of the City

To understand the City's agency structures, an analysis of the City's adopted philosophy is now undertaken. This is followed by an examination of the structural processes by which SE gains access to the City's resources and economic capital, noting the key requirements or rules to attract the City's agency structures interest. This knowledge will show what strategy a SE needs to adopt when trying to gain resources from the City, and eventually become, if the City's agency structures are to commit resources. If a SE does not conform to their definitions, then that SE will risk losing access to the various forms of resources required to exist. An example of this in action is the Big Society Bank and its requirement to provide investors, such as RBS and Lloyds TSB, with

a high return for their investment (Preston, 2011), prompting the SE to adopt a profit maximising strategy, despite its non-profit motives.

To explore the City's philosophy, a well-established analogy from Adam Smith (1759) is used. This analogy is the 'invisible hand' found in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. His famous narrative of reality explores an enterprise philosophy that is driven by the pursuit of self-interest as something that contributes to society, distributing economic wealth widely and creating a framework of universal rights (Ridley-Duff, 2007). This is because he was judged during the Enlightenment to be morally motivated, and that economic activities were embedded in non-economic social relations and shaped by values, rather than rationality (Banks, 2006; Anderson and Smith, 2007).

The main premise of Smith's argument is that it is the free market that succeeds at aligning individual incentives with societal prosperity. This alignment is achieved because anyone earning money can only succeed if people around them value their offering, and buy their goods or services. Therefore, individuals will pursue the activity that is most highly valued, in order to achieve the highest possible wage. It is this pursuit that will create the wealth for any society (Crowley and Sobel, 2010). This idea can be seen clearly in the City agency structures, when the rules that govern their investment decisions in SE are examined, the first being that SE should provide return on investment at market, or close to market returns. This forces a SE that requires resources to pursue what is most highly valued in society according to the philosophy of the City, which is measured by level of return on investment, i.e. levels of profit.

3.3.2 The Entrepreneur

At the same time, one can conclude that this analogy is promoting the concept of the individualist identity, the single entrepreneur as the driver of social change, as it is the individual who pursues what is most highly valued. As stated by Amin (2009), in capitalism, one can observe a structure of competing forms, in which social and cultural activities and the resulting institutions create rules of economic organization that reward individuals. This reliance on the individual is clearly evident in the City, as another of their rules states that they require managers with a track record in which the City can develop confidence, i.e., managers who have pursued what is most profitable. The perceived logic here is that if such an approach is adopted, then societal needs will be met, and thus dependence on City agency structures that provide resources to social entrepreneurs is cemented.

However, following Adam Smith's analogy, social actors in a SE should seek the highest possible return, which would require accessing more lucrative market environments. They would not be selling goods and providing services to a community who have very little income, as the result is a

low profit business. The social actors could gain high value returns in such an environment, but a process of exploitation would need to exist for such returns to be evident. Any deviation would be in contradiction to the dominant business philosophy of the agency structures, that of the social actor pursuing the activity that is most highly valued, and thus achieving the highest possible wage. Indeed, if SE was to adopt this set of rules, why should it provide goods and services to vulnerable or marginalised people (Amin, 2009)?

3.3.3 The State and the City

Adam Smith's analogy went further, stating that for this hand to succeed in creating wealth, there is a need for the state to play a significant role in ensuring that there is a free market. Smith is recorded as saying that "Little else is requisite to carry a state to the highest degree of opulence from the lowest barbarism, but peace, easy taxes, and a tolerable administration of justice; all the rest being brought about by the natural course of things" (Stewart, 1793; Crowley and Sobel, 2010). In today's context, one might interpret such notions as the role of the state, or political domain, in laying down the rules of the game (Crowley and Sobel, 2010), and it is the agency structures working within the City that have been created to manage such rules. Over time, this mechanism has enabled the City to reinforce their philosophy and remain dominant through discourses and practices propagated through the agency structures and the social actors within. In the case of the City, the evidence of its agency structures approach is demonstrated in a report on SE financial investment (ClearlySo, 2011), as follows:

- Returns should be at market, or close to market returns
- Guarantee or mitigation of risk while approaching market level returns
- Liquidity if possible, which helps reduce perceived risk
- Robust measurement of the social returns generated by the investment
- Large investment opportunities, e.g. through pooled funds
- Products and managers with a track record in which City institutions can develop confidence

3.4 Resources from Elsewhere

The process of compliance is no different if one tries to obtain finance for SE from other sources. The social actors must provide proposals for appropriate funders. Evidence of the influence of steering media has shown that "providers of funds can influence the actions of those to whom the funds are provided" (Broadbent *et al.*, 2010, p.464). As suggested by research into the grantor–grantee relationship, it is the prior networking processes amongst funding agency structures that are often a more powerful predictor of the grant decision than the proposal (Grønbjerg *et al.*,

2000). As financial support is something that a nascent SE will find difficult to provide itself, they will tailor their SE to meet the funding relationship, just like any other business requiring investment. This inevitably results in the SE becoming part of the agency structure portfolio of organizations designed to meet their own interests, and not those of the beneficiaries.

To reinforce an agency structure interest, investment is often provided in the form of loans. Profits are often used to repay these loans (Doeringer, 2010) instead of addressing the original social purpose. One example of this is the ECT group, who grew to be very successful in recycling and street cleaning. They were even featured as part of SEU reports in 2006 and 2007. However, due to equity restrictions, ECT took on large debts, then credit dried up and they were forced to sell businesses to the private sector (Doeringer, 2010). These mechanisms all add to reinforcing the dominant position of the agency structures of the investor, a process that creates a mechanism for a SE to adopt someone else's social action.

The causal powers of agent structures became evident when analysing the way SE is currently described by UK Government policy, in particular, how recent surveys conducted on SE by policy-makers have widened the lines of definition to include those who fully adopt the free market philosophy. All that is required is evidence of trade and social relevance. Indeed under policy research into SE by SEEDA, 17,039 SEs were identified in the South East region in 2010, compared to the 10,000 identified in 2009 (Lyon *et al.*, 2008). It would seem that SE is growing fast as the agent structures begin to create their definitions. In a report into SE in the NHS by Unison (2007, p.3), it is clear that the characteristics of a definition for SE and the community-based social construct are becoming less applicable:

"A wide variety of organizations have been characterised, or rebranded, as social enterprises, despite quite different approaches to the involvement of staff, the public and patients, to arrangements for accountability and ownership, and to how social ethos is defined and operationalised. The boundaries between social enterprises, large charities, responsible businesses, or indeed any kind of mutual association with an interest in health or social care, are becoming increasingly blurred".

3.4.1 Alternative Sources

However, there are alternative agency structures which can facilitate resources for SE, and which operate with a different philosophy, that of pluralism and communitarianism (Ridley-Duff, 2007). The influence of the agency structure is still present, but their approach to resource allocation promotes organizational citizenship and stakeholder rights instead of capital ownership. This changes the networking processes of a SE away from the City's agency structures towards a more direct influence on the social actors who have grouped together to form their own SE, creating a communitarian pluralist approach (see Section 2.4.3. for a detailed definition).

Historical movements, such as the anarchists, adopted a social construct based on a pluralist form of organization. As Ridley-Duff (2007) states when talking about the anarchists' reaction to the International of St Imier in 1872, frustrated at the class and state control arguments of the Marxists, they left the coalition to advocate a pluralist form of organization. They stated that they did not want to rely on the state. This approach flourished and developed into the co-operative movement. It is this movement which created a vehicle for investment known as withdrawable share capital, unique to co-operative and community benefit societies. This form of investment is clearly explained by Jim Brown in his Practitioners Guide to Community Shares (2011). He explains that withdrawable share capital is a different type of share capital. Unlike normal shares they cannot be transferred between people. An investor is able to gain access to their investment, because the society will allow shareholders to withdraw their share capital, subject to terms and conditions that protect the society's financial security. This enables a shareholder to cash-in their shares with few complications. Traditional company shareholders have a vote according to the number of shares owned, however you only have one vote in community shares, regardless of the size of your shareholding, making the society more democratic.

This method of shareholding can create a SE that is focused not on the interests of an established agency structure, but on a group of social actors forming their own SE. Although such a socialisation approach challenges the very dominance of pre-existing agency structures, it places a reliance on resources coming into the SE from groups of social actors who have the same primary agency, with the added presumption that such resources are available. Unfortunately, although the structure is democratic, without resources, your ability, as your own agency structure, to develop an independent strategic SE is heavily reliant on donations or City resources, and you are back in the grip of dominant agency structures. In addition, such an approach can become a member's club, and would only exist to serve a defined group, which may be desirable, but can lead to exclusion of those who do not fit the primary agency or the criteria developed by the new SE agency structure - an exclusive club that can go on to form exclusive institutions.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter acknowledged that a redeeming factor - the desire to pursue social change is still central to social actors in a SE regardless of their categorisation. This common goal became important because it enabled the exploration of a more in-depth understanding of the ability of SE to achieve social change. The process of gaining greater understanding began through analysing the relationship between social purpose, the social actors involved and the agency structures surrounding a SE. This involved the establishment of social actors' role in a SE, especially as they gravitated to developing SE based on their own ideological drivers. This was achieved by drawing upon the morphogenetic approach of Margaret Archer (1995) which,

provided a consistent understanding of the social actor. This knowledge then raised an issue of how SE social actors gain legitimacy which, in turn would enable access to resources to pursue social change. By examining this allocation of resources the patterns of dominance by key agent structures have been established. This would be shown regardless of a SE categorisation and this resource dependency may well be the mechanisms that could lead to a loss of a social purpose.

Chapter 4: Hegemony and Counter-hegemony

4.1 Common Sense

Having clarified how relationships evolve for social actors when they attempt to obtain resources from a dominant agency structure, regardless of their SE categorisation, the possibility that SE will be coerced into meeting the needs of a dominant agent structure is now scrutinised. This probing starts by reflecting on the concept of hegemony, in particular showing how hegemonic structures operate, and examining if this understanding can support SEs in their social purpose. This is followed by detailing of the hegemonic process from a SE beneficiary viewpoint. The theoretical concepts debated are then brought together to create a framework to support the proposal of a research question that could provide a deeper understanding of social actors and the strategic decisions made within a SE.

If different types of causal powers, as outlined in Chapter 3, and generated by pre-existing agency structures, are seen as common sense, a folklore of philosophy (Boggs 1984, Gramsci, 1971), is SE part of their hegemony? This concept of hegemony, developed by Antonio Gramsci when he was imprisoned by the Italians in the 1920s (Gramsci, 1985; Williams, 1976), was his opposition to the idea of economic determinism. His counter to such determinism was to place emphasis on the political significance of the dialectical tension with socio-economic material forces within a cultural 'superstructure' (Levy and Scully, 2007). His concept of hegemony, referring to the contingent stability of a social structure that protects the privileged position of a dominant alliance (Gramsci, 1971) is central to the problem of SE strategy being dominated by agency structures. He was trying to address societies' relationships with knowledge and, in particular, the mechanisms by which a fundamental class, an alliance of dominant groups, developed over a period of time, is able to establish leadership, as distinct from the more coercive forms of domination (Boggs, 1984; Levy and Newell, 2002; Kebede, 2005; Nicolopoulou et al, 2015). His notion is that culture is dominated by the powerful, and that appropriation of knowledge in one's own interest allows for such dominance to persist. It is this very dominance of knowledge by this dominant class, through constraining any type of cultural, political, ideological forms and practices in a given society, whilst enabling its own structures that achieves this leadership (Gramsci, 1985; Nicolopoulou et al, 2015).

According to Gramsci's conceptualization (1971; 1985), the dimension provided by the state is the coercive element, and is represented in the form and enforcement of legal institutions. The discursive role played by civil society is through the construction and promotion of narratives that represent the current economic structure as benefiting the whole of society (Nicolopoulou *et al*, 2015). Equally, Gramsci (1971) understood that social actors who are the main beneficiaries of a

given economic structure can negotiate with those subordinate actors, who may resist by employing economic incentives. This means, that, in order to maintain order and control of society, the fundamental class cannot simply employ a physical force, such as the police, as they require consent from, and stable relations with, the people they dominate. This is achieved through social and economic structures which continually advantage certain groups (Levy and Newell, 2002).

4.1.1 The Prisoner's Dilemma

An analogy that can be used to illustrate such praxis is the prisoner's dilemma, an idea that illustrates game theory. As two prisoners are interrogated separately, they are each offered a deal: Option 1 - you co-operate with us and we will ensure you have a lighter sentence than prisoner B, who will get a longer sentence; Option 2 - you stay quiet and hope the other prisoner stays quiet and goes free. So the scenario created is that of a prisoner who gets to go free if they stay quiet, one year's prison sentence if they turn evidence, and three years if the other prisoner confesses, and they remain quiet. Despite their best interests being served by staying quiet, they cannot risk that the other person has not turned evidence, so confess and serve one year. In society, if people choose this option, unlike in the prisoner's dilemma, you do not get a lighter sentence; you just receive slightly more advantages than someone else. The result is that what appear to be common sense are, in fact, the rules and ideas that enable a fundamental class to maintain power and override your best interests.

This common sense has been reinforced by the City agents highlighting the failure of SE in providing products/services targeted at meeting demand, where there is not a market. They point out that profit has not been generated, an experience encountered by many ventures addressing basic needs, where the capture of economic value is difficult (Mair and Marti, 2006). Indeed this contradiction is seen in the creation of SE in deprived communities, where it provides the delivery of public services at an ever-reducing cost, thus having no aim to promote economic value. This makes the portrayal of common sense as full market returns for a SE an unrealistic goal. However, any SE not showing a high level of profit is deemed unworthy of resources. Despite the loss of morality and implementation of Adam Smith's analogy, the neoclassical economics of the City (Keller, 2007) and its agent structures, are making SE adopt their model. This adds to the agent structures of the City reinforcing and moulding resistance to resemble the City's philosophy, seizing opportunities and laying down the profit motive of the sector. This appears inevitable, as SEs which need to gain support, and develop a network of resources are brought into the agent structure processes and mechanisms. Compliance becomes paramount to achieving success, and, with a profit-orientated behaviour, that success is also paramount, regardless of social impact.

4.2 Counter-Hegemony

The notion that SE could be a counter-hegemony agency structure seems a distinct possibility. The concept of counter-hegemony is where the social actors who are being coerced by hegemonic structures create their own agency structures, in order to counteract the effect (Nicolopoulou *et al,* 2015). Such a social actor is described as a Macchiavellian 'Modern Prince' by Gramsci, characterized by a new type of political party and oppositional culture that would gather together intellectuals (organizers) and the masses in a new political and intellectual practice, 'organizing the organizers' (Thomas, 2009 p.437). They have the capacity to act together, as opposed to being passive participants who accept such agency structural forces without redress. The Gramscian concept of the Modern Prince, as the collective social actor transcending existing hegemonic agency structures through resistance, developing organizational capacity and strategic deployment (Levy and Scully, 2007), provides SE with a conceptual model that can achieve social change.

However, the morphogenetic approach and resulting mechanisms outlined demonstrate how a SE wanting to gain resources must enter into arrangements and networks with the dominant agent structures. This is because any focus on making profit places SE into financial frameworks, engaging in markets, and opening themselves up to the mercy of capitalist ideology (Bull *et al.*, 2010). These causal powers force SE to become part of that dominant agency structure, conforming to their rules and norms of behaviour. This is why debate on SE definitions is important, because for a SE to gain legitimacy, it must conform to a key agent structure definition of SE, or risk losing access to various resources required to exist. Unfortunately, what has been shown is that, regardless of the SE approach, there is a strong possibility that it will be coerced into meeting the needs of the dominant agent structure. This would result in the SE being transformed from an organization for social change into one organization that maintains the collective defence of the status quo.

4.3 The Role of the Beneficiaries

If the SE is not a counter-hegemony organization, and is undermined by dominant agent structures with the ability to coerce it into conforming to their rules and norms of behaviour, the SE could be adding to the very social problem they are trying to change. Indeed, if it is the rules of economic organization that form the basis of a community's social enterprise construct (Amin, 2009), as seen by the National Consumer Council (2003a; 2003b), how will a community provide goods and services for their vulnerable or marginalised people? By default, the only area of inclusion for the beneficiaries, i.e. those who benefit from such adding of social value (Spear *et al.*, 2009) is as a measure of social value. The prevalence of agent structures' gate-keeping role to

resources places social actors who are creating a SE and the beneficiaries of that SE outside of their cultural environment and social context - their primary agency. If one takes the example of a SE set up by a local authority, this SE, as good practice would dictate, has been created with residents of the community to address their needs (Davison, 2010). However, the value of the individual beneficiaries as social actors and their primary agency is separated from the enterprise when governance is implemented.

These mechanisms create an organization aligned with, and controlled by the interests of the dominant agent structures, such as funders and professional management. As decisions on the mission, and hence the strategy are decided by the agency structure, and at the same time by the community, each will perceive their legitimacy to be paramount. At this stage, the viewpoint from which the dominant agency structure observes the environment is not the same as that of the beneficiaries. This understanding of a community's social need accordingly becomes a source of conflict between an agent structure and a community. This process goes some way to explaining the lack of trust deeply embedded in the public sector, which is sympathetic to SE, yet mistrustful of its ability to deliver services in a professional manner (Chapman *et al.*, 2007; Frumkin and Andre-Clarke, 2000; Dart 2004; Austin *et al.*, 2006). Equally, if the agency structure carefully selects the citizens to participate in the process, and thus allows these people to be defined as legitimate, then the views of others, perhaps more critical elements, will become delegitimised (Welch, 1991).

4.3.1 Mechanisms for Emancipation

If SE is providing another mechanism by which dominant agent structures coerce others into another form of oppression, this will not aid the emancipation of people who resist their interests (Fenwick, 2003). Drawing on the critical realism paradigm, the concept of emancipation is defined as how people are able to resist forms of false consciousness that keep them from genuinely understanding, expressing, or acting on their own interests (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000) especially regarding access to forms of communication. This creates an aim of emancipation to develop alternative paths and responses, not just access to information, but to a range of skills required to decode, encode, interpret, reflect upon, appraise and arrive at a consensus on decisions (Simonds, 1989). Placing this concept of emancipation into a counter-hegemony agency structure would provide an aspiration for SE to work towards. This new type of agent structure would not allow domination of the SE strategy, and the social purpose could derive from a beneficiary's perspective, and reflect their interests, rather than those of the dominant agency structures.

Currently, what is being observed does not bode well. In research by Amin (2009), it was observed that a local workforce, employed with less skills, and local volunteers with modest aspirations, saw social enterprise as a stepping stone to better things. Comments from

participants expressed resentment of the social economy for its low pay and lack of fit with their skills and aspirations. However, there were others with a higher level of skills who were in no rush to leave the social economy. This was due to the lack of demanding tasks, and where the work was routine and without undue pressure (Amin, 2009). This creates organizations without any drive for social change, whilst maintaining low pay and lack of innovation. This situation requires an economic casualty, and it is those with low skill levels who bear the brunt where there are few opportunities to develop new skills, and the organization creates no incentive for internal progression. In a case study on two different co-operative organizations in Europe, the UK organization employed screening techniques to curtail any employee who was perceived not to fit the agency structure, despite those individuals being held in high esteem by colleagues (Ridley-Duff, 2010). Although further research into this area is required, it does indicate that SE has limited appeal to those beneficiaries whose primary agency does not reside in, or aspire to be, part of the dominant agency structure.

If such opportunities to develop new skills, create internal progression and raise aspirations were to become available through the functions of a counter-hegemony SE, it would mean that the social actors would be drawn from the beneficiaries. Therefore, SE could become a fundamental departure from the practice or experience of dominant agency structures, and enable people to take control of their lives (Foley, 2001). This would bring concepts of social development, social justice and equity to the forefront, creating an active civil society that resists inequality (Fenwick, 2003). This different approach would provide a focus on new initiatives and new social arrangements (Alvord *et al.*, 2004) that create societal development (Diochon and Anderson, 2009). This would imply that beneficiaries could create their own freedom for self- emancipation through limited power and the use of cultural resources (Dey and Steyaert, 2012).

Some organizations have begun to create activities to build the capacity for self-reliance (Alvord et al., 2004). One example of this self-reliance approach is 'Fundacion Paraguaya', a SE that deals with poverty directly by 'empowering' the poor. Instead of simply giving money out to poor people (as many international development organizations still do), this SE helps the poor to help themselves (Maak and Stoetter, 2012, p.416). They achieve this by focusing on strategic goals, which are firstly to discover and promote new ways to equip the poor with tools to become economically successful. The second goal is to expand the access to finance via a micro-finance programme. The third goal is to educate young people through entrepreneurship programmes (Maak and Stoetter, 2012). However, with an agency structure currently dominating management, and beneficiaries governed by rules that reflect someone else's shared values, SE will struggle to transform beneficiaries from passive participation to active involvement, and will just be an attempt to re-mold a situation and maintain hegemony.

4.4 Supporting Theoretical Framework

To take this debate surrounding SE involvement in the maintenance or countenance of hegemony forward, this thesis has developed a supporting theoretical framework as a means to bridge the various concepts, whilst stimulating a reflective process. In addition, the framework serves the following purposes: to support the development of the research questions, to provide guidance on data collection, particularly the research interview questions, and finally to provide a priori of template codes used in later data analysis, as suggested by Crabtree and Miller (1999), and outlined by Gibson and Brown (2009, p.31) in their list of practices which might be informed by theory. This approach was used early in the data analysis process to help the researcher think through possible relationships (Dey, 1993).

This application of a reflective yet critical framework of social enterprise can potentially release society's ideas and inspirations concerning the ever present emancipatory promises (Dey and Steyaert, 2012). The focal point and central themes of this framework reflect the process of the legitimacy of a SE, the actors involved and how they operate in society in the interests of beneficiaries. This section will outline this bricolage framework and its discourse within the overarching concept of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; 1985), providing the space for reflection on the philosophical debate surrounding the structure and agency problem and its relationship with hegemony.

As Archer (1995, p.65) states, social theorists are not just addressing the crucial technical problems in the study of society, but confronting the most pressing social problems of the human condition. This practice of critical analysis breaks from a positivist approach, and assumes an open system is in place, in which no single variable can confirm reality, but could provide an explanation. (For further detail on critical management studies, see Section 5.2.). Employing such an analysis to develop a realist understanding requires an ontology that utilises not one, but all causal mechanisms. So as the researcher undertakes the analysis of social actors, they are aware of structures, powers, mechanisms and their tendencies, and that these factors, placed together, have their own causal powers. This permitted an exploration of the relationship between the agents and structures, and how SE could resist hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; 1985) and the agent structures that protect the privileged position of a dominant alliance.

4.4.1 Other Theoretical Concepts Explored

To achieve the aim of the framework, this thesis took an approach that would bring together social, scientific and philosophical concepts. These concepts cannot be translated into one another, however in a theoretical framework, they can be affiliated (Spoelstra, 2007). The use of philosophy in organizational studies tends to view philosophy as the underdog to social sciences,

placing it outside of organizational studies, rather than as a positive force within (Spoelstra, 2007). Therefore any framework needed to be able to critique both the philosophical aspects of organizations and affiliated social sciences. This approach enabled a direct critique of the common sense held about SE, that is, what society understands as the social reality of SE.

However, before creating a new theoretical framework for the purposes of this research, other concepts were examined. This examination revealed new insight into organizational and individual practice, especially the notion of the institution and entrepreneur. However, due to the complexity of SE practice, the structures on offer failed to deliver a coherent framework. This was due to the lack of an incorporating theory that included key aspects in a single framework. The most notable absence in the theories explored was the problem of linking the social actor to structures. This was compounded by an absence of the critique of dominant groups in society and how they operated within the interplay between social actor and structures.

It would be inaccurate to state that the theories explored, which were not an exhaustive list, did not influence the development of the new framework. On the contrary, certain aspects of the various concepts did have an influence on the final framework adopted. Table 1 provides an explanation of the concepts, and outlines the additional elements from conceptual frameworks that have been explored. This reflective process on concepts provided the researcher with greater understanding about the analytical process adopted in the thesis.

Table 1 Other Theoretical Concepts Explored

Theories	Explanation	Aspects Explored
Institutional Theory (Scott 1995;North, 1990)	Institutional theory (IT) focuses on the role of the political, social and economic systems surrounding an organization, (North, 1990). Traditionally concerned with how groups secure legitimacy by conforming to an institutional environment (Meyer and Rowan, 1991). Summarized by Scott (2007) in his categories of institutional forces, the three pillars – regulative; normative; cognitive.	This theory allowed for an exploration of the institutions surrounding SE. IT examined how the individual was affected by the institutions they required support from in order to develop an organization. This raised questions of legitimacy within an institution but did not raise issues of SE legitimisation within society. It did provide a window to explore this arena but I could not formulate a stratified critical framework that incorporated: the micro level of a social actor; their social and professional networks, emergent interplay over time and the role of SE within a hegemonic structure.
Network Theory (Jack et al., 2008; 2010; Hoang and Antoncic, 2003).	Network theory can be defined as a set of actors and a set of relationships that link them together (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003, p. 167). According to Jack <i>et al.</i> (2010) networks are not just resource acquisition but are about social issues such as social learning and confidence-building through interdependence and the sharing of experience.	Networking research has been seen as problematic in developing a fuller appreciation in both network structure and process (Jack <i>et al.</i> , 2010, p.317). Social Network Theory (Simmel, 1909) touches on many aspects discussed in the framework, in particular social learning and confidence building. However, it does not fully encompass the macro and meso structural influences required for a deeper understanding of SE and their emergent strategies.
Theory of Social Capital (Bourdieu, 1973).	The micro contextual level of Social capital Symbolic Value – material things, educational background, social identity. Symbolic Capital – provides legitimacy – titles, civil and moral behaviour through law.	Bourdieu's (1973) theory of social capital is useful in understanding the social networks that social entrepreneurs use to create and deploy their social capital. This social capital is embedded in social relations reflected in a variety of networks that are used interchangeably by the social entrepreneurs who develop a SE.
	Cultural capital – tastes, consumption. The meso contextual level of Habitus Social agents operate in a network and build social capital by gaining value through interrelationship with habitus.	Bourdieu's theory allows for an examination of the scope, depth and effectiveness of social capital and the social networks associated with a power structure and practices of power. However, the framework required more discrimination towards the nature of those participating in the social interaction. Hence the use of Archer's (2003) integration of psychological insights and notions of stratification and emergence within the final framework.

Theories	Explanation	Aspects Explored
	The macro contextual level of Field The power relations between symbolic points (art, politics, economics). SE practice is derived from the habitus interplay with social capital within a field of power relations.	
Resource Dependence Theory (Pfeffer and Salancik,1978)	Resource Dependence Theory (RDT) examines the external control of organizations. RDT looks at the firm as an open system that is dependent on activity in the external environment (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). As Pfeffer and Salancik (1978, p. 1) state, "to understand the behaviour of an organization you must understand the context of that behaviour." Pfeffer (1987, pp. 26-27) provided a basic argument of the RDT as 1) organizations are the fundamental units for understanding intercorporate relations and society; 2) organizations are not autonomous, but constrained by a network of interdependencies; 3) this interdependence coupled with uncertainty leads to a situation in which survival and continued success will be uncertain; 4) this forces organizations to take actions that try to manage the external environment, such actions are never completely successful and produce new patterns of dependence and interdependence; 5) these patterns of dependence produce internal and external power and as such will have some effect on organizational behaviour.	Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) provide five actions that firms can take to minimize these external dependences: (1) mergers/vertical integration (2) JVs and other partnerships (3) boards of directors (4) political action and (5) executive succession. Applying RDT to SE can enable issues related to power to be explored and shows how the external environment effects the strategic decisions of SE. RDT could have helped the examination of how SE decides on strategies for managing the tension between social and commercial objectives. This would have included questions around how a SE maintains legitimacy among its stakeholders, as these relationships are concerned with creating economic value, as well as those stakeholders whose relationships are concerned with creating social value. In the paper by Moizer and Tracey (2010) the tension between social action and revenue generation was shown by a causal loop that inevitably makes revenue the main driver with social action relegated. This leads to the strategies suggested as an outcome of the causal loop diagram favouring revenue generation. Strategy 1: Separate Social and Commercial Missions; Strategy 2: Integrate Social and Commercial Missions; Strategy 3: Build Alliances with For-profit Businesses. For this thesis RDT has raised questions that have become incorporated into the analysis and research. However, RDT could not provide some key aspects like emergent interplay with social actors and networks within this framework.
The Nature of Social Opportunity (Zahra et al., 2008)	The nature of social opportunities rejects the concept of entrepreneurship opportunity in favour of an understanding from a social rather than economic perspective. Five attributes are provided: Prevalence; Relevance; Urgency; Accessibility;	Based on the behavioural theory of the firm where any conceptualisation of opportunities should reflect understandings of individuals and organizations, (Simon, 1979), the focus is on how decisions are made by social entrepreneurs in seeking out opportunities. This approach brought new possibilities into the

Theories	Explanation	Aspects Explored
	Radicalness (Zahra et al., 2008)	thesis framework most notably the understanding that social actors' decision-making will not be rational. Therefore SE strategic decisions may be based on simple relationships, heuristics and routines creating a satisfying behaviour within social actors (Zahara <i>et al.</i> , 2008).
Labour Process Theory (Braverman, 1974; Thompson and Vincent, 2010)	Labour Process Theory examines people at work, who manages their work, what 'skills' are used and how they get rewarded. Braverman (1974) proposes a broad thesis: that under capitalism the management of workers reduces the pleasure of work. In addition control of skills is taken away enabling wages to be reduced whilst increasing the workload. This makes labour a commodity which creates the platform in which labour can generate capital accumulation.	In Thompson and Vincent's (2010) chapter on labour process theory the stratified framework produced includes the agency role derived from Archer (2003) as well as the structural conditioning. This provided many aspects that would enable an examination of SE from the relationship of the agent and how the labour and the management roles affect a strategy. However, it was unable to provide a detailed enough theoretical platform that could link the aims of emancipation, resistance and the desire for social change.
Discourse Analysis (Alvesson and Kerreman, 2000; 2011)	Analysis of discourse becomes analysis of what people do with language in specific social settings (Potter, 1997, p. 146)	Although analysis of a SE could be examined in a micro, meso and grandiose level the confusion between the various contexts and the discourse meanings prohibit the use of discourse analysis as an overarching framework. This is because it would not support an approach that aims to link the emergent interplay over time. However, it has enabled an understanding of the methodological issues arising from mixing discourse analysis when the discourse is operating in different social contexts and at different societal levels.

4.4.2 The Best Argument

The concept of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; 1985) lies at the core of the framework, with the notion that SE could provide resistance and act as a counter-hegemony agency structure. This places SE in a position where it has the capacity to act against agency structures, as opposed to being a passive participant. SE has an opportunity to fulfil the Gramscian concept of the Modern Prince, the social actors' collective transcending existing hegemonic agency structures through resistance, developing organizational capacity and strategic deployment (Levy and Scully, 2007). With SE having an opportunity to act as a counter-hegemony organization, placing hegemony at the heart of the framework supported the emancipation aim of the research. This development of hegemonic framework was driven forward because what began to emerge from the literature review was that central to the problem of SE strategy is the issue of domination by agency structures.

To support the framework around hegemony, a more detailed explanation of the interaction between agency structures and social actors was required. Therefore the framework firstly drew upon Jurgen Habermas (1984; 1987). He was a critical philosopher whose writings on communicative action are some of his best known work (Habermas, 1984; 1987). Communicative action is a critical social theory that proposes that the structures of society and social actors within the structures should be combined and seen as a system. Habermas argues that relations among social actors is the formation of society and thus he turns to language and communication.

Habermas used two terms to frame his debate: Lifeworld and System. Lifeworld is the social interaction between members of a group. It is their social skills and knowledge that create this lifeworld. System, by contrast, is a method to manage the complex modern world and is achieved by creating sub-systems that will manage specific objectives required by society, such as economics, politics and science. Such sub systems should not be seen as a place of reason rather than as a sphere of power and decisions, in which the legitimacy is authorised by those not subject to the order.

Habermas (1984; 1987) argues that pre-existing agency structures achieve such dominance by over-representation within the 'lifeworld' in which such social interaction takes place. They are then able to manage these systems by forming new agency structures and ensuring they behave within their rules and norms of behaviour. Their interests can then be facilitated by utilising the development of the social relations between them and the social actors. In the case of a SE consisting of social actors from a primary agency that is not dominant, bowing to the institutional pressures of the existing agency structures will require them to conform.

This results in a SE that is designed not in the social actor's own self-interest, but is diverted by the social actors of the dominant agency structure to meet the interests of the institutions they represent. The result is not radical change, but more a reinforced embodiment of the dominant agency structures, as the social actors adopt the habits and rituals of the dominant agency structures, all of which is seen as normal (Scott, 2001). In the case of the categories of SE outlined in Chapter 2, the cognitive and moral legitimacies essential for new organizations to overcome their initial vulnerability, are provided by the dominant agent structures of funders/investors (Bruton *et al.*, 2010).

To ensure the maintenance of this system sociocultural lifeworlds are employed to stabilize the socially integrated groups. This process presents itself as part of the symbolic front of reproducing the lifeworld which requires membership, development of cultural traditions and socialisation processes. This lifeworld is then conceivable as the system maintenance and forms part of hegemony. Within his analysis of society, Habermas raised the issue of dominance, where social actors within pre-existing agency structures can use their knowledge and capital to ensure their interests are met.

These networks express themselves through steering media which includes power, money and law, and will have an influence on the lifeworld, and ultimately the systems in which the social actors work (Manville and Broad, 2013). Such a philosophy distinguishes between the principles of universalisation and discourse. The first principle says that moral decisions can only be valid if the people affected consent or agree to their consequences, and the second principle is about the process of achieving consensus of the first principle (Habermas, 1990). This consensus must be achieved by free and open debate, so that only the better argument will have the power (Scherer and Palazzo, 2007). This idea of communicative action is based on the premise that social actors in society seek a rational debate that fosters understanding, co-operation and strategic action that is not in pursuit of one's own self-interests (Habermas, 1984).

This is where the much wider philosophical debate enters the pursuit of communicative action in a SE. Is a social actor able to have a rational debate if their ability for an objective reasoning process is curtailed by the pluralism of cultures and their different forms of life? As Scherer and Patzer (2011) highlight in the universalism versus relativism dichotomy, can you have a universal justification of rationality in a pluralist society of varying norms, values and lifestyles? Yet, for SE to gain legitimacy for their social purpose and their emergent strategy, they will need to have a rational debate with beneficiaries, albeit a bounded rational debate (Simon, 1979). This bounded rationality acknowledges the lack of capacity of the human mind to solve complex problems where the size of the problem and the solutions are too big to enable an objective rational process.

Yet this bounded rational debate will enable the concepts of social development, social justice and equity to be placed at the forefront of the SE. If SE is a genuine representation of a

fundamental departure from the practice or experience of dominant agency structures, then it should enable beneficiaries with the same primary agency to fully participate in strategic decisions. Thus SE actors need to recognise and utilise this debate and become aware of their own personal identity, culture and level of power and influence - in particular how identity affects the ability of a SE to make strategic decisions based on the best argument, and not just the argument of the most dominant. This is why Haberams theory of communicative action is important within the new framework for it enables a rational action orientation within the framework.

4.5 Morphogenetic Approach

In creating the framework, a distinction between the agent structures and the social actor was made, and the challenges to dominance and production of the best strategy were also included. However, what was missing was the causal mechanism that could explain how these elements interacted. To achieve a greater awareness of this interrelationship, this framework employed a second theorist, Margaret Archer (1995). Her approach also addresses the problems of structure and agency by dealing with the technical issues of studying society through linking structure and agency rather than by amalgamation, in the same way that Habermas makes a distinction between Lifeworld and Systems. However, the morphogenetic approach brings a detailed breakdown of the social actor and how agency structures are formed, plus an extra dimension of time. This provided a theoretical approach that argues for the linking of structure and agency through examining the interplay between them, over time.

As was explored in Chapter 3, her approach was based on the segmentation of individuals into sub-components. In the morphogenetic approach, a person is defined as having distinctive properties: the person, social agent and social actor. These are treated as elements of an individual, and how these properties interrelate affects how social structures are transformed or sustained. This is important, as it provides a causal link between the social actor and the agency structures, and will be required to ensure an in-depth analysis. The individual consists of the person and their personality which remains with them throughout their life. This person is then, by the very nature of being born into a social context, placed collectively together with others, to become a social agent. This social agent is predetermined by such factors as parentage and demographic factors, for instance gender, and so happens without choice.

4.5.1 Creating the SE Social Actor

This default position of social agent creates your primary agency, which is the term used to describe structures in which you are situated and which thus become highly formative. This primary agency exists because of the very fact that people act with a perceived notion of a

collective common interest. Primary agents are then regrouped according to their contribution to reproducing or changing society's structures. Finally, the last element and the one that this thesis employs throughout, is the social actor. People choose to become a social actor; it is done by choice and not predetermined, but it is highly influenced by the type of social agent and primary agency they originate from. This is because the social agent you are heavily affects the primary agency, and in turn becomes a major factor in determining the role in society that is available to a person (Archer, 1995).

However, even if becoming a social actor is not set in stone by social structures, one is forced to make a choice about one's role in society, or sacrifice the ability to obtain a social identity. It is irrelevant that you become a social agent or have a personality, as this is a default position and originates from your circumstance. This is why the social actor you choose to be properly exists as a singular entity (Archer, 1995, p.258). When working in a community to develop a SE, a person has a primary agency which will have a large influence on the social actor that they choose to become, including the one creating the SE. If they are creating a SE, then indeed their primary agency and other social actors' primary agencies will have an effect on the strategic decisions of that SE. It is this interaction with other social actors in the creation of a SE that this research has critiqued. What happens when social actors begin to interact with others from a pre-existing agency structure, and does this affect the SE emergent strategy?

4.5.2 Over Time

To arrive at a mechanism by which the data can be analysed to explore how social actors interact with others from a pre-existing agency structure, a time-line was included in the framework. This made the agency structures and social actors involved occupy and operate over different tracts of the time dimension, and thus can be analysed separately (Archer, 1995, p.66). This analytical dualism is based firstly on the ontological view that society is stratified, and thus structures and agents are irreducible to one another. Secondly, as agents and structures are distinguishable in the short term then an examination of the interplay between them over time is possible, creating a methodology based upon the historicity of emergence (Archer, 1995, p. 66). This ability to analyse and distinguish the emergent interplay between agency structures and social actors is crucial to this research, as the question being asked directly relates to the emergent strategy of a SE. This emergence brings us back full circle to the idea of a communicative action outlined by Habermas (1984; 1987) that enables outcomes to be determined on a bounded rationality, that is the best argument, rather than the argument of the most dominant. This framework will then enable us to better understand if SE is taking the opportunity to act as a counter-hegemony organization supporting the aim of emancipation.

Although the framework was now in place, an analytical dualism of both agency structure and social actor was required to make it a practical research framework. This was achieved by combining Habermas' concepts of Lifeworld with Archer's definition of social actor to create the Life Agent. Secondly, the sub-systems that manage specific objectives required by society, such as economics, politics and science, as outlined by Habermas, is combined with Archer's concept of corporate agent to create the Agent Structures. This produced a framework of analysis that combines individual properties and dimensions of agency structures and social actors and places them on a time line. What results is that the Life Agent interacts with Agent Structures over time through emergent interplays and is placed in the field of hegemony.

The interaction continues with a continual interplay emerging from the resulting life agent and agent structure changes. This framework allowed the researcher to obtain a deeper stratification process by separating the individual causal mechanisms involved, resulting in further explanation and ensuring that not one, but all causal mechanisms are a very crucial aspect of the analysis of social actors.

Agent Structures (AS)

Life Agent (LA)

Hegemony

Life Agent (LA)

Life Agent (LA)

Agent Structures (AS)

Emergent Interplay

Agent Structures (AS)

Figure 2 Analytical Dualism Framework

Adapted from Morphogenetic Approach of Archer (2003)

The result is a series of themes around agent structures, life agents and the emergent interplay, and, when placed together, their own causal powers that effect hegemony. To summarize the construction of the framework, a model has been produced in Figure 2 which can be coupled with a table of the theoretical concepts underpinning the framework situated at Table 2. This

facilitated the development of data collection by creating themes under which the interview questions would be placed.

Table 2 Summaries of Underpinning Theoretical Conceptions

LA - Life Agent Explanation

Social skills, cultural background and their knowledge that reproduce this life world.

The first element of an agent consists of the person and their personality and remains with them throughout their life.

The person is then by the very nature of being born into a social context placed collectively together with others to become a social agent.

This second element, the social agent, is predetermined by such factors as parentage and demographic factors, like age and gender and so happens without choice.

This default position of social agent creates your primary agency and exists by the very fact that people act with a perceived notion of a collective common interest.

Primary agents are then regrouped according to their contribution to reproducing or changing societies' structures through their cultural background.

The final individual element of an agent is the social actor; the type of actor that one chooses to become is highly influenced by the type of social agent one originates from. This is because one's primary agency which results from being a social agent is a major factor in determining the role in society that is available to a person, one's opportunities.

The social actor's understanding and utilising of their own personal identity – the social agent, their primary agency and the social actor they become, and how their cultural identity affects the ability of a SE to make strategic decisions based on the best argument within a bounded rationality, not the argument of the most dominant.

AS – Agent Structure Explanation

Agent structures are the systems by which the complex modern world is managed and are achieved by creating sub-systems that will manage specific objectives required by society, such as economics, politics, science, culture.

What happens when social actors begin to interact with others with a different primary agency, they begin to create a new type of agency and this agency is called 'secondary agency'. This is where cultural traditions and a socialisation processes, the lifeworld is then conceived to become the system maintenance

If SE is a genuine representation of a fundamental departure from the practice or experience of dominant structures then SE should enable beneficiaries to fully participate in strategic decisions.

These secondary agencies are grouped specifically in their own interest groups, are identified by the social action they take to meet their life needs and can range from self-help groups, community associations and social clubs to large-scale social movements.

EI – Emergent Interplay Explanation

Habermas' first principle says that moral decisions can only be valid if the people affected consent or agree to their consequences.

Habermas' second principle is about the process of achieving consensus of the first principle. This consensus must be achieved by free and open debate so it is only the better argument that has the power.

This idea of communicative action is based on the premise that actors in society seek a rational debate (bounded rationale) that fosters understanding, co-operation and strategic action that is not in pursuit of one's own self interests.

The emergent interplay between structures and agents that enables strategic decisions to be determined on the best argument, not the argument of the most dominant. Such an interplay could be seen as a place of reason rather than as a sphere of power and decisions, in which the legitimacy is authorised by those not subject to the order.

The ability of a SE to act as a counter-hegemony organization, resisting the dominant practices of agency structures that are not in the interests of the social purpose.

4.6 Forming the Research Question

With a framework in place, it is the intention of this research to explore the outlined dilemmas of a SE, and provide some understanding that may support social actors to overcome this situation and become a counter-hegemony SE. The research thus aims to develop an in-depth understanding of how a SE strategy is shaped by the emergent interplay between social actors and agency structures. The creating of research questions is by no means a linear process. It is a complex issue, involving a variety of processes and influences. As discussed by Sandberg and Alvesson (2011), timing, chance, exposure to competing views and immersion in the literature, as well as the paradigmatic, social and cultural conditions, all play a part in formulating research questions. This thesis has arrived at the research question through a combination of basic modes, critical confrontation, new idea and problematization, as outlined by Sandberg and Alvesson (2011).

The first was a critical confrontation of the existing literature. As Dey and Steyaert (2012) highlighted in their critique of SE, the dominant perception of SE is that it has already passed the test of critical scrutiny. Through the literature review, the researcher had identified that few articles have addressed the ideological practices that influence strategic decision-making in a SE. This was notable in the definition debate, where the grand narrative was of policy and operational issues. Most notably, the literature had not explored the experiences and understanding of the social actors involved, and the effect that an individual or group's composition has on their SE strategy. In an attempt to address this situation, the thesis has created a categorisation of SE based on ideological drivers.

This critical confrontation led to the second mode, a new idea and a desire to find out about the emergent interplay between the social actors and how they mediate between agency structures. However, to be able to examine this area of interest required a new framework which would enable an examination of SE from a critical perspective yet also enable the competing mechanisms to be seen as interdependent. This led to the final mode, which was problematization, where a critical re-thinking of different theoretical traditions led to the creation of a new research framework. This combination of procedures created a disruptive approach to the research question (Sandberg and Alvesson, 2011), where the aim of the research became confrontation and prevention of a particular SE logic from becoming established.

To achieve this aim, the research firstly needed to analyse the discourse of the SE actors creating the SE, specifically their relationship with the emergent strategies. Secondly, how is the SE discourse affected by agency structures? This movement towards understanding the influence of agency structures on a strategy when a SE is taking shape and growing will help social actors overcome the dilemmas of hegemony. Thus further research recommended to address this understanding is articulated in the following question:

What is the impact of social actors and agency structures on the emergent strategies of a social enterprise?

Given my question, the objectives of the research are to use the analytical dualism framework:

- To understand the agency of social actors who create a SE and their decision-making process.
- To explore how the narrative of social actors who create the SE influence the subsequent emergent strategies.
- To demonstrate how SE emergent strategies are affected by the dynamics of agent structures.

These research objectives make any research that focuses on purely organizational practice redundant, as this will only produce a process that is focused on measuring the outcomes of SE as a way to understand if SE has impact as a social phenomenon. This would neglect the political and dialogical practices of social enterprise (Cho, 2006), and will undoubtedly show that the SE phenomena can have a varied reality, yet all be valid, especially when closely linked with the understanding of management and entrepreneurship theory. Therefore, the intent of this research is not about validating a type of organizational practice, but about understanding the social actors and agency structures discourse associated with the social phenomenon of SE. Thus the research will focus on gaining understanding of how such a phenomenon relates to the complex layers in society, from the micro world of the social actors to the meso level occupied by

agency structures and the macro dynamics of dominant societal frameworks. This conclusion has led to the research questions, which have been designed to help gain a deeper understanding of SE interrelationships that have become alienating and restrictive, and ultimately stop social change happening.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter described the effect of dominant agency structures that coerce a SE into meeting their needs. Reflecting upon the concept of hegemony and demonstrating how hegemonic structures operate the chapter examined the oppressive effects such a mechanism has upon a SEs social purpose. This was followed by detailing the hegemonic process from a SE beneficiary viewpoint and how emancipatory process could provide an understanding of how to counter hegemony. The theoretical concepts debated in examining counter hegemony practices are then expanded to create a theoretical framework. Incorporating the key concept of hegemony, with the morphogenetic approach of Archer and the Theory of communicative action of Habermas to form an analytical dualism framework. This was then utilised in this chapter to create a research question that could provide a deeper understanding of social actors and the strategic decisions made within a SE.

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

5.1 Research Paradigms

This chapter will detail the research methodology by providing an in-depth understanding of the methodology behind the work. This begins with a discussion on the role of paradigms in research, and introduces Burrell and Morgan's (1979) four-grid paradigmatic approach. This approach has faced criticisms by confining the debate and hence research methods. Working within that criticism, this chapter begins to explore critical research and the philosophical assumptions of this paradigm. This discourse has resulted in a focus on the specific paradigm of critical realism, which is then discussed as the underlying paradigm in this thesis research. This is further explored through an elaboration of the terms 'ontology', 'epistemology' and 'methodology' in relation to the nature of the research.

In developing this paradigmatic debate, this chapter then focuses on the research design, methods of data collection and approach taken in data analysis to tackle the questions stated in Chapter 4 and summarized in Table 3. The aim is to produce a research strategy that acknowledges that an individual's experiences can be seen as their own representations. However, research can also show how people's experiences have a relationship with their external environment, and the two perspectives are linked (Holloway and Jefferson, 2000). This is achieved by detailing the research approach, followed by the strategy adopted which led to the creation of the research sampling process, and hence the research sample criteria adopted. With sample criteria established, the process of data collection is discussed, together with how semi-structured interviews were employed, using visual stimuli. Finally after detailing the data analysis process, there is an explanation of how the quality of this qualitative research has been achieved.

Table 3 Research Objectives, Sub-Questions and Related Themes and Concepts

Research objectives	Research sub-questions	Themes/Concepts
To understand the social actors who create a SE using the life agent framework outlined in Table 2.	What is the primary agency of the social actor involved in the development of the social enterprise?	Social identity and primary agency processes affecting social enterprise outcomes – Archer's (2003) Morphogenetic Approach. Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 1984; 1987; Duberley and Johnson, 2009).
To understand how social actors decide on the social purpose of a SE.	What effect does the primary agency of the social actor have on the setting of a SE social purpose? What effect does hegemony have on the setting of a SE social purpose?	Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 1994; Duberley and Johnson, 2009). Archer's (2003) Morphogenetic Approach. Hegemony (Gramsci, 1971).
To explore how the narrative of social actors who created the SE affect the subsequent emergent strategies.	How do social actors of a social enterprise construct their agency structures to develop their SE? What are the processes involved when developing interrelationships with an agency structure?	Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 198; 1987; Duberley and Johnson, 2009). Archer's (2003) Morphogenetic Approach. Hegemony (Gramsci,, 1971).
To explore how SE emergent strategies are affected by agent structures.	How do social actors of social enterprise develop their strategies? What happens when an existing agency structure supports the development of a new social enterprise?	Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 1984; 1987; Duberley and Johnson, 2009). Archer's (2003) Morphogenetic Approach. Hegemony (Gramsci, 1971).

5.1.1 Underpinning Assumptions

The term 'paradigm' originates from Kuhn's (1962) thesis where he referred to a set of beliefs, values, assumptions and techniques which serves as "a regulatory framework of metaphysical assumptions shared by members of a given community" (Kuhn, 1962, p.175). In drawing attention to values, assumptions, motivations and ultimately bias, a researcher can acknowledge any personal experiences and involvement in the subject and/or object that might affect the research, and, rather than being a negative aspect of research, such bias can enhance the outcome. Researchers are then able to demonstrate how their methodological approach has been profoundly affected by their philosophical assumptions (Patton, 2015; Creswell, 2013). This will lead to the creation of criteria for judging the quality and credibility of the inquiry, and can make readers aware of the set of cultural values and beliefs that influenced any subsequent research decisions (Creswell, 2013). This helps to ensure that any study that has significance or personal meaning will be pursued with great care devoted to design and data collection, (Kuhn, 1962; Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.290). This is done by the inquirers admitting the value-laden nature of the research project and reporting their values and biases alongside the value-laden information gathered from the field (Creswell, 2013, p.20).

To understand further the assumptions that create philosophical paradigms, one can turn to the seminal work of Burell and Morgan (1979), entitled Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis (Hassard and Kelemen, 2002, p.336). They begin their analysis of the philosophical paradigms by framing the nature of social science around four key areas. The first area is about the reality of a situation, its ontological nature. This is how a researcher frames their understanding of the world around them. The next area noted by Burell and Morgan (1979) is epistemology. This term refers to the nature of social science and how we ground our knowledge and understanding of the world. The third term is human nature and defines the relationship between humans and their environment. On one side of the debate is determinism, and on the other is voluntarism. Determinism is where individual situations are determined by their environment, and voluntarism is the other extreme, where people have complete free will. The last of the four key areas is methodology and the debate that surrounds the issue of how we investigate and obtain knowledge. One can take a systematic approach technique, termed as 'nomothetic'. Alternatively, one can take an ideographic approach that reflects first-hand knowledge and real experience.

5.1.2 Four Paradigms

Burrell and Morgan (1979) took these four concepts and created a dimension that moves from the subjective to a more objective viewpoint, and thus created a framework to understand paradigms within social sciences. Building on this typology, Burrell and Morgan (1979) proceeded to frame the order-conflict debate. They wanted to show that issues and problems worthy of study related to different perspectives, that some researchers wanted to explain the nature of social order, while on the other side there was more concern for the problem of change and conflict in social structures. This resulted in a matrix that showed the subjective and objective debate as opposites, whilst combining with the radical change and regulation perspectives opposing each other (Chell and Karatas-Ozkan, 2010). Such a matrix showed four quite distinct paradigms that researchers can be categorised within, see Figure 3.

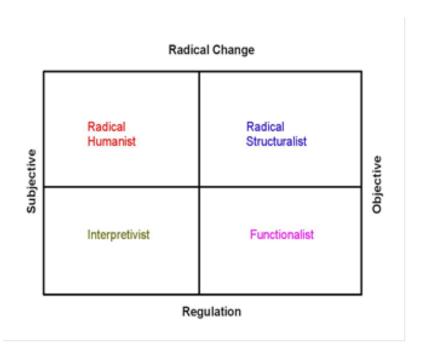


Figure 3 Four Paradigms

(Adapted from Burrell and Morgan's (1979) four paradigms.)

The resulting four paradigms are described by Burrell and Morgan (1979) as a frame of reference for social theorists who operate within them. Their intention is to show common ground based around an analysis perspective within similar problems and doubts of social phenomena. The functionalist paradigm is firmly rooted in regulation, and approaches research from an objective point of view. Social sciences modelled on the physical sciences are axiomatic, and sociological laws should be based on the relationship that natural laws (of science) have to the physical and natural environment, (Welch, 1991). A metaphor closely associated with this paradigm is mechanistic, where life fits into a system. Research within this area is commonly known as positivist, and dominates natural sciences. The positivist paradigm was introduced into the world by Comte from 1830 onwards, (Comte, 1853; Williams, 1976). Positivism is viewed as real and

denoting an actual existence, where knowledge of reality and the world around us must be observed. As Chell and Karatas-Ozkan state (2010, p.61), a deterministic view of human behaviour dominates, and human beings are considered to be adaptable to the system rather than having free will and choice. The paradigm of radical structuralist takes the same objective stance. This approach is again typified by examining change over time, and adopts a longitudinal and historical attitude but with an aim to radically change structural realities.

Researchers located in opposition to this objective viewpoint take a subjective approach to understanding the world. They explore individual consciousness within the participant's own context, as opposed to that of the observers. The two paradigms located within this subjective stance are interpretive and radical humanist. They agree with each other that individual consciousness is paramount, but the interpretive paradigm focuses on the regulation of social order, while the radical humanist take the same subjective approach, but with the aim that the limitations of social arrangements should be transcended. One such paradigm is constructionism, where knowledge of reality is socially constructed and given meaning by people. (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2002; Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Patton, 2015; Burr, 1995).

This use of a paradigmatic framework can help locate a researcher's thoughts, and begin to explain their approach to research. It can be useful for a reader if they are aware of influences, and will help ground the context of any research, with the subjective approach acknowledging the individual as having choice, whilst an objective viewpoint focuses on social structures. However, one can begin to experience problems with such a framework. Whilst it has created a matrix of discourse that is constructed with opposing views, these views appear to have been fixed, creating pre-determined outcomes, where no element is related to another. Yet if one adopts a semiotic perspective of subjective and objective, for example, this will show reciprocally defined terms, where each must refer to the other for meaning (Morrow, 1994). This creates a vacuum within the debate of paradigms, avoiding any challenge that such differences may be complimentary to each other. Instead, researchers are settling for a concrete understanding of research paradigms. As Deetz states when discussing the grid, it has firstly been used to verify research approaches, and secondly, its dimensions obscure important differences in current research orientations, leading to poorly formed conflicts and discussions (Deetz, 1996, p.191). However, in the context of social enterprise, the researcher could be limited by seeking to cover all perspectives, or by creating inconsistency across the research project (Seymour, 2012, p. 42).

5.1.3 Adopting a Paradigm

This critique has raised doubts as to which paradigm this research thesis should employ. If adopting a specific paradigmatic approach, such as functionalism, then it would be fulfilling the critique of Deetz, (1996), and would limit discussions on SE to those falling within that particular

research orientation. This is compounded by the fact that this research seeks to facilitate radical social change by analysing both agent structures and their influence on social actors' processes in creating a social enterprise. This subject would require one to adopt a philosophy that encompasses a radical structuralist paradigm in examining agency structures, coupled with a radical humanist approach, advocating that limitations of social arrangements can be transcended. All of this is then placed alongside the need to understand the individual consciousness of social actors going through a process.

This would fit closely with an interpretive paradigm like social constructionism. Such an approach would require a breakout from a positivist approach, where the world has a reality of its own (Karatas-Ozkan & Chell, 2010), and lead to an acknowledgement that the consciousness of individuals is dominated by the ideological superstructures with which they interact. Such a subjective paradigmatic philosophy is where the role of the social actor is seen as a means of relating inner experience to outward actions (Chell, 2007). This is where the world of everyday life is taken for granted as reality by everyone in society, despite the inner world originating in their thoughts and actions (Berger and Luckman, 1966, p.33). This is where the researcher has to rely, as much as possible, on the participant's views of a situation (Creswell, 2013, p.25).

It can be argued that such a paradigm is overtly political, as the boundaries of a community that creates the social construct are not explicit, yet it is assumed that such a community will have similar understandings. This form of social construct, as stated by Farber and Sherry (1994, p.651), makes implicit that it has a communitarian orientation, where members of the group are held together not merely by personal or utilitarian ties, but also by deep similarities in viewpoint. Certainly social enterprise can be seen as a wide collective of organizations, as Patton's (2003, p.13) definition demonstrates, when he encompasses co-operatives and for-profit organizations, plus the traditional organizations of the third sector. These issues of SE identity have been further explored in Chapter 2.

What makes this argument interesting is the premise that a positivist's hypothesis should not assume that SE is communitarian, and that they have no similar beliefs, cultural norms and values that constitute political views. But, if one is assuming a positivist approach, then any hypothesis proposed would be reasonable, be it stating that SEs have common values or that they do not. However, within an interpretive paradigm, one is not providing a hypothesis; one is attempting to gain understanding of a social phenomenon, and in the process enabling individuals to reflect on their own ideas, as opposed to testing a hypothesis. It is therefore the role of the researcher when taking a critical stance to make it clear that the SE research activity, and understanding gained, is related to the subjective data gathered through immersion in a social context. The aim is not to prove an assumption, but to listen to participants in their own setting and understand the historical and cultural context in which they live (Creswell, 2013).

5.1.4 Relativity

The use of an interpretive paradigm to explore SE, especially when the SE is a socially situated phenomenon, where the narrative of reality is about both the people involved and the social context, is a justified philosophy. However, to avoid fulfilling the critique of Deetz (1996) that a researcher should not allow a paradigm's dimensions to obscure important differences in research orientations, which can lead to poorly formed conflicts and discussions, this research will not reject positivism or any other methods, but will adopt a methodological pragmatism, (Morrow, 1994). This is an important aspect, as it allows for the research method that is most appropriate, and not just the rejection of quantitative methods. This conscious compromise between extremes recognises social conditions as having a real effect, whilst acknowledging that such concepts are human constructions (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2002). This allows any knowledge gained through data capture and analysis, regardless of whether it was interpretive or not, to be seen as a human derived social construction, and not as a phenomenon that has received the truth stamp of society. There is no ultimate truth but the reflection of a socially constructed reality (Burr 1995).

This idea that SE is a socially constructed reality, that there is no ultimate truth and everything is possible is called relativism, which, if valid, brings complications to this research topic. Relativity would leave any research methodological approach in a contradictory position. How can it be possible for any expression offered to be no more than unsubstantiated opinion? As the epistemological credibility of the discourse has already been undermined, (Duberley and Johnson, 2009), the issue is that if we have no truth, how can the notion of a dominant structure be in existence? If someone makes a judgement call as to who is in power, then ultimately that call is based on a true or false premise, but with relativism there is no truth, so social justice is not possible. This notion results in people unable to have a false consciousness -thought that is alienated from the real social being of the thinker (Berger and Luckman, 1966), or where the truth is obscured by ideas and beliefs, and thus no dominant power needs to be addressed by society. This concept of false consciousness is closely associated with ideas of emancipation, which is defined as a process by which people are able to resist forms of oppression that keep them from genuinely understanding, expressing, or acting on their own interests (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000) especially regarding access to forms of communication. Such an understanding of emancipation requires the creation and development of alternative paths and responses, not just access to information, but access to a range of skills required to decode, encode, interpret, reflect upon, appraise and arrive at a consensus on decisions (Simonds, 1989). However, if relativity were the case, then logic would dictate that any emancipation and its associated radical change of an oppressive situation would not be required, as such power never existed.

5.1.5 **Disciplinary Power**

However, one argument that does support this understanding is proposed by Foucault (1976). He proposes that power should be seen as the ability to use knowledge that prevails in society to enable one to claim resources or control people in a manner that is acceptable to others (Burr, 1995). The power manifests itself through discourses in which alternative views of knowledge are present, but as the dominant view becomes common sense, such a view is appropriated for the use of power. With such a process creating different possible actions, there will always be resistance to such common sense. Therefore, the power implicit in one discourse is only apparent from the resistance implicit in another (Burr, 1995). Thus power is not real, but a socially constructed activity that has been created through knowledge, and this is the reason why the actions of individuals are not controlled, but directed through their available knowledge and conscience. It is these forces that control society through what Foucault calls disciplinary power.

This disciplinary power operates by creating a society that is subject to scrutiny. It is this scrutiny that allows knowledge to be used to control others. This is actioned by people freely subjecting themselves to the scrutiny of others, such as experts, and by self-scrutiny. This idea of normalisation is pervasive in our society where we have an obsession with lists that rank everything from tourist sites, to body weight and levels of sexuality (Gutting, 2005). This is a much more effective form of control. Henceforth, once a discourse is culturally available it can be appropriated in the interests of the relatively powerful. It is not that an elite conspiracy to achieve their interests, but it is the unity of interests that make it appear as if they have conspired (Heiner, 2002). To address such power, one can then look historically at how this discourse is manifested, but Foucault says one should not postulate what discourse should be adopted, as one cannot predict what discourse is good or bad for future society. This point is important, as the discourse should be not forcing any power to be dominant. In fact, if the research is about social justice through emancipation, the radical change derived from any research should be creating balance in discourse that produces equity, allowing for a dynamic between resistance and power.

5.2 Critical Management Studies

5.2.1 The Critical Stance

This exploration of philosophical paradigms that could formulate a clear methodological framework for research on social enterprise, which addresses the issues of emancipation, alongside the epistemological and ontological issues raised in paradigmatic debates, has led to further exploration of critical management studies (CMS). CMS or critical theory is concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed upon them by race, class and gender (Creswell, 2013). There are different paradigms operating within this field: the critical

theory of the Frankfurt School, feminism, critical realism and various forms of postmodernism (Duberley and Johnson, 2009). However, the uses of these paradigms in critical management studies all have in common the aim of highlighting dominant structures of power by deconstructing discourses and narratives that enable dominant forces to remain.

One highly influential perspective closely associated with CMS is critical theory (Duberley and Johnson, 2009). According to Burrell and Morgan (1979), critical theory is situated within radical humanism, where there is a sociology of radical change combined with a subjective approach. Critical research philosophy believes in the ability of people to change their material and social circumstances, but they are constrained by prevailing systems of economic, political and cultural authority (Myers and Klein, 2011). Critical theory endeavours to expose and question power assumptions in groups, associations, society and organizations, and aims to challenge hegemony (Patton, 2015). This approach supports a researcher in developing strategies to change the established order, which is very much part of this research aim. This is because critical research breaks out from a positivist approach, assuming that nature is not a closed system, so any experiments of one variable cannot confirm reality, although they can explain a causal mechanism. It is this very understanding of nature as an open system, where you cannot exclude other variables, which drives this break from positivism. Another research paradigm associated with such an understanding of societal frameworks is critical realism. The term 'critical realism' originates from Bhaskar (1989), who called his general philosophy of science 'transcendental realism' and his philosophy of human sciences 'critical naturalism'. Gradually people have combined the two and applied the term 'critical realism'.

5.2.2 Underlying Paradigm: Critical Realism

Such an ontology ensures that not one, but all causal mechanisms are a crucial aspect of reality (Harre and Bhaskar, 2001). As a researcher, I am aware of the causal mechanisms of the consciousness of individuals, their social relations plus societal structures, and how all of these factors will have their own causal powers. These causal powers can be described as the potential ability given to any structure to have the capacity to act in a certain way and/or facilitate various activities and developments (Lawson, 1997). However, crucially, when such mechanisms are put together, a different reality may be observed. This knowledge can then be used to transform alienating and restrictive practices (Myers and Klein, 2011). This is not as a means to provide a simplistic solution to societal issues such as poverty, but to provide a guard against simplistic narratives, and the need for more reflective entrepreneurs (Ramoglou and Tsang 2015). To articulate the philosophical underpinnings of this paradigm, I have employed the four key areas for framing social sciences that Burrell and Morgan (1979) used to begin their exploration, ontology, epistemology, human behaviour and methodology.

5.2.2.1 Ontology

Critical realism (CR) understands the world to have a reality, but it is a very complex reality. This approach has forced CR to break away from a positivist approach and assume that nature is not a closed system. So any experiments of one variable cannot confirm reality, but can explain a causal mechanism resulting in explanation but not necessarily prediction (Potter and Lopez, 2001). As stated by Archer (1995), social sciences are different from natural reality whose main feature is self-subsistence. This requires an ontology that ensures all causal mechanisms are part of reality (Harre and Bhaskar, 2001). This forces a researcher to take account of structures, powers, and other mechanisms and to be aware that when these factors come together they may well have their own causal powers. Such processes have entities and agents which can provide constraints and enablements, yet such casual powers may remain unexercised (Archer, 2003). This understanding translates to an ontological position that states that a reality exists but will always be difficult to capture.

5.2.2.2 Epistemology

Before you know what you know, you need to know how you interact with the world. Therefore CR's ontological stance of a world of causal mechanisms interacting in an open system pushes one to see society through its relations, with any social act presupposing those relations, even though such relations can be ontologically independent. As Marx said, society is the sum of the interrelationship of individuals (Marx 1973; Collier, 1994). This approach provides an epistemological caution with regard to scientific knowledge, as opposed to a self-defeating relativism (Lopez, 2001), because science is not pure and can contain ideologically driven results through both the methods employed and the explanations (Potter and Lopez, 2001). This view of society as a complicated set of relations means that knowledge is a social product and is culturally and historically anchored (Collier, 1994). CR aims to establish the basis of these possible refinements and examines power independently, so that one reality is observed. However, bring other causal powers into the examination, and a different reality may be in evidence. It is through understanding these interrelationships of causal powers and then by applying such knowledge, that any alienating and restrictive practices can be transformed (Myers and Klein, 2011).

5.2.2.3 Human behaviour

Within the CR paradigm it is believed that people have the ability to transcend their limitations of social arrangements. However, this exercise of power over knowledge is actioned in the multi relational layers of society, such as the domains of politics, culture and economics (Myers and Klein, 2011). These domain rules and cultural practices are propagated to inform individuals of the values they should adhere to, as opposed to values that are in their best interests. This will lead to the creation of criteria for judging the quality and credibility of the inquiry. This should

enable readers to become aware of the set of cultural values and beliefs that influenced any subsequent research decisions (Creswell, 2013). It helps to ensure that if a study has significance or personal meaning, it will be pursued through exploring with great care devoted to design and data collection (Kuhn, 1964; Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.290). This can only be achieved if the inquirer admits the value-laden nature of the research project, whilst reporting their values and biases alongside the value-laden information gathered from the field (Creswell, 2013 p. 20).

5.2.2.4 Methodology

Research should not be focused on truth seeking but needs to examine the mechanisms and processes by which knowledge is constructed and used. The approach is based on a vertical explanation, where the stratification of knowledge reveals a real understanding. An example would be when researching social enterprise, one examines the hegemony field and uncovers the habitus of the social enterprise community, then explores further the social actors' involvement and their primary agency, each time building on previous knowledge whilst revealing new insights - a social production of knowledge by means of knowledge (Collier, 1994). This use of methodology in the research is explored in more detail in the following section. Table 4 highlights the paradigmatic assumptions adopted for this research.

Table 4 Paradigmatic Assumptions

Paradigmatic assumptions (PA)	Critical Realist paradigm	Source (s)
PA1: Ontology: What is the nature of reality?	Critical realism assumes that nature is not a closed system. Experiments of one variable cannot confirm reality.	Karatas-Oskan and Chell, (2010); Berger and Luckmann (1966).
There is a reality but it is difficult to know and reach.	Causal mechanisms can result in explanation but not necessarily prediction, Potter and Lopez, (2001). Social science is different from natural reality whose main feature is self-subsistence, (Archer, 1995).	Burr (1995); Morrow (1994)
	All causal mechanisms are a very crucial aspect of reality, (Harre and Bhaskar, 2001).	Potter and Lopez, (2001); Collier, (1994).
	Structures, powers, mechanisms and their tendencies are all factors that combine to create their own causal powers.	
	These causal powers can provide constraints and enablements, yet may remain unexercised, (Archer, 2003).	
PA2: Epistemology: What can be known of these realities and what is the relationship	The interaction with the world, society, is through relations and any social acts presuppose those relations, but such relations can be ontologically independent.	Easterby-Smith <i>et al</i> , 2002; Collier (1994), Lopez and Potter
between knower and known?	Society is the sum of the interrelationship of the individuals (Marx, 1973; Collier, 1994).	(2001); Sayer (1992) Sayer (2000) Lawson
	Critical realism provides epistemological caution with regard scientific knowledge as opposed to a self-defeating relativism (Lopez, 2001).	(1997).
Knowledge involves many interrelationships but through a stratification process one can	Science is not pure and can contain ideologically driven results through both methods employed and explanations (Potter and Lopez, 2001).	
begin to develop further understanding.	The social production of knowledge by the means of knowledge is culturally and historically anchored.	
	CR acts to establish the basis of these possible refinements.	

	Powers are examined independently, one reality is observed, however put other causal powers into the examination, a different reality may be in evidence. Understanding these interrelationships of causal powers and applying such knowledge then alienating and restrictive practices can be transformed (Myers and Klein, 2011).			
PA3: Human behaviour: Determinism or freedom of choice? Scope for human agency? There is an acknowledgement of human agency. The idea is to empower human beings to effect change.	Within this paradigm it is believed that people have the ability to transcend their limitations of social arrangements. Exercise of power over knowledge is actioned in the multi relational layers of society, such as the domains of politics, culture, economics (Myers and Klein, 2011). The rules and cultural practices of domains are propagated to inform individuals of the values they should adhere to as opposed to values that are in their best interests.	Harre (2001). Myers (2011). Collier (and and 1994).	Bhaskar Klein
PA4: Methodology: How might such knowledge of human behaviour or social world be produced?	Research should not be focused on truth seeking. Research needs to examine the mechanisms and processes by which knowledge is constructed and used. Vertical explanation can be used to enable the stratification of knowledge which can reveal a real understanding. Researching SE includes hegemony, the habitus of the SE community, the actors' involvement and then their primary agency. Build on previous knowledge whilst revealing new insights, a social production of knowledge by means of knowledge (Collier, 1994)	Myers (2011). Sayer (2 Bhaskar	•	Klein,

5.3 Research Approach

This research is overtly emancipatory and is underpinned by the critical realism paradigm as discussed in the previous section. This approach drives forward the need to understand how social actors and SE are able to develop alternative paths and responses, not just access to information, but to a range of skills required to decode, encode, interpret, reflect upon, appraise and arrive at a consensus on decisions (Simonds, 1989). This is achieved by drawing upon the critical philosophical issue of communicative action raised by Habermas (1984; 1987) and the need to explore the emergent properties of the interplay between structures and social actors developed by Archer (1995). An analysis of knowledge in terms of power relations, relational structures, allocation of resources, sanctions and use of rewards plus many other factors needs to be explored (Syed *et al*, 2010). The following sections will outline this methodological relationship between the social research to be undertaken and the conceptual theories to frame the research.

Habermas is an influential critical theorist (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000) whose empirical work is grounded in critical social philosophy, where the methodology employed is focused upon the mechanisms and processes by which knowledge is constructed and used. The understanding of these mechanisms and processes are painstakingly reconstructed by iterative empirical research guided by theory. Of these, theory must come first for, without concepts, even perception is problematic; however it is also true that empirical research is important, because things and events have the capacity to contradict our expectations, inviting alternative interpretations and the amendment of theory (Ackroyd, 2004). This requires a study which begins with the assumptions and the use of theoretical frameworks that inform about research associated with the problem (Creswell, 2013, p.44).

If the research begins with an assumption that a person's experience has a relationship with their own representations and with their external environment, and that these are linked, then this research should seek to identify the social actor's actions. Such actions by social actors in a SE could link and articulate the external agency structures that operate within their sphere. These processes are, to some degree, known by the social actors involved in the SE and can be acknowledged in their commentary (Ackroyd, 2004). This makes the relationships which constitute the building blocks of the SE, and the reflective views that participants have on their circumstances a focus for research. This will involve putting together data collected to understand the patterns of relationships in which different social actors from agency structures interact. This acknowledges the complexity of the events and unfolds trajectories of social enterprises, whilst

contributing to a critical understanding that keeps social enterprise from being an unproblematic solution to social problems (Steyaert and Bachmann, 2012).

This methodological approach enables a researcher to build on previous knowledge whilst revealing new insights from the work undertaken, a social production of knowledge by means of knowledge (Collier, 1994). The researcher does have an interest in a social actor's individual understanding but balances such meaning with an awareness of the discourse, ideological and dominant structures that are operating around the subject. The critique of this approach is that it can lead to a loss of quality in which the phenomenon cannot be prescribed by methodological rules. Such rules may not be in evidence, however what is replacing such rules are "guidelines," which when employed in a particular research context enable movement towards quality work. This pursuit of social and human research that does not have firm guidelines and is constantly changing and evolving will complicate how one tells others how to judge the study when completed (Creswell, 2013, p.49). This next section therefore explains how to judge this study by providing the research strategy, methods of data collection and analysis.

5.3.1 Research Strategy

The strategic approach adopted in this research is both deductive and inductive (Patton, 2002, Creswell, 2013). This strategy was adopted to enable the research to utilise the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 4, the Analytical Dualism Framework in Figure 2. Although the aim was to begin with a framework of analysis, the process would adopt inductive techniques that would allow for any conclusions to be drawn from the data, rather than just being presupposed, thus enabling a better understanding of the interrelations within the phenomenon of social enterprise. In addition, the inductive approach supports the researcher in constructing an open methodology and avoiding any rigid methodology. This opens up other possible and competing explanations of the phenomenon being studied. As this research has focused on a well-known, but none-the-less small phenomenon of social enterprise, the deductive and inductive methods by which data is collected and analysed would be more suitable to the contextual situation (Patton, 2015). This is because an inductive strategy encourages methods that gather evidence which will develop understanding of a phenomenon, whilst deductive methods can help find relationships with descriptions of a phenomenon (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012).

The methodology to be applied to this research is an orientational qualitative inquiry (Patton, 2002, p.129). The emphasis on qualitative inquiry is because it supports the aims of small-scale research. It also focuses on an in-depth examination of a phenomenon to gain a detailed understanding and interpretation (Jupp, 2006). The additional orientational approach to

qualitative inquiry is defined due to its implicit theoretical and ideological perspective (Patton, 2002, p.129.) In this research the orientational framework is 'critical theory'. Critical theory is orientated to question established social orders, dominating structures, institutions, ideologies and discourse (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000). This critical tradition combines with the interpretive methods of qualitative inquiry to create a research methodology that will challenge the existing hegemony. The purpose of this methodological idea is to act as a counter-hegemony, creating liberating practices that resist what is dominant, and reducing the constraints on human decision-making. Where this research finds false beliefs about how society works, it is committed to removing those false beliefs; furthermore, if social structures or institutions are maintaining false beliefs, then it is equally committed to removing them as well (Syed *et al.*, 2010, p.78). For instance, if this research identified causal mechanisms affecting a social enterprise purpose by redirecting the organization away from social change to maintaining the status quo, then the role of the research would be to act upon that knowledge.

5.3.2 Research Sampling

Sampling in this research was used to identify social actors who have been involved in creating social enterprises (SE) that can aid the process of learning about this phenomenon, addressing the questions proposed in Table 3. The sampling approach adopted was a non-probability sampling process, or, as Patton (2015, p. 265) describes, "Strategically purposeful sampling", where items for the sample have been selected deliberately by the researcher; the choice concerning the items remains supreme. This type of sampling is considered more appropriate when the universe happens to be small, and a known characteristic of it is to be studied intensively (Kothari, 2004, p.67). This qualitative approach of gathering evidence by targeting participants based on their experiences, knowledge and understanding is commonly known as purposeful sampling (Patton, 2015). However, although such a sample is not statistically representative of the population, the basis of the logic for selecting the samples in this manner is that they will provide an in-depth understanding. The aim is to find excellent participants so that excellent data can be collected (Morse, 2010, p. 231).

The strategy of this purposeful sampling is to focus on a homogeneous group within the social enterprise phenomenon. The first step in prioritising the criteria for such a group was to decide what was most important in achieving a sample that was inclusive of the target population and contained the key constituencies (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). The purpose was to gather data that would have a higher probability of being comparable, as the context is of similar circumstances, known as comparison focused sampling (Patton, 2015). In addition to being comparable, this purposeful sampling aimed to find participants who would help elaborate, challenge and

illuminate the theoretical ideas outlined in the analytical dualism framework in Chapter 4. This type of sampling is what Patton (2015) calls 'deductive theoretical sampling', derived from the theoretical focus that Strauss and Corbin (1998) used to develop the theory itself. This research aims to combine this understanding by mixing these approaches.

In this sampling it became an important aspect that participants would define themselves as part of a SE. However, the researcher was aware that, when asked directly, they may use an associated title, such as a Community Development Trust. Self-defining themselves as a SE eliminates a pre-discussion on what constitutes a SE, and thus avoids a sense of SE definition nihilism. The geographical area of the SE has been restricted to England. By restricting the sample to England, the research limited the financial and logistical constraints imposed by a wider sampling group. This approach strengthened the chances of comparable data, yet remains sufficiently diverse for analyses to be undertaken (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

Further criteria surrounded the reason why the SE existed, and thus focused on the organization having a stated social purpose. This stated social purpose must also be related to an identified geographical community that has a population located in a specific sub-regional area and has less than 20,000 households. By having a stated social purpose that is identified with a geographical community, it is assumed that the organization will be more likely to have been created due to a social opportunity than a business opportunity. Based on this assumption, it is envisaged that the organization aimed to achieve social change. Similarly, to ensure the collection of appropriate data, the SE must involve enterprise activities. Therefore, the SE must gain a certain amount of their financial turnover from trading. One further criterion is that the SE must be outside of their start-up phase. They would have been trading for more than two years and should have more than three personnel employed. These individuals could include paid and unpaid organizational social actors. This approach ensured that the data collected was interesting and relevant, as the organization had experienced their start-up phase and reflected the theoretical framework. Thus it was assumed that the SE participants will have been involved with, or would have dealt with associated legitimacy and other possible issues related to creating a SE.

5.3.3 Research Sample

Having focused the research on a homogeneous group, the research process aimed to obtain a variety of perspectives within SE organizations that reflected the social actors involved. Data collection with such participants then provided significant evidence in relation to the emergent strategies of a SE, the development of their social purpose and its changing nature within the dynamic environment of a SE and the wider hegemony. This combination of a homogeneous

grouping and the outlined concepts from the dual analytical framework at Figure 2 created the inclusion and exclusion criteria of research participants.

The first criterion that enabled participation was the need to have been, or still be involved in a SE. The social enterprise must have been from the stated homogeneous group. They would have at least two years' experience of working in or with the SE, and thus will have developed knowledge related to the strategic decisions associated with a SE. If the participants fulfilled this criterion and were aged over 18, then the next inclusion criterion would be based on the role they had performed within the SE. Such roles needed to have involved management activity in some capacity. This would ensure they had sufficient influence in decision-making to effect the emergent strategies. These sampling criteria are summarized in Table 5, but other terms associated with similar roles would be accepted, such as non-executive director for a governance role.

Table 5 Sampling Criteria

Homogeneous Group	Role	History
Social Enterprise.	Over 18 years of age.	Current or past.
Geographically defined community.	An original founder member for more than two years.	
Social purpose associated with defined community.	•	
Located in an English sub-region.	Management experience and /or governance role.	
Less than 20,000 households being served. Trading activity for more than two years.	Trustee – from a pre-existing agency structure or identified community.	
	Senior Executive such as an appointed CEO.	

The principal disadvantage of this research choice of purposive sampling is the subjectivity of the researcher's decisions. This can create a situation of a lack of diversity where participants reflect the researchers own demographic profile. This can allow for the strategically chosen participants to reinforce a researchers own thoughts rather than provide an alternative perspective. This type of sampling could create more confirmation of a researchers thoughts because the networks that the researcher as a current SE practitioner engages within will introduce bias into selection, which could have been evident. However, in the view of critical realism, social sciences are inherently and unavoidable evaluative — value-full rather than value-free (Bhaskar, 1993). Therefore although potential bias is an aspect of purposive sampling, the same could be said of all social science methods of sampling. This research thus embraces such bias as a means to improve the data obtained by adding a criterion approach when identifying participants through purposeful

sampling. Thus the sampling has been able to provide a rich source of data, and was chosen to reflect the changing nature of a SE from management perspectives within a SE organization. So despite advocates of the supposedly value-free social science, what may be seen as bias now becomes a strength in this inquiry (Patton, 2015). In addition to participants being able to provide a rich source of data, they are all over 18 and have agreed to take part. Table 6 summarizes the relationship of participants to the research process, this relationship and the themes have been explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

Table 6 Research Sample Relationship to Themes

Research Objectives	Analysis using Archer's and Habermas and Gramsci's conceptual tools	Purposeful Sampling
To understand the agency of social actors who create a SE and their decision-making process. To explore how the narrative of social actors who create the SE influence the subsequent emergent strategies. To demonstrate how SE emergent strategies are affected by the dynamics of agent structures.	Corporate Agency (Archer, 2003; 1995). Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 1984; 1987).	Governance role - Existing and retired board and/or trustee. Management - Chief officer, operations manager or other senior role. Social actor could be from the community and/or from an agency

5.3.4 Finding Participants

Social actors have been recruited via SE organizations, or if they had left the SE through social enterprise networks, online forums and social media. However, there are a relatively small number of SEs in England that reflect the sample criteria outlined in the research sampling. The main umbrella body for this type of SE, Locality, has only 470 members registered, and not all those organizations have significant trade and thus fall outside the research sample. This required significant interaction with networks to obtain the right participants. Despite the identification of a diverse group of individuals obtaining permission from all targeted senior people was not always successful. The criticism in this approach is that a sample may not be representative of the SE demographic, such as gender or representation from ethnic groupings. However, the aim of the sampling process was purposeful and so the lack of representation which

could have been a criticism still enabled rich data to be collected. Despite the sampling process not obtaining a diverse representation, the sample did secure six women and obtained a variety of individuals whose cultural background was diverse enabling a variety of cultural identities to be represented.

All of the potential participants were sent a detailed letter/email outlining the research and its purpose and the involvement and commitment required by themselves. This included criteria detail on who met the inclusion requirements and who did not. In Appendix B is a copy of the information provided to potential participants, detailing the purpose of the research, why they had been chosen as participants and knowledge about the research interview process. After providing a promotional campaign to foster interest from SE actors, those who wished to take part were sent the participant information detailing the research. Correspondence with participants included detail on the exclusion and inclusion criteria, time-scales, commitment and how they would be contacted in the research process. In addition a clear documenting procedure was outlined, in particular how that data would be kept, analysed and how the final thesis would be structured.

After acceptance by the social actors, and before any data gathering, the participants were contacted directly to discuss any issues or concerns that may have been raised, and they all had the option to withdraw. After a social actor agreed to the research interview, the next phase of face-to-face activity was started. At the start of the interview a consent form was provided for signature. Interviews took place in the most confidential and safe space possible. Provision for withdrawal from research by the social actor was provided, and procedures for individuals to continue at a later date were also made available. This research followed an ethics procedure, as outlined by the University of Southampton, and detailed in Appendix C. All interviews and observations were confidential and were recorded via a dictaphone, all data being kept securely. Any transcripts of interviews or observations were kept securely and made anonymous in the process of writing up the research.

5.3.5 **Semi-Structured Interviews**

The research interviews were all performed as semi-structured interviews, which enabled more flexibility than structured interviews, and provided a greater focus than unstructured interviews. An outline of participants and the duration of the interviews are shown in Table 7. This method of data collection allowed the researcher freedom to pursue issues as the situation dictated (Lee, 1999, p. 62). According to Miller and Crabtree (1992), a semi-structured interview is co-created by the interviewer and interviewee, and occurs outside of the stream of everyday life. This process is one that is guided, concentrated, focused and involves open-ended communication,

which requires that any questions are part of a flexible interview guide. Miller and Crabtree (1992) cite the use of interviews that intensively explore a particular topic, reveal personal biography and involve critical incidents as falling under the umbrella of semi-structured interviews.

In this research the use of the semi-structured interview was designed to elicit such discourse surrounding the participant's involvement in the SE. The aim of obtaining discourse related to the SE would develop understanding of the contextual issues surrounding the questions posed as they ordered and described past events, articulated the ups and downs of a social enterprise and illuminated participants' relationships and emotions. The intention was to show the acts of political and social interaction that formulate the discourse in relation to the strategic decisions made and subsequent emergent strategies of the SE.

The number of semi-structured interviews undertaken was 20, which is within the boundaries recommended for those adopting grounded theory approaches (Creswell, 2013; Morse, 2010). The decision to discontinue interviewing came whilst the researcher was still interviewing participants, as the information rich data collected began to show comparable data and distinguishing patterns via the analysis conducted. This gradually reached a point of saturation and data collection was no longer providing significant insights. Most importantly, the number of participants reflects the validity, meaningfulness and insights generated by the high quality data collected (Patton, 2015). Table 7 provides details of the interviews and their duration. Each interview produced discourse on the key themes, and it was these specific discourses and their relationships to the concepts summarized in Chapter 4 that started to form the units of analysis. It was these units within interviews that provided significant data for analysis and the possibility of being contextually comparable. The data gathered from interviews remained as recordings and have been transcribed in full.

Table 7 Research Participants Profile

Participants Names	Social Enterprise Description	Social Actors Profile	Current position	Duration of Interview
1. Fred	Serves a large community of mixed tenure and maintains and owns a local park, land and building assets. Provides social action projects for young people and festivals for the community. Enterprise is the leasing of local buildings plus other local services.	,		62 mins
2. Cornelius	Community organization that serves their local area. Enterprise has expanded into delivering welfare to work contracts to a wider geographical area.	Male, white retired, worked in retail, lives in local area. Role: Chair, volunteer.	Remains	57 mins
3. Mary	Community organization that serves their local area. There is a large focus on serving the vulnerable and older population. Enterprise is the hiring of rooms and providing services to vulnerable residents.	=		33 mins
4. Arthur	Community organization based in a town with high levels of deprivation. Enterprise is the hiring of rooms and providing catering services.	Male, white aged 30-40, educated to degree level, and lives in local area. Role: CEO, paid.		46 mins
5. Chloe	Long established community organization that serves a diverse community in an urban area of deprivation. Enterprise is the leasing and management of buildings and provides social action projects to a mixture of groups.		Remains	49 mins
6. Jane	The refurbishment and development of a local park and buildings situated in the grounds. Catering enterprise to provide a sustainable solution to maintaining the park and delivering community projects within the park.			51 Mins

7. William	Community organization based in the heart of a large modern housing development. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing local buildings plus other local services.	Male, white retirement age, lives in local area. Role: CEO, paid.	Remains	43 Mins
8. Henry	Community organization based in a town with high levels of deprivation. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing local building.	Male, white retired, worked in variety of roles, lives in local area. Role: Chair, volunteer.	Moved on	27 Mins
9. Naomi	Community organization that serves their local area. Enterprise focuses on serving specific groups and has expanded into delivering contracts to a wider geographical area.	1	Remains	55 Mins
10. Lucy	Local gym in rural area that provides a holistic healthy living environment with food and well-being support.	Female, white 30-40, educated to degree level, lives in local area, Role: Managing Director, paid.	Remains	51 Mins
11. Stephen	Long established community organization that serves a diverse community in an urban area of deprivation. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing local buildings plus other local services.	=	Remains	69 Mins
12. Alan	Community organization that serves an established community in an urban area of deprivation. Enterprise consists of providing local services.	Male, white aged 40-50, educated to degree level, does not live in local area. Role: CEO, paid.	Moved on	49 Mins
13. Sean	Community organization that serves an established community in an urban area of deprivation. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing local buildings plus catering and other local services.		Moved on	54 Mins

14. Jack	Community organization that serves an urban area of deprivation. High levels of diversity with many different ethnic minorities and nationalities. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing local buildings.		Moved on	51 Mins
15. Eric	Community organization that serves an urban area of deprivation. Predominately white working class area with high density of population. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing a local building and providing IT services.	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		61 Mins
16. Sammy	Community organization that serves an urban area of deprivation. Enterprise consists of providing local services that meet social need plus small farm holding.	Male, white aged 30-40, educated to degree level, used to live in local area. Role: Business manager, paid.	Remains	73 Mins
17. Jeremy	Community organization that serves an urban area of deprivation. High levels of diversity with many different ethnic minorities and nationalities. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing local buildings and providing social services for local population.	degree level, and does not live in local	Remains	55 Mins
18. Thomas	Community organization that serves an urban area of deprivation. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing a local buildings and providing play services.	Male, white aged 50-60, educated to degree level, and does not live in local area. Role: Manager, paid.	Remains	31 Mins
19. Sarah	Community organization that serves an urban area of deprivation. High levels of diversity with many different ethnic minorities and nationalities. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing local buildings and providing play services for local population.		Remains	49 Mins
20. Robert	Community organization that serves an urban area of deprivation. Predominately white working class area with high density of population. Enterprise consists of hiring and leasing a local building and providing IT services.		Remains	50 Mins

The use of semi-structured interviews in this research was with the intention to address the overall topic of SE by using a series of general themes outlined in relation to the key research questions. The advantage of this approach is that the researcher could make best use of available time with participants, who themselves had limited time available (Patton, 2015). These were framed for the first six interviews as social purpose, strategy-making and biographical stories, and that enabled a focus on research topics through specific questions. The set of questions ensured that each participant was asked the same questions, but following good practice, the researcher used their skills to probe during the interview, or change the order of questions depending on the situation (Patton, 2015).

For example, under the theme of social purpose, the research questions related to understanding the decision-making processes for establishing a SE. Questions asked were: When did you become involved in the SE? What was the specific purpose of the venture? How was the income to meet your social purpose to be generated? The second theme was strategy-making, which focused on understanding the decision-making processes for establishing a SE strategy. Questions used in this theme were: What was your strategy when you became involved in the SE? and How do you make your strategic decisions? The third theme was biographical and focused on understanding the SE actors. The questions employed to stimulate responses included questions that would engender a short biographical story. The interview structure is available in Appendix D.

During the process of collecting data, the first set of questions used was refined and the emphasis with which they were asked was also altered, as recommended by Creswell (2013). This reflection took place after some initial data had been collected and the subsequent analysis revealed that specific questions were beginning to provide more relevant data. Through this process of reflection, the researcher was provided with a good opportunity to improve the interview process by adapting the research questions that participants had not responded well to, and changing them to help elicit better responses. This situation is what Strauss and Corbin, (1998) advocated, in that data collection should be guided by analysis. The same process was adopted for the key themes which were also redesigned to help frame the questions, making it easier for participants to understand the context of the series of questions.

The first theme was changed to 'establishing the venture'. This was altered to draw out more information on how the deliberate strategy and social purpose were created. This was followed by 'understanding the decision-making in your venture', which was focused on the emergent strategy process. The last area was 'personal identity', and again designed to draw more data about the history and subsequent personal changes experienced by the social actors. Key questions that changed were: *Did the venture have a strategy when you became involved? Has*

the strategy changed? This was followed in the next section with: How is the strategy decided? and Who has most influenced your strategy from outside the organization? The last section on personal identity gave more emphasis to the history of individuals and their social networks, with questions such as: Please can you describe your social networks before you became involved in the venture?

5.3.6 Gathering Stories: Narratives

In addition to questions related to themes, the researcher tried to elicit stories from participants about incidents that had occurred, with questions such as: Can you recall any incident that raised strong emotions, such as laughing out loud, anger, pride, concern? For the purposes of this research, the term 'story' or 'stories' is used to denote a continuous account of someone's experience. Such accounts may be of a complete life story, but equally may refer to a discrete event, which has a beginning and end (Thorpe and Holt, 2009, p. 119). The term 'narrative' used in this research has a multi-faceted understanding. It is a form of data, a theoretical lens, and also a methodological approach to research, whilst equally being a combination of all three (Rhodes and Brown, 2005). In the data collection process, the use of narrative in this research was for one purpose, as a form of data collection. The strengths of stories in qualitative research lie in their ability to reveal both our experiences and our identity (Lieblich et al., 1998). This ability is crucial in gaining a deeper understanding through the research questions posed, as such stories can facilitate the presentation of experiences in a general comparative form whilst ensuring they are specific to context (Flick, 2009). They are also a method of dealing with local power structures, and have been successful in these types of situations. This is how the narrative interview was originally developed (Flick, 2009). Such a method of dealing with social actors' roles in structures is one of the central issues surrounding the research question proposed in this thesis.

The reason for attempting to gather stories within a semi-structured interview was to generate data "to find out what is in and on someone else's mind, to gather their stories" (Patton, 2002, p.341). Narrative helps to highlight the meaning of 'social' in a social enterprise, which aids the process of understanding much of the complexity related to the various social actors and their worlds (Steyaert and Bachmann, 2012). To aid such an aim, at certain points within the semi-structured interview, the process had to be administered like an episodic narrative interview. The episodic narrative element of the interviews used a generative narrative question (Riemann and Schutze, 1987). These questions referred specifically to the topic of study and were intended to stimulate the participant to talk about their story in relation to this topic. The interviewer's task was to enable the participant to tell their story as a consistent narrative, with all relevant events (Hermanns, 1995).

This situational focus within the semi-structured interview enabled the gathering of stories that were specific to the strategic developments of the Social Enterprise. In providing such a focus in the interview process, space was allowed for the argumentation around the conceptual and rule-orientated knowledge of SE, whilst not blocking the interviewee's ability to generate their story. The process of this type of interview relied on the interviewer asking participants to recount stories of specific situations, such as: *If you look back, when did you first encounter external advice and support? Would you tell me the story of such a situation?* This required the preparation of a semi-structured interview guide that orientated the interview towards themes where stories were needed. The participants created a reality construction framework providing knowledge of their experience, which was reflexively reconstituted whilst providing meaning, yet was still communicable (Rhodes and Brown, 2005). This places the use of stories into a crucial role which can illuminate emancipation and social change, paving the way for complexity, sociality and criticality (Steyaert and Bachmann, 2012).

5.3.7 Using Visual Stimuli

For researchers and practitioners, the enormous variation in 'what is a SE?' has led to a continual debate on the SE approach to social action (Defourny, 2001; Lyon and Sepulveda, 2009; Jezard and Master-Coles, 2010; Peattie and Morley, 2008; Ridley-Duff 2007; Ridley-Duff and Southcombe, 2011; Teasdale, 2011). To aid the data collection, the SEF model supported the researcher in focusing the interview away from debates about definition, and enabled data to be collected around the key interview themes of social purpose, strategy and personal identity, as outlined in the interview process. The proposal was that the researcher would use the 'Social Enterprise Foundation' (SEF) model (Lucas and Newton, 2013) (see Figure 4), at the beginning of the research interview as a visual stimulus. Thus a deeper discussion could ensue (Prosser and Loxley, 2008), by enabling a consensus and common language on SE. Crucially, by employing the SEF model as a visual representation on SE, the researcher was able to gain consensus at an early stage and thus avoid a continual debate on 'what is a SE?' - Otherwise, the research interview could not have progressed. With the employment of the SEF model, a stimulus to episodic narratives could be facilitated through the use of the model's key values. This approach paved the way for an examination of the research interview themes of 'social purpose', 'strategy' and 'personal identity'. This ensured that the part played by the episodic narrative enabled the story to be told, whilst providing a focus towards situational events.



Figure 4 Social Enterprise Foundation Model

This method also ensured consistency with participants on the subject of social enterprise. This was achieved by providing a reference point to articulate their story, as well as supporting the first basic principle of collecting a story - consistency and the collection of all relevant events. Using this method, the interviewer is trying to ensure validity of the information by enabling a story that has a course of events, preferably from beginning to end. To achieve such a goal required careful use of interviewing techniques to ensure, regardless of a participant's ability to tell a story, that they are empowered to perform the task and be involved in answering the set questions. This placed the event outside frameworks of traditional question-and-answer interviews and back onto the researcher's responsibility to be a good listener, as the interviewee played the central role of story-teller, rather than simply being a respondent (Holloway and Jefferson, 2000). The researcher undertook pilot interviews to test this method and hone such skills. For a more detailed understanding of the model used and the use of a visual representation in SE research, see Appendix E.

5.3.8 Ethical Dimensions

The research process requires consideration of the ethical issues involved in all aspects of what is undertaken during a study. This includes design implementation and analysis, plus the write-up phases of research (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2015). It also requires the researcher to be sensitive to balance of power, vulnerable populations, and not placing participants at risk or harm. One example of such harm is the interview process and how it affects participants. They will have been

going through a reflective process during the interview, and that can raise awareness of issues they had not confronted or considered before. As Patton (2015, p. 495) states, "spending two hours on thoughtfully reflecting on an experience, a program or one's life can be change inducing". This could place the research interview, which is designed to gather data, in opposition to the research stated aim, to emancipate. This creates an ethical dilemma: does the researcher intervene if asked for advice? The researcher can solve such a dilemma in the research process by providing a directory of useful information, websites and books that can be referred to for further information, and can be provided after the interview.

To provide a greater understanding of the interview questions and topics for discussion, an interview structure has been produced (appended in Appendix D). Although questions and issues may arise, the general themes and certain questions have been noted. Provision will also be provided for those who wish to own their story. If a participant wishes to waive their anonymity, then their real name can be used in stories directly related to them, unless such information affects other persons in a negative manner. This research employed the ethics procedure as outlined by the University of Southampton. This process required the use of the Ethics and Research Governance Online system, which states that a series of ethical research forms must be submitted and approved by the ethics committee. This submission included a risk assessment for the research to be undertaken. Documents used for the submission and approved by the ethics committee are situated at Appendix C.

5.4 **Data Analysis Procedure**

5.4.1 Thematic Analysis

The aims of this study are the same as the thematic analysis outlined below. However, the method chosen for this study is a hybrid. It is a combination of an inductive thematic analysis and my chosen deductive approach of employing a conceptual model in Chapter 4, the Analytical Dualism Framework (see Figure 2). This modified analytical induction is seen as a strategy for engaging in qualitative inquiry and analysis that includes examining preconceived theories without the pretence of a mental blank slate, advocated by a purer form of grounded theory (Patton 2015). Gibson and Brown (2009) call this approach a 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' theory, and employ these terms to describe two aspects of research. The intention is to reflect how research typically involves both practices, the use of theoretical ideas in relation to an existing body of work, and the working out of ideas in relation to data (Gibson and Brown, 2009, p.15). Thus the thematic analysis involves a search for themes that emerge from the phenomenon being examined, and involves an inductive approach that carefully reads and re-reads data, identifying

themes that then create the categories for analysis (Rice and Ezzy, 1999, p. 258 cited Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Thematic analysis has three aims. The first is an examination of commonalities, the second is an examination of differences and the last an examination of relationships (Gibson and Brown, 2009).

By contrast, the deductive thematic analysis was intended to address questions from the theories explored in developing the analytical framework. Although qualitative analysis usually takes an inductive approach, this does not need to exclude deductive reasoning in analysis (Patton, 2015). Generating theory based on previous theories is useful for qualitative inquiry, especially at the inception of any data analysis (Berg, 2001). In this analytical process, the initial coding was generated by theory and the process begun by creating a coding template (Boyatzis, 1998; Crabtree and Miller, 1999). These priori codes have been generated using the existing research framework (see Table 8), and are designed with a pre-specified interest (Gibson and Brown, 2009 p 132). This method of creating a provisional start list of codes prior to analysis helps create initial codes and tie research questions or conceptual interests directly to the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Crabtree and Miller, 1999). These are shown as first order concepts in the diagram in Figure 5.

Table 8 First Order Concepts

Code 1	Code 1				
Code 1					
Label	Hegemony				
Definition	Dominant practices of agency structures that are in their own interest.				
Description	When a rational debate that fosters understanding, co-operation and strategic action is not pursued, but instead an agency structure's self-interest takes precedence.				
Code 2					
Label	Agent Structures				
Definition	Agent structures are sub-systems that manage specific objectives in society, such as economics, politics, science, culture.				
Description	Any organized group that is specifically created to meet their own interests and are identified by the social action they take to meet their life needs. They can range from self-help groups, community associations, local government departments and social clubs, to large-scale social movements.				

Code 3	
Label	Emergent Interplay
Definition	The emergent interplay between structures and agents that enables strategic decisions to be determined.
Description	When a SE makes a strategic decision that is resisting or maintaining dominant practices of agency structures that are not in the interests of the social purpose.
Code 4	
Label	Primary Agent
Definition	The primary agent is the default position of a social agent - their social context, and is predetermined by such factors as parentage and demographic factors, like age and gender, and so happens without choice. They are then grouped through a perceived notion of a collective common interest and regrouped according to their contribution to reproducing or changing society's structures.
Description	The primary agent will be identified by a person's social context, where they were born, their childhood and who they have been placed collectively together with, such as the school they attended.
Code 5	
Label	Social Actor
Definition	The social actor is the person one chooses to become. The choices made are highly influenced by the type of primary agent they originate from, because this is a major factor in determining the role in society that is available to a person, their opportunities.
Description	The life of a social actor will be identified by their understanding of their role in society, the opportunities and choices they have made, their social skills and their knowledge.

5.4.2 **Data Analysis Process**

The practice of analysis began with the researcher adopting a method advocated by Parker (2004, p. 310), firstly turned the transcripts from the interviews into text. An example of an anonymous transcript appears in Appendix F. The next step was a free association with the varieties of meaning in the data. Placing text below the first order concepts in Table 8. This free association process equates closely to the first of three steps proposed by Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2002). The first is how the researcher becomes familiar with the text and other related notes and associated personal diaries. The second step is the reflection upon the rich data, and finally how these relate to theoretical concepts. An example of the resulting free association, based on the transcript example, is displayed in the same Appendix F. After the free association had been summarized

under headings from the first order concepts (Gioia *et al.*, 2012), further in-depth knowledge of the material was gained by undertaking a microanalysis of the raw data. That is, the researcher went through the data line by line in a systematic approach which involved careful examination of the data collected. The word 'data,' in this research context means interviews, observational field notes, memos and other forms of written or pictorial materials (Silverman, 1993). The software package used was 'RQDA' (Huang, 2012) a linux research-based qualitative data analysis programme. This subsequent second order coding process (Gioia *et al.*, 2012) is shown in the example provided in Appendix F.

Although primarily a deductive process, the researcher looking at data from a theory-derived sensitizing of concepts and applying their own framework (Patton, 2001, p.543), the researcher must recognise that there is an interplay at work between the data and researcher, and the subsequent researcher's interpretation of meaning. This is because any interpretations are the researcher's abstractions of what is in the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As a prefigured set of codes was used in the initial analysis, Creswell (2013, p.185) recommends that researchers be open to additional codes emerging during their analysis. This understanding ensured that the researcher took the opportunity to allow new themes to emerge, creating different categories developed using the principles of inductive analysis (see Table 8). These new second order categories were developed through the researcher's immersion in the data. This was intentional, and the first order concepts were designed to be unconstrained, so different categories could be developed using the approach of a thematic analysis. These categories may be a derivative of a first order concept, or could be something entirely new (Gibson and Brown, 2009, p. 132). During this process of data analysis it should be noted that data collection was still taking place and being adapted. This ability to adapt early on in the research process enabled adjustments to be made, providing early reflection on the direction of research, a process recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994). These second order categories (Corley and Gioia, 2004) that have been developed from inductive coding are detailed in Figure 5.

Figure 5 Data Analysis Framework

(Author adapted from Gioia et al., 2012)

	Order Concepts Based on Fig 2 alytical Dualism Framework	Second Order Categories Developed From Inductive Coding	Causal Mechanisms Placed Back Within Analytical Dualism Framework
Code 1		Hegemony	
Label	Hegemony	Collective; consent; confidience; services; society	
Definition	Dominant practices of agency structures that are in their own interest.	management; culture; democracy; dominant; economics; education; facade; foster understanding; funding; game;	Agency Structures
Code 2		hierachial; knowledge; legal; legitimacy; politics; power;	Confidence
Label	Agent Structures	religion; resources; societies; structures; sustainable	Social Actors and Resource
Definition	Agent structures are sub systems that	Agency Structures	Networking and Agency Support
	manage specific objectives in society such	external support; secondary Agency; HR; co-operation;	
	as economics, politics, science, dulture	advisory; enterprise; funding; governance; management;	
Code 3		mission driven SE; network; ownership; professional;	
Label	Emergent Interplay	competition; access; hoodwinked; independence	Emergent Interplay
Definition	The emergent interplay between	Emergent Interplay	
	structures and agents that enable	Consensus; decision; social purpose; strategic action;	Transcending Agency Social Justice, Opportunity and Family
	strategic decision to be determined.	survival; consequence; coping mechanisims; debate;	Professional Management
Code 4	3	deliberate strategy; emergent strategy; failure; growth; risk; story; competition; co-operation; campaigning; profit;	Managing Structures
Label	Primary Agent	evidence	/
Definition	The primary agent is the default position	Primary Agency	
	of a social agent, their social context and	Alliances; beneficiaries; biography; self interest; common;	
	is predetermined by such factorsas	interest; community; emancipation; empowerment; equality;	
	parentage and demographic factors, like	family; historical identity; opportunity; participation;	
	age and gender and so happens without	personality; poverty; school; social agent; social context;	Life Agent
	choice.	socially mixed; volunteers	Social Context
Code 5		Social Actor	Society and the Social Actor
Label	Social Actor	letting go; career development; education; knowledge;	Motivations
Definition	The social actor is the person that one	eadership; learning; relationships; role in society; skills;	
	chooses to become. The choices made	social; change; social role; social skills; social status; values;	
	are highly influenced by the type of		
	primary agent they originate from.	justice	

5.4.2.1 Coding

To support this systematic approach, the researcher adopted some of the open coding techniques advocated by Strauss and Corbin, (1998). The data was broken down into discrete parts, closely examining and comparing for similarities and differences. This included any events, happenings, objects, and actions/interactions that were found to be conceptually similar in nature or related in meaning (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 102). Miles and Huberman (1994) attribute this data coding as a descriptive code or interpretive code. This method was a mixture of both indigenous concepts, those that were special to the participants and their setting, and those imposed by the researcher (Patton, 2015). Procedurally, the researcher identified categories through looking for cues in the data that denote how data might relate to each other. This linking process involved tracing back to data and forward to theory to begin building comparable data. Throughout the coding a series of memos had been created to help move easily from categories to a conceptual level.

The linking of codes and memos helps to develop and refine ideas, creating a more integrated understanding of events and interactions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This process of being alert about what you are doing, and reacting to meanings is important, as new interpretations and connections with other data often point to ways of elaborating on ideas (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Crabtree and Miller, 1999). Drawing on elements of grounded theory traditions, the open coded findings have then been grouped into second order categories. These open coded finding groupings directly relate to the first order concepts, enabling more examination of the differences and similarities among categories - what Miles and Huberman (1994) call 'pattern codes', or 'super codes', by Gibson and Brown (2009). This is important, as it enabled the researcher to reduce the number of analytical units that had been employed, providing greater potential to explain (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In effect the database had been reduced to a small set of categories (Creswell, 2013). In Table 9 examples of the first order concepts, second order categories and their memos are brought together.

Table 9 Research Analysis

First Order	Hegemony		
Second Order	Description	Illustrative Quotes	Memos
Legitimacy	,	difference there didn't we?" Stephen - "The idea that this great community-led organization doesn't truly exist, and I reckon it's probably the	It should be noted that agency structures will seek their own legitimacy in communities. Indeed many SEs began as the platform for such aims, much community-based SE having arisen because of the SRB programmes. Communities and social actors should not underestimate an agency structure's desire for legitimacy; there can be an equalling of power as legitimacy goes both ways. It is the moral and civil legitimacy that agency structures require - hegemony, not management of the SE. Equally, for those who create the platform for the community but do not have the legitimacy required to maintain the agency structure relationship with the community, they will not survive. This places an emphasis on creating a SE strategy that allows the new agency structure to remain outside of the subsystem, challenging thinking and developing a counter-hegemony discourse whilst enabling a convergence and management of the dominant agency structures.
Society Management	The means to manage society.	Jack - "I think that must be the failing of the social enterprise sector. I worry for all these so called sustainable entities being set up as the legacy for the community in which they operate. For many of them their legacy for the community for which they operate, will be pitiful compared to the energy that went into them to operate them, as a vehicle for change".	
Confidence			Lack of confidence could be why the dominance of the business voice in the agency structure becomes stronger as a SE progresses from social action to

	_	different very informal networks, where we just meet up regularly, and we all work in very different organizations in the voluntary sector, but right across the spectrum. None of them are like this. But we just met at various things and	social enterprise. The confidence of those driven by their primary agency to change society when faced with a social actor from business may well create a causal mechanism that produces a reluctance of SE social actors to address the strategic decision-making. This would leave a vacuum for the business voice to then dominate a SE strategy. Equally, if that process of managing an agency structure breaks down, it can produce a questioning by the very social actors who created the SE, leading to loss of direction and abandonment.
First Order	Agent Structures		
Second Order	Description	Illustrative Quotes	Memos
Funding	_	job creation. There were aspirations there about asset development, as you might imagine. But it was kind of a bit cobbled. I wouldn't say that there was a long term strategy.	Tappi oden fanders without changing the goan the justimedition of adjustiment
Professional	not fit within the professional boundaries of the agent structures. Could this be creating a	community, to take on people that were ex-drug users to work with the drug using community, to take on young people that had been in prison to work with the ex-offender community, to work with, you know, people who have been	Despite the creation of a SE by a social actor who wants to solve a social issue with a new approach, possibly a counter- hegemony organization, the SE eventually adopts the default position of the dominant agency structures. It is this power and knowledge by the business agency structure that dominates, rather than the social purpose. New directors are encouraged to become involved due to their business knowledge and

	just bias?	greatest strategy for impact, but was also one of our biggest challenges in terms of subverting the expectations that our	expertise. The result is a process of exclusion of those who still remain in the primary agency of the community you are working with. This is further reinforced by the SE wanting to become legitimate and professional to ensure access to resources. The board must be portrayed as a professional body who are able to make strategic decisions. This makes an imperative the understanding of agency structures, or you will become what you want to change.
	interact with others from their own network and pre- existing structures they form a new agency	involved in getting lots of money and things like this, we just wanted to do some good work on the estate, clean it up. But	
First Order Eme	rgent Interplay		
Second Order	Description	Illustrative Quotes	Memos
	determined on the best argument, not the	users are what we engage with, that information is fed up on one side into the managers, and then the management team meet and it comes up to the senior managers, who work around that, and that's fed up to the Board of Trustees. The	Does the emergent interplay between agency structures and social actors create a two-way activity, with a strong voice in the community that can also create a strong ear for listening? This is because the best argument is not achieved by excluding power and dominant groups. It understands who are affected by the decisions, ensuring all are included but no one dominates. However if the process of trust breaks down, as people refer back to their primary agency, and a new agency structure is not capable of dealing with the level of co-operation required, then social actors become guarded on the network process and fail to address the social goals. Without the strategy high on the agenda, the professional input has limitations. Who in the community has influence over the decisions affecting them, who if not the community becomes the advocate for change?

Emergent Strategy	arise through external forces, such as engagement with agency structures and forged alliances, resulting in a strategic decision	those directors signed up to that and said that it is really important that we do what we've been tasked to do by the friends When it came down to it of course a lot of those aspirations have financial consequences and the most	Social actors begin with a deliberate strategy, which through influences of emergent strategies, addresses the management of agency structures. This will go some way to achieving the SE that is required by the primary agency collective and avoids the social actors of dominant agency structures managing relationships. This should be possible, as agency structures, in order to survive, will require a level of legitimacy with external primary agencies, not just their own grouping. Therefore SE should ensure that they engage with agency structures and forge alliances with social actors with features outlined in the theme of life agent that can reflect their primary agency. This was shown to be performed regularly by practitioners and had been part of their success, but, as recent austerity measures have shown, the management of agency structures is currently functioning poorly and has a detrimental effect on the development of a counter-hegemony organization.
Failure	The freedom to fail.	society when you are dealing with social change failure is	Obtaining the freedom to fail and create open dialogue that ensures decisions are made by those affected. It is not in the interest of the dominant agency structure to have debate and create opportunity, as this would challenge their steering media and make that apparatus redundant.
First Order Prin	nary Agent		
Second Order	Description	Illustrative Quotes	Memos
Beneficiaries	1	achieving stuff because what I am looking for is the real	The lack of beneficiaries' involvement and not being included sufficiently in the strategic process is evident in criteria created by agency structures with appointed beneficiaries, the volunteer reps appearing to be in a purely self-interest mode. Or is it that the representative social actors do not fit within the professional boundaries of the new agency structures created by the SE? Are the professionals approaching their work on a rational footing or unaware of their bias? Is this an example and a danger of social actors

			allowing their skill and knowledge to dominate? This would appear to create a SE that looks more like an enterprise, where the entrepreneur is all important and the empowerment of others to lead is not evident. This mission approach to save people through your own knowledge becomes evident in how beneficiaries have become the consumers and service users - the language of a consumer market.
Opportunity	The social actor's opportunities.	<u> </u>	Opportunity is in relation to the primary agency and the opportunities and choices available to a social agent as they choose a role in society.
Family		Fred - "It cost me my marriage, this process frankly. I'm only just rebuilding who I am now and I am calm again. But the cost of this process was enormous. That is why we are struggling with some of our smaller projects. The intention to detail expended our whole cultural and social, you know, our resources, people, everything on this in getting to this point. If we hadn't, would we have been here? - Probably not".	Parentage and environment has significant impact on the social actor.
First Order Soc	ial Actor		
Second Order	Description	Illustrative Quotes	Memos
Social Skills	enable the movement	it from my dad and I thought social workers were like him. I did two years social worker training largely I thought two years and I get to have a grown-up wage and a stable way and then I can go and learn acupuncture or something because I was interested in lots of things even then. Did my social training at Ruskin College, because it is a second chance College and so I could go there without no	The ability to utilise social skills in a variety of contexts and the understanding of primary agencies suggested that mixing with other primary agencies at an early stage of them becoming a social agent has influenced them as a social actor. The more they socially mixed the greater the ability to see the other perspective and equally remain part of a wider network. This social skill by a social actor maybe the result of that person or their personality the element that one retains with them throughout their life. However, without the context of a changing primary agency then the ability of a person to transcend their primary agency is difficult. This is due

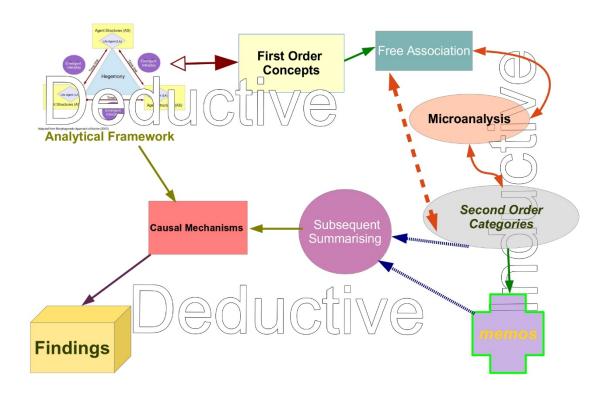
	having no previous social care experience."	to the person, being born into a social context and placed collectively together with others, becoming a social agent based upon the major informant of their primary agency. But if being part of a dual world of primary agents created a sense of identity that does not fit neatly into one definition but straddles their original contexts and primary agencies then finding environments that match such a world will be a driver. This mixing with other primary agents influenced the social actors they became. The more they socially mixed the greater the ability to see the other argument. There is still a personal struggle if you have not been developed to be the leader, part of the dominant agency structure, you will not have been told that you should have an expectation and entitlement. This creates a continual internal struggle for social actors.
Self-Interest	of those things were in place, drafted, we had planning	

5.4.2.2 Subsequent Summarizing

Following on from the linking of memos, a process of paraphrasing and summarizing each interview transcript was undertaken. This was designed to provide an understanding of the key themes explored in each participant's interview process. This process involved reading, listening and summarizing the raw data, and enabled each piece of data to enter into the researcher's unconsciousness as well as consciously processing information (Boyatzis, 1998). This technique of summarizing enabled a creative thinking process to enter the analysis alongside the critical thinking. The creative mind then enabled new possibilities to be generated, whilst the critical mind analysed these possibilities (Patton, 2015). For example the researcher returned to earlier coding material, interrogated these in a new way and found bridging concepts that could bring relationships together (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This resulted in a reconstruction of the data specified in the original text into relationships that resembled the discourse in relation to ideology, power and institutions. This display of condensed material set up the next stage of drawing conclusions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). An example of these descriptive accounts showing social enterprise processes; agent structures and an understanding of the social actors is situated in Appendix F. In the next chapter, more detail is provided on the description, analysis and interpretation (Wolcott, 1994) process that enabled the final manageable causal mechanisms to be concluded, as shown in Figure 5.

With an analysis that has developed a series of patterns formulated from the content, a critical perspective was now applicable in the examination of the dominant patterns and their meaning (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000). Such a critical analysis dealt with the issues of critique, of ideology and of power (Flick, 2009), and provided findings from the patterns discovered using the data from both the discourse and the narrative elements of the interview. It should be noted that the researcher was continually being sensitised to the properties and dimensions in the data, but always with considerable self-awareness. As Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.81) stated ".....associations are derived from the meanings we have come to associate with this word over the years, whether for personal or cultural reasons" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 81). This required the researcher to critique his data analysis while focusing on his decisions and consequences, whilst articulating their standpoint and choices to a wider community (Reason, 2006). The data analysis process in full is outlined in a linear process in Figure 6.

Figure 6 Data Analysis Process



5.5 **Presenting the Findings**

5.5.1 The Description, Analysis and Interpretation

The purpose of this section is to explain how the research findings have been presented. This begins by explaining the process adopted in the writing up of the description, analysis and interpretation of the data collected via the semi-structured interviews. The researcher has used the Description, Analysis and Interpretation framework of Wolcott (1994) as a guide. The research analysis is firstly presented by dividing the findings into manageable causal mechanisms. These causal mechanisms are like sensitizing concepts which help orientate the fieldwork, providing a general direction and reference point (Patton, 2015, p. 545). They do not completely classify the SE phenomenon through exclusive and exhaustive categories, as the processes of collecting data, analysis and presenting interpretations in qualitative inquiries are not linear (Patton, 2015). The interwoven movement between the field works, the researcher's own ideas of what direction the research should take, and patterns that may form will emerge through bridging between data collection and analysis (Patton, 2015).

The analysis and its subsequent interpretation is presented by involving the contextual debates covered in Chapters 3 and 4, and with reference to the conceptual model presented in Chapter 4

(see the Analytical Dualism Framework at Figure 2). Special attention was placed around the data's relation to Gramsci's 'Hegemony', Archer's 'Morphogenetic Approach' and Habermas' 'Communicative Action', all of which are embedded in a critical realist paradigm. The application of these manageable causal mechanisms, has been summarized in Table 10. In the following discourse corresponds to key questions raised in the literature review and theory sections, that is, how emergent SE strategies are affected by the role of the social actors and hegemonic structures.

This is with a particular emphasis on the emergent interplay between SE social actors, their surrounding hegemonic structures and the decisions on strategy that occur. Based on the theoretical discussion surrounding the framework, three main areas have been explored through the thematic analysis. The first two themes are detailed in a descriptive account closely reflecting participants' thoughts and feelings from the interviews. This enables the reader to enter into the meaning of participant's thoughts, their voices and actions (Patton, 2015). The last theme surrounds the emergent interplay between agency structures and the social actors, and all are shown in Figure 5.

- Life Agent
- Agency structures
- Emergent Interplay

The SE social actor is described through the participant's reflective account of themselves, providing a snapshot of SE social actors' life histories and how they see themselves within their current or past roles. This involved providing an individual's personal experience through a series of episodic events related to their life (Denzin, 1989a; Creswell, 2013). This account of the social actor has been framed through adapting the morphogenetic approach, (Archer, 1995 (see Figure 1 in Chapter 3). This frame provides the social context that social actors grew up in, with details of their primary agency and the subsequent agency structures they were part of.

Table 10 Application of Wolcott (1994) Framework

Framework Element	What is it For?	How It Was used in Research
Description	and their context relating their experiences of being involved in a social enterprise using the	This descriptive write-up gave a thematic focus to the data analysis, providing a contextualisation of the social actors and their relationships with the social enterprise. This showed a link between data collected and the subsequent analysis and interpretation. This development of the descriptive material, deciding what to leave in or out, is as much an interactive process as any subsequent analysis or interpretation (Wolcott, 1994, p.21).
Analysis	extend beyond the contextual description of	
Interpretation	and deductive reasoning of the data analysis by applying the analytical frameworks of hegemony, social actor and agency structures.	This interpretation went beyond pure data analysis and applied critical theory in combination with emergent interpretations based around the movement between description, analysis and interpretation. The interpretation of the analysis was presented by involving the contextual debates covered in chapters two and three with reference to critical frameworks constructed in Chapter four in relation to Gramsci's 'Hegemony', Archer's 'Morphogenetic Approach' and Habermas' 'Communicative Action' and was embedded in a critical realist paradigm.

5.5.2 Quality in Qualitative Research

With quantitative research, the concept of evidence-quality-standards has become paramount as articles compete for supremacy (Denzin, 2009). This is despite the determination of a good study being the contribution to our understanding of important questions (Creswell, 2013, p. 255). This places research within the critical interpretive approach, which favours a qualitative research method, in competition for equity though a quantitative methods approach. What remains is a battle, in which researchers try to stop criteria for a qualitative approach employing the criteria of the quantitative researcher.

Therefore, to avoid quantitative approaches to quality, this research employed quality guidelines, as opposed to rules favoured by quantitative researchers (Tracy, 2010; Denzin, 2009; Creswell, 2013). To create these guidelines, the research has drawn upon criteria of quality advocated by Guba and Lincoln (2005); Denzin (2009); Tracy (2010); Creswell (2013). In particular, these guidelines will address questions raised when judging research that employs critical theory, thus avoiding the reader's immediate dismissal of findings based on political evidence. That is, dismissal through a reader's own moral or ethical stance (Denzin, 2009).

The guidelines used have been adapted from various practices in qualitative research. The aim was to match different criteria to the research approach adopted for this thesis as a means to avoid excluding legitimate research knowledge made void by traditions. There is a summary of the quality criteria and their application in this research at Table 11. Beginning with the fourpoint criterion list for naturalistic inquirers favoured by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the research adopted their concept of 'resonance'. This term refers to the ability of research to meaningfully reverberate and affect an audience (Tracy, 2010, p. 844). To achieve this resonance, attendance at both academic and SE actors' events to obtain peer reaction was required. In addition, papers written for various journals and articles to policy institutes were submitted. More recently, a paper in which I was one of the lead authors was published in the Journal of Social Entrepreneurship (Nicolopoulou et al., 2015). This resonance approach will also utilise the concept of transferability. Transferability should replace applicability, or external validity as conventionally conceived (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Seale, 1999). This is not a method to create a generalisation or demonstrate truth, but transferability aims to help others use research findings in another context. This was achieved when readers felt that this story of research presented has overlaps with their own situation, despite it being located in another field of work. To further support the concept of quality, the work must provide a substantive contribution to the understanding of social life, and have an emotional or intellectual impact, moving a reader to take action (Richardson and St Pierre, 2005).

Table 11 Quality Criteria

Criteria	Authors	Underlying principles	Application in the research
Resonance	Tracy (2010)	The ability to meaningfully reverberate and affect an audience.	Resonance was introduced by discussing causal mechanisms from data analysis in both practitioners and academic conferences. This enabled the researcher to note if findings reverberated with the audience whilst enabling independent challenges to the research.
Transferability	Lincoln and Guba (1985); Seale (1999)	The ability to help others use research findings in another context.	The drive for transferability has helped create debate with peers that led to the formulation of a published ethical framework that could be utilised in other contexts.
Reflexivity	Patton (2002); Schon (1983)	Revealing a researcher's identity and voice and then developing reflective conversations within the researcher's context.	Reflexivity processes supported the researcher to understand their own creative inputs and bring to surface ethical priorities. This allowed the construct of what the researcher knows about management to be balanced against the critical analysis.
Contribution and Impact	Richardson and St Pierre (2005)	Provide a contribution to understanding of social life and create an emotional or intellectual impact.	Significant contribution to SE practice, academic methodology and further understanding of the field of social enterprise.

As part of this research criteria for quality qualitative work, and as a means to further enhance the authenticity of the research, the researcher revealed their identity and voice. This has been as a SE practitioner, academic, critic and reflective researcher, and this section provides an in-depth reflexive approach. This is because it is hard to divorce the data obtained from the researcher's own understanding, influences and experiences. Researchers should not have to disembody themselves from their writing as omniscient narrators claiming universal knowledge (Richardson and St Pierre, 2005, p.961). Therefore an in-depth reflexive analysis of the researcher's experiences in his previous roles was provided at the earliest point of this thesis. This is because the researcher sits directly within the phenomenon inquiry, and thus Chapter 1 begins with the researcher's first reflexive writings. This is in two parts, the first relaying experiences within the phenomenon, including the history and social context of the researcher, and secondly, how these experiences shape the researcher's interpretation (Creswell, 2015). The aim is for the researcher

and social enterprise practitioner to raise issues, whilst questioning their own intuitive understandings, which will result in reflective conversations with their situation (Schon, 1983, p. 265).

The researcher is currently the Chief Officer of a SE called Rowner Community Trust, and was previously managing director of another SE. Friere argues that before developments can take place, recognition by actors of their present oppression must be located in authentic dialogue between 'equally knowing subjects' (Friere, 1972a, p. 31). This dialogue between 'equally knowing subjects' has been the researcher's engagement in this inquiry. Throughout the research, and to achieve this aim, he needed to interrogate epistemological and political baggage that had been brought to bear on the research process (Kincheloe and Mclaren, 1994). This was achieved by reflecting upon his own interpretive processes (Duberley and Johnson, 2009). This reflexive practice highlights the judgements and methodological decisions made in the course of this research study to a critical readership (Seale, 1999, p.472). This approach does not eradicate these commitments, but through being open to our own inspection, our capacity for reflexivity will expose these decisions during the course of research (Bourdieu, 1984b).

Before embarking on this self-reflexivity, the researcher outlined his own epistemological and ontological synthesis, referred to as epistemic reflexivity, which provides the focus of reflective conversations. This approach has acquired a variety of labels, which include self-reflection (Habermas, 1974) and socio- analysis (Bourdeiu, 1984). The objectives of a researcher's reflexivity in the management of this inquiry is to create an environment in which their own habitus is related to how they have affected the forms and outcomes of research, as well as entailing acceptance of the conviction that there will always be more than one valid account of any research (Johnson and Duberley, 2003). This acknowledgement is designed to enable societal change through the transformation of knowledge in an accessible account that exposes hegemonic structures. This entails an investigation of how the researcher arrived at the research evidence, how questions were constructed and how interpretations were arrived at, whilst other avenues are not pursued.

This type of inquiry could enable a researcher to alter their understanding of their choices by developing self-knowledge and understanding of their primary agency, their social context and the social actor they became. However, a key point is that epistemic reflexivity re-frames the management researcher's self-knowledge, but does not lead to a 'better' or more 'accurate' account (Johnson and Duberley, 2003, p.1291). Therefore epistemic reflexivity can be a tool which helps a researcher understand their own creative inputs and brings to the surface the ethical priorities which construct what we know about management (Kincheloe and McLaren,

1994). As Patton (2015, p.74) states, this process of reflexivity aims to balance the critical and creative analysis, description and interpretation, or direct quotation and synopsis. This approach requires the self-awareness and confidence to involve issues of perspective, audience, purpose and voice. This places a demand on the researcher to reveal their voice and their perspective (Patton, 2015).

5.5.3 Reflexive Approach

To support a reflexive approach in my research, I have adopted the triangulated inquiry of Patton (2002, p.72) (see Figure 7). The first area surrounding the reflexive screens is participants, and asks what shapes their views. To address this need, an examination of the data from participants relating to the theme of social actor and primary agency provided reflective information in the findings. This topic also asks what they perceived of me as the researcher. This research was conducted by someone who is, or was known as an equivalent professional, a practitioner working in a similar situation and field. This has created occasions when participants would slip into professional mode and describe their project's success and a desire to tell their future plans. As reflected in the findings, SE social actors operate in both competitive and non-competitive networks. This promotion of their entity is common in networking events as a means to promote to funders and investors. An example of this promotion was shown when participants, asked to relay a question they would like to have been asked, requested a question on their SE future plans.

In the second area of reflexive screens, the audience asks what their perceptions of the findings are. To address this notion, the researcher undertook a process of resonance with peers, some of whom were participants in the research. This was not a formal request for feedback, but by placing the findings strategically into debates, meetings and workshops, a reflexive screen was established. The final screen is the researcher, and requests knowledge of what voice is brought to bear on this research. This has been addressed by relaying my paradigmatic and methodology choices, as outlined in Chapter 9. By expanding on these reflexive screens, the researcher informed the reader of their background. This expansion provided reflexive screens of who the researcher was (see Appendix G for a full account of researcher's biography). This is because the driver behind this research process was intertwined with the researcher's history and experiences encountered. In the context of this research, it would generate a clear picture of the person who is attempting to investigate a phenomenon which is integral to themselves.

This reflexive screen in Chapter 1 has employed the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1993) as a framework, and explores the primary agency, social agent and the social actor the researcher

became. This required a detailed account of a life history, mirroring the research participants' own role in the collection of data. This progressed to providing an account of their experiences as a SE social actor and the incidents that have shaped their perspective, eventually providing a set of data that could be used in the analysis process as a reflective screen.

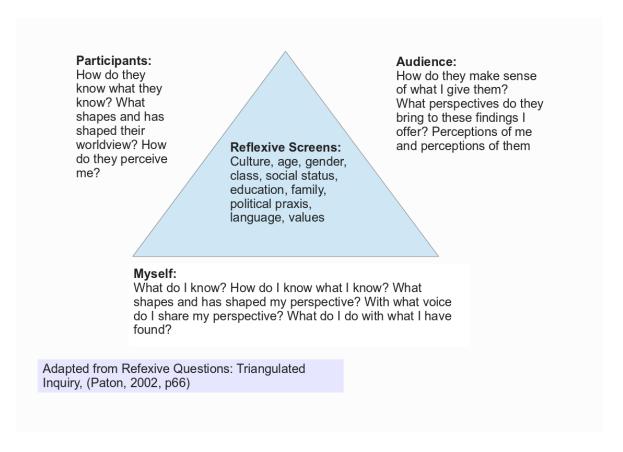


Figure 7 Reflexive Screens

5.6 **Conclusion**

In debating the paradigmatic assumptions of this research, and adopting a critical stance, this chapter was able to outline how the research design, methods of data collection and the approach taken in data analysis was developed. Due to the nature of the research being small-scale, the adoption of an orientational qualitative inquiry (Patton, 2002), enabled a focus on an indepth examination of the phenomenon, SE. In this research this orientational framework was 'critical theory' and was orientated to question established social orders and dominating agency structures (Patton, 2015). The methodology adopted showed how, by creating a purposeful sampling process, data collection could generate high quality material for analysis. Working with the research sample, a semi-structured interview, coupled with generating stories, was utilised to obtain data on peoples' experiences that could explain the relationship with their representations. This was strengthened by using visual stimuli to ensure the discourse remained on track and did not result in a debate about definitions.

The subsequent data analysis approach detailed the deductive and inductive hybrid process applied to this research. This incorporated an embedded use of aspects taken from a grounded theory tradition (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and good practice described by Patton (2002); Boyatzis, (1998); Wolcott (1994); Miles and Huberman (1994); Gibson and Brown (2009); Creswell (2013); Seymour (2012). To ensure a high quality qualitative research process, an outline of the criteria used to support this research was provided, as recommended by Tracy (2010). The last part of the methodological section explained the self-reflexivity tools employed, and a summary of reflective notes was provided. Table 12 summarizes the methodology adopted for this research.

Table 12 Research Methodology Summary

Paradigmatic assumptions	Research Question	Research Objectives	Research methodology
Ontology: Critical realism assumes that nature is not a closed system. Experiments of one variable cannot confirm reality. Causal mechanisms can result in explanation but not necessarily prediction (Potter and Lopez, 2001). Social science is different from natural reality whose main feature is self-subsistence (Archer, 1995). All causal mechanisms are a very crucial aspect of reality (Harre and Bhaskar, 2001). Epistemology: Interaction with the world and society, is through relations, and any social acts presuppose those relations, but such relations can be ontologically independent. Society is the sum of the interrelationship of individuals (Marx, 1973; Collier, 1994). The social production of knowledge by the means of knowledge is culturally and historically anchored. Human behaviour: People have the ability to transcend their limitations of social arrangements. Exercise of power over knowledge is actioned in the multi relational layers of society, such as the domains of politics, culture and economics (Myers and Klein, 2011). The rules and cultural practices of domains are propagated to inform individuals of the values they should adhere to, as opposed to values that are in their best interests. Methodology: Research should not be focused on truth-seeking and needs to examine the mechanisms and processes by which knowledge is constructed and used. Vertical explanation can be used to enable the stratification of knowledge which can reveal a real understanding. Researching SE includes hegemony, the habitus of the SE community, the actors' involvement and their primary agency. It should build on previous knowledge whilst revealing new insights, a social production of knowledge by means of knowledge (Collier, 1994).	What is the impact of social actors and agency structures on the emergent strategies of a social enterprise?	social actors who create a SE, their decision-making process, using the life agent framework. To explore how the narrative of social actors, who create the SE, influences the subsequent emergent strategies. To demonstrate how SE emergent strategies are affected by the dynamics of	Orientational qualitative inquiry. (Patton, 2002) The Orientational framework is 'critical theory'. Purposeful Sampling. Data collection – Semi-structured interviews. Embedded episodic narrative interviews. Deductive and Inductive Thematic Data Analysis – Elements of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) combined with good practice outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994); Patton (2002); Boyatzis, (1998); Wolcott (1994). Writing Up Data Analysis employed Wolcott's (1994) framework of description, analysis and interpretation.

Chapter 6: Life Agent, Agency Structures and Emergent Interplay

6.1 Life Agent

This chapter has brought together the data collected and the detailed analysis, and applied this information to the analytical framework presented in Chapter 4. In particular the analysis has been placed into specific areas associated with Archer's morphogenetic approach (Archer, 2003) and the Communicative Action outlined by Habermas (1984: 1987) that resulted in the Analytical Dualism Framework (Figure 2, Chapter 4). The first aim was to provide a deeper understanding of the people profiled in Table 7, Chapter 5, by detailing their backgrounds and social context. This first section, called 'Life Agent', begins to address one of the research objectives of finding out about the SE social actors. The second section moves from examining the social actors to details about their relationships with agency structures. This begins to meet the research objective about understanding how a social purpose is decided, and is called 'Agency Structures'. The third section, called 'Emergent Interplay', develops beyond the data analysis and starts to combine with a deeper process of interpretation, enabling a series of research findings to be explained. These findings begin to explore the overarching aim of how decisions about SE emergent strategies are affected by the social actors and agency structures surrounding it.

6.1.1 Social Context

Individuals who participated in the research would have grown up in their own social context and, by default, created a social agent. This agent interacts within their own primary agency and gradually begins to interact with other agencies. This process is what leads to a social actor performing a role in society. The stories revealed by participant's show how a social actor's role in society was formed and how they became involved with a SE. These stories have been relayed through their life histories, where they described the impact of their childhood, who they were and what had shaped their lives. This provided an insight into their social context which heavily influenced them as a social agent. One of the interviewees, Jack, who worked in a community organization that serves an urban area of deprivation, as outlined in Table 7, Chapter 5, explained his now perceived luck:

"Yes, well again I am quite pleased I had a lucky break. In so much as I went to a nice primary school. So I got a really good fundamental grounding in thinking as a very young child. However, the school was run by a liberal lefty as someone called him, but he didn't believe in the 11 plus

and in our area you had the 11 plus. So we were not given any support, and we just rocked up one day and had to do this exam thing that was totally alien to us and didn't realise what that was. I then went on to secondary school and almost everyone from my primary school went to that secondary school....... I got to see a much broader mix, it was really rough school. I got to see a huge mix of people still within that quite limited community, but at least it made it easier for me to engage with a wider range of people. I chose not to go into the upper six at the grammar. I wanted to go to the tech, incrementally I was able to get better and better at mixing with people and seeing other backgrounds".

This perception by Jack that due to his fortuitous head teacher, he had gained an experience that shaped his approach to his life choices and the social agent he became. This experience of being placed within a community and a group of peers that are not the same as your immediate family was replicated by another participant named Jane, the SE social actor who aimed to refurbish and develop a local park. She experienced a change of culture in her childhood which gave her an experience that transcended her primary agency:

"I went to a private school to start off with, and then came out of there and went to a local school in quite a deprived community. That transition going from nice little private school, rich parents and quite a lot of snobbery then going into somewhere a bit more, you know, working class. I think that has been very important in my life because I felt much happier in the working class bit than I did in the private school".

Such a change was an event that, in reflecting back, the participant has acknowledged as a significant influence over how she builds relationships with others. Again this same dramatic change in an individual's circumstances happened to Arthur, whose enterprise activities were hiring rooms and providing catering services, when he was torn between two different environments. In one environment he lived in a poor area, whilst then journeying to Kent, to a more affluent area. This would have made Arthur adapt at gaining coping strategies to deal with the different environments:

"I was brought up in a pretty poor part of South London. I grew up there until my parents divorced when I was 13 and my mum moved down to Kent and my dad stayed in London. I spent my time in between the two. I went to a shocking school, didn't do particularly well but I did scrape some A levels".

Sean, who ran a large SE in a poor urban community surrounded by affluence, had, like Arthur, experienced a childhood where he was moving back and forth between different environments. Again such an approach would have given him the same social skills that enabled Arthur to cope with significant social changes:

"Ok. I am Irish. Born in Dublin.and went to England when I was 12. Lived in

******* in the East End of London, because my father had got a job there, and then flicked back
and forth between Dublin and London really quite a lot. And went to secondary school in

England. Went to university in London, and then went back to university in Ireland and then I

went back to London...."

However, for one participant, Fred, who ran the SE based where he grew up, such changes in environment did not happen in childhood. He explained how his close family ties and his family history had developed values that shaped his abilities in the social enterprise and the social agent he was today:

"My family are from this community and our roots are traced back to the point where you can trace them easily, that is 1736.......My dad was not a Catholic, my dad was very much the opposite, but he believed in hard work and honesty and my family have integrity and they passed that on. My family had a work ethic, a really big work ethic and they passed that on and I draw a lot from my family as to who I amIt comes from being, bluntly my qualifications to do this job I had a lot of responsibility for lots of younger siblings. It is the nearest thing that I could come to that qualifies me to do what I do now".

Such a tight knit environment could have been a barrier to Fred progressing and transcending his agency. However, as revealed in his interview, Fred decided to progress through school and on to university, where he widened his agency interaction. Jeremy, who works in a metropolitan urban area, had a similar experience to Fred in the shaping of him as a social agent and the values he brings to his work:

"I am one of five brothers; strong Catholic upbringing, hence why my parents and the Church encouraged us into getting involved in the local community really. And I can say this retrospectively, but that's when I think the bug got to me of, I just wanted to work for people.

And obviously I've realised that now, but didn't at that sort of age, when I was about 13 or 14".

The cultural challenge to social agents like Fred and Jeremy did not come until later, as, like others, they had finished school and gone on to university. There they did not forget their primary agency and despite their aspirations, they returned to their original social context to work, bringing with them new found skills in building relationships with others of a different agency. Arthur was another participant who recalled his decision to go to university after leaving school and working as a significant turning point. This created an opportunity for him to develop upon the social skills he had built up in managing relationships in two different environments:

"I worked at Marks and Spencer's for a year and did some management training with them. I then decided I would actually go to university partly because some of my mates were telling me how brilliant it was. So I decided to try and get into a poly". Naomi, whose SE had expanded into delivering contracts to a wider geographical area, explained how being poor had motivated her to get out of her situation, and she made sure she got to go to university. As she recounted her experiences, you could taste the disappointment she had for her father, as he never had her opportunities, a situation she was not going to repeat and one that would affect her decisions at a later date to become an educator:

"My father was an incredibly intelligent man, who left school at 13. What a ridiculous thing."

Chloe, who ran a long established community organization serving a diverse community in an urban area was in a similar situation, and wanted to get away from her poverty. Laughing, she explained how she had devised a plan to get away:

"So all I ever wanted to do was go and live in London. So the best way, I thought, to do that was to go and be a nurse. So I started off being a nurse, and then found myself doing a social science degree, and then worked for local authorities for about 10-15 years, in management sort of positions".

Both Chloe and Naomi had emotive experiences that they had not forgotten, the social injustice they had felt would remain. Mary, whose role was a Business Development Manager in a SE, found it equally amusing when she recalled how her family had viewed her as the surprise child when she went to university. Her family had assumed that, like everyone they associated with, work would be the route that their children would take. This desire to move into new arenas would manifest later as Mary progressed into the third sector:

"So not much education in our family. So when my sister at 16 got a job they were really pleased. My Mum and my Dad's families had never been to university, so I was the first child ever".

Others participants like Stephen, a CEO of a large community organization, listed an array of jobs that had shaped his understanding and created the social context through which he became involved in SE. Some jobs, more than others, had helped him realize his affinity with and ability to mix with other people who needed supporting:

"I got a job on one of the YTS type schemes in a warehouse, lasted about six weeks, just having a laugh. Did this and that, ran a market store in Camden, then one day I was signing on and they basically dragged me across the counter and gave me a job as a casual clerical assistant.

(Laughing, he exclaimed) The next thing I knew, I had been there for two bloody years! Sort of, what happened there? So I worked in a very large dole office; it was the third biggest dole office in the early '80s in London, and it had the biggest personal issue section in London, so that's like no address, so that's all the people with alcohol, drugs, you know, homeless all that type of stuff. So I worked with that team for a long time, and I actually quite liked it. I got on quite well with everyone and stuff".

As Stephen revealed his social context by describing his various job roles, he explained how he gradually became more aware of his desire to work in a sector that tackled social problems. Equally those who became involved with SE through volunteering also revealed the social context that had developed them as social agents. They would, like Stephen, describe the various roles they had performed within their careers. Henry, Chair of a SE in a semi-rural area, described his previous jobs:

"At 15 I learnt a lot about roses, developing and growing roses. Then I went on to the building scene. From there I joined the post office and I was a postman and used to do deliveries in vans and meet trains and all that sort of thing. From there I joined the Hampshire Ambulance Service and served in the service for five years".

Others interviewed recounted their careers, revealing in a similar fashion their social contexts that went on to shape them as social agents. According to the morphogenetic process highlighted in Chapter 3, those social actors who had performed a role later on in their careers, or after had they had retired, had previously been grouped together into an agency structure that fitted with their primary agency. The opportunity that the SE then presented them later on in life was a chance to break away from their original primary agency grouping. Another SE Chair, Cornelius, now retired but still Chair of the SE, explained how he had taken on a series of jobs before becoming involved in a SE, and fulfilling this desire to break out of his primary agency and realize his potential:

"I joined the Army at 15%, and I got some qualifications in the Army. I did three years in the Junior Leaders Regiment. I came out and got a job at Sandhurst, as a tailor (that's my trade – qualified tailor) But there wasn't an awful lot of money in tailoring, and so I went into the retail side of things, and in 1965 I came here, and I worked for a short time working in the brewery 'cos I needed a job, but I then had 25 years working in retail, selling suits to people with lots of money. I worked in some really good stores in top ones. And I managed the menswear department in a big department store, but they were taken over, and I came out of retail".

Social actors like Eric, retired Chair of an urban SE, revealed his path to becoming involved in a SE. He rejected the original route that had been forecasted for him, changed roles, and worked, like Henry, in the Fire Service, helping people. This change grew in him a desire to take that helping role further and became involved in new agencies. This led him to explore both political action, as well as community work in the church, where his desire for social change was acted upon:

"I am a post-war generation. Grammar school; provincial town; a varied work history. I trained as a met officer — I was a meteorologist; I was in the fire service then I trained in the Methodist church; then I went into community work; outdoor pursuits; education; finished up as deputy head of a large comprehensive school; have always been a member of the Anglican church; got a big and diverse family; am loved and cherished; I have always been a political activist (certainly a

socialist until left the Labour Party); have always enjoyed sport; I enjoy a good drink; and I've been an environmentalist, I suppose in practical ways, all my life (everything from stalking and shooting deer through to being involved in environmental activism); reclaim the streets, all things like that".

Robert light-heartedly revealed a difficult childhood, showing how this context shaped him and later his desire to chair a SE in an urban area, supporting his agency. The social agent he was as a child struggled to come to terms with his social context, which created a deeper desire to rebel. He began to understand that the differences he experienced were not inevitable and began to explore new avenues. This took him from one agency to new agencies, where he was able to build relationships and gain skills to maintain these new relationships, but he never left his primary agency in the process. Robert below described the events that shaped him as a young man:

"So went to ******* Secondary School which is a school that sits in the heart of a predominantly middle class professional area called [******]......kind of like skived quite a lot of my schooling — didn't really enjoy going to school.......Got bullied quite a lot, ended up kind of like going completely off the rails by the time I'd got to Year 10 now, and just went on a massive... offered everybody out for a fight who bullied me over the years; Got in trouble with the law a lot.......By the time I'd left school, I'd been arrested for three burglaries, criminal damage............ when I was 17 I was going through the Courts on a charge of GBH with intent, which I got acquitted for, but that was again like another massive fight that I ended up having, and someone got severely hurt".

Through each participant revealing their original social context, and the new agencies and relationships their experiences and journeys had fostered later on, it was clear that their context and the groups they engaged with had developed them as people. This showed how understanding such beginnings and paths can provide insight and evidence of the unique processes that came together to socially construct the social actor that they became. They had progressed from being social agents within their primary agencies into social actors working in new agencies. What was missing from this emergent interplay was how they would progress to their current social actor roles in SE.

6.1.2 Society and the Social Enterprise Social Actor

To shape a social actor's role, the first mechanism is themselves as individuals being positioned as a social agent, which included immediate social networks, family circumstances, and importantly, their own needs. However, to help gain a greater insight into how they formed their social actor role in society, this research has focused on participants recounting their situations before, during

and after they entered into the role. This provided an insight into how participants had progressed to becoming SE social actors. It also provided an understanding of how they developed once they had chosen their role. Naomi was one participant who, after her adult education experiences in South Africa and then running training for groups in the UK, stopped moving between agencies, because she began working in one community. She could see that this was going to be really interesting and it fitted with her family situation. This combination of meeting a domestic need, combined with an opportunity, enabled Naomi to take forward her desire for social change. This continued to be the case - as her family progressed, so did the SE:

"I didn't know where it was going to go, but I could see it was really interesting, and I suppose it was containable, having three children. Then the SE grew, along with my children growing".

Another participant presenting with a similar set of circumstances, Chloe, became involved 20 plus years ago, when she moved into the area. She had very small children and thought of coming along to what was the pre-cursor to the family centre. This was motivated by her desire to meet her domestic needs, but equally a desire to do things differently from her previous role:

"So I started off being a nurse, and then found myself doing a social science degree, and then worked for local authorities, for about 10-15 years management sort of positions. Then had enough of that; hated local authorities with a passion, and moved to Bristol to just have a different kind of life, do different things".

Jane had domestic issues to consider, and even before the SE was being established, she was involved in local activities that directly related to meeting her family needs. Her interest was stimulated when it combined both her family and the possibility of a social enterprise, even though there wasn't even any idea that a social enterprise would be possible:

"I got involved when there was a plan to re-develop the park and there had been positive discussions with the council and the friends group".

So, with Jane already running a play scheme in the park over the summer months, which was very successful, the opportunity became available. So when the friends' group had become part of this big application with the City to the Heritage Lottery Fund, Jane got involved. For this funding, they had a huge period of consultation, and that is when Jane's role to develop the social enterprise was identified:

"They needed someone to develop a business idea because it became clear as a group that we really wanted to run the community building ourselves, we didn't want it just to be franchised out to someone else to run a cafe there".

Sarah, who runs a SE, recalls how she had become involved in a local campaign. This activity also centred on children and mirrored her own family's development. This led her to develop the confidence to progress to taking on more responsibility, and hence the job managing the SE:

Other social actors had taken a more conscious decision to become involved in SE and had progressed into their current role. Jack had become politicised at university, and when he met people in business he thought:

"You don't care about anything".

This prompted him to look for a career where he could do something that made a difference. Fortunately he started working quite closely with Anita and Gordon Roddick at the Body Shop International:

"I found business quite exciting but I could not bear the soullessness of it, and they showed me you could bring these two things together and I thought that was fantastic. I then found out about social enterprise and how you can actually put the social, the soul at the heart of it and use the business as a vehicle that really got me excited".

Later on, as Jack had a family, he then moved on to running a community trust which afforded him more time to be with his children, whilst still providing him with an opportunity to address social injustice and get paid. As participants began exploring the events in their lives, more information about their social and professional networks began to be revealed. The stories they told had included details about individuals' primary agencies and the agencies they had been placed together with as a social agent. The data analysis supported a growing understanding of how participants had progressed to becoming SE social actors. This included experiences of agency structures that did not live up to expectations, which then created a desire in participants to seek out new agencies. Lucy, who ran a SE gym, talked about her disappointment in a field of work that did not live up to her expectations:

"I thought about social work, because I knew about it from my dad and I thought social workers were like him.....so when I realised it didn't matter how high up I went, all I became was a better paid babysitter for directors that really needed babysitting".

This disappointment felt by Lucy created in her a desire to find a better method of meeting social need. She rejected the conventional and established agency structures in favour of developing a

new approach to social change. This same desire to tackle social need was created when William, who was CEO of a community organization based in the heart of a large modern housing development, undertook priesthood training. William recalls the two things that the training was insistent on, the first being to disconnect him as an individual from family, friends and all the kinds social groupings on which he was dependent. William both defended and condemned the practice:

"You argue that's probably not a very constructive thing, but it does create a very independent person, and an independent twisted mind".

The second was to be pitched into circumstances that he described as "intense poverty", working alongside people who were utterly impoverished: there were racial groups at the bottom end of France, and there were people who were on the streets. His role was to live and work alongside those people, and it was they who became his main teachers:

"So I became a socialist by experience; most of those people were not there as a result of anything that they had done, there was no sense in which they were responsible. They, in my view, were the product of social constructions which made people poor and left them there, 'cos that's the way it worked".

Both William and Lucy had experienced social need in society at first-hand and had tried to address these problems within an established agency structure. For each of them, these institutions had failed to provide the right environment. As William and Lucy rejected the agencies they had become part of, others, like Alan, were clear from the outset of their career progression, which agencies they always wanted to be part of, and that was the voluntary sector. For Alan, as a social actor managing a SE providing local services, he was influenced by his parents and the things they did around the community. At an early age he had rebelled against himself being pigeonholed, as he termed, a 'maths geek'. Instead of a maths degree, he went on to do a psychology degree. After his degree he did unpaid voluntary work, until he got fed up of being without money. But working for a year in a life insurance company confirmed that he wanted to work in his chosen agency, the voluntary sector, so he started looking for paid work in this sector.

Alan first became involved in his SE in 1996, when a friend of his had talked about the work that he was doing, which sounded really interesting. At the time he was doing bits of voluntary work and casting around for work in the Third Sector. He saw this job working in admin, and went to the interview, but it turned out it wasn't the SE he thought it was. He had misread the advert and it was actually for a disabled person's advocacy charity. But somebody who was on the interview panel happened also to work for the SE he was interested in, and spoke to him afterwards and said, "You've done a brilliant interview, but for a completely different job, but I work for another

organization. Do you want to come and talk to us there?" The agency he always wanted to be part of was confirmed when he was accepted into the organization, and became CEO.

Jeremy, CEO of a SE, recounted his childhood growing up, and how he was encouraged into getting involved in the local community, which was when he thought that he wanted to work for people. After university, he had 10 different jobs in 18 months working for charities, from running a London-wide street collection, to working with refugees, and in the finance department of a housing association. He then moved into fund-raising for five years and then tried to set up his own organization, which didn't work out. He started working with national charities, and has progressively moved to more local and smaller organizations. Jeremy pointed to the degree of involvement, influence and level of change that he could bring about. In a large institution he saw everything as very corporate, very structured, with their way of doing things. This rejection of established agency structures was a common theme among research participants. Mary's path to rejecting the agency structure she had become a part of was different, and possibly more profound. Her story began when she had four years off work:

"When my husband was ill, I had four years off, and I kind of thought about my life, and although in a way I could say my life has been a bit shit, because obviously ******he died......I guess it made me realise that life is a bit horrible".

This devastating event gave Mary time and motivation to really as questions about what was meaningful, and where her energy could best be placed. This time out that Mary had taken raised a straightforward question about the agency structure she was involved in, and particular the concept of making profit for someone else. However, equally her domestic situation meant she didn't have a pressing burden to earn her old salary of £60,000. She knew she could live more frugally and have less money:

"It wasn't that I don't need to work, 'cos obviously if I want to have some income I have to work.......... For me, the Third Sector is actually the place even though it was lower salaried, I didn't mind that, because I could afford for it not to make a difference".

Mary made that decision to change her current agency structure and find a role in society that fulfilled her desire to make a difference. This change of direction eventually led her to become a SE social actor. Stephen, through his different jobs, progressed into more management roles. He had become a part-time HR manager for the SE where he is now the CEO, and it was a very comfortable sort of atmosphere. However at the time, as an organization, it was in chaos. Stephen didn't really catch on at first, but it was very archaic, and didn't have an email system, for example. However, due to his family having moved to the area, he was able to commit and take the risk of staying and developing the organization.

For his first 18 months he was closing services, deciding what to close down, and trying to change some of the mindsets and the infrastructure around the organization. He had always believed that it was a brilliant organization, and now that he was the Chief Exec, he could lead that vision and not stray too far from the mission. For Fred, there was a strong desire to work locally within in his own primary agency. When the job came up and Fred applied, there was three years' worth of lottery fund to establish the SE and a range of projects. This prompted him to apply. He remembered the day of the interview, recalling how it was quite ironic that he took on this job on April fool's day:

"My family are from this community and our roots are traced back to the point where you can trace them easily, that is 1736".......The organization had been set up by a bunch of community activists, local residents and business people, local school. Those people came together around a campaign to establish a community park from land that was left fallow after housing clearance. It had been stood for a long time, maybe 20 years".

6.1.3 Social Actors' Motivations

All the participants had at some time been involved in volunteering. However, some had come into their role as a SE social actor through volunteering. This was very prevalent for those taking on a senior role on the board, like the Chair. All the Chairs interviewed came to be involved in the SE through volunteering: Henry, Cornelius, Eric and Robert took on various voluntary roles and helped establish the organizations before being appointed Chair.

Cornelius recalls how at the end of the road where he lived there was an old fish pond that needed some remedial work doing on it. The local press advertised for people to come and help, and then his wife said to him, "Oooh I'd like to do that. Will you come with me?" He replied, "No, I wouldn't get involved in a thing like that, I've got a busy work life". However, she kept on at him about the pond and eventually he went up to clear this pond. Whilst there a lady came over who ran a local group on the estate, and asked if they would be interested in telling people on the estate what they were doing. Cornelius went across, and from there, the lady got them involved in forming the SE. It was a small group that didn't really want to get involved in getting lots of money and suchlike. They just wanted to do some good work on the estate, and clean it up, but because they needed money, they had to become constituted, and Cornelius was elected Chair.

Henry, another SE Chair, was previously Chair of another smaller organization. They were a group of people who were taking on community projects. Then they received some advice that the group needed to set up something called a development trust and the SE was created. Arthur,

unlike the volunteer Chair persons, had left a previous job in Birmingham and come back to live with his mum and stepdad. He then started to get involved in a local project as a volunteer to help take some derelict buildings and put them back into use for the benefit of the community, before becoming the project manager. As the SE took off and became more successful, attracting resources, Arthur became their first Chief Executive:

"I was just thinking through my next kind of steps in terms of careers. I got involved on a voluntary basis and then was recruited through an open process to become the project manager".

William, like Arthur, had worked with others helping to set up and start running a SE as a volunteer. At the time he was a local councillor, and there were a series of buildings and an old redundant barracks site which was going to be redeveloped. Consultation with councillors and local people produced a model showing 110 houses and leaving the rest of the area for employment and community facilities. When the land got bought by a developer, he had a choice, which was to fight the locals with their initial definition of what they wanted, or to try and find a way of meeting them part-way, and at the same time meeting his own agenda for building houses. To secure the community's original ideas, William, in the same 106 agreement, identified the organization into which the resources would be ceded. They gave it a constitution and certain rights, and, as the local councillor at the time, he effectively created a SE and his own job, but as he said:

"I was interested in what could be done with it, what contribution could come from what in itself had been a village; a small village within a town had to apply for it (The SE CEO Job)".

Jeremy, Sarah and the majority of the participants had at some stage been involved in volunteering. This was seen by many as a gateway into SE and captivated their desire to help people. The stories that surrounded volunteering provided another method to closely examine the social actor's role. This led to a more direct questioning of motivations, which provided a variety of responses. Some participants talked about their specific motivations for joining an organization, while others gave an insight into their wider motivations for being involved in SE. Interestingly, very few SE definitions include the motivations of key social actors as part of their definition. However, Mair and Marti (2006, p.37) argue that, for social entrepreneurship to become a 'structured field' of inquiry, then efforts should be made to clarify the definition and come to a better understanding of the motivations to get involved in social change. The closest definitions that mention personal drivers are mission-driven SEs (see Appendix A for examples). Interestingly, what was found to be prevalent in these mission-driven organizations was the lack of mechanisms to check against an individual's personal benefit at the expense of the organization's social purpose.

The conscious articulation of Jack's motivations began when he described his decisions for taking on his new role and how he was thinking about three things. Two of these were personally motivated - more money to pay the bills, and a desire to achieve more impact in his career. There was also genuine interest in the kind of work they were doing in the inner city area. As Jack described the complexity of the multi-ethnic community, he talked about the potential to really take forward a SE that could give people a voice:

"I was thinking about three things really, two of which were very personally motivated, one I was looking for a better position with more money, to pay the bills, two, I was looking for something more interesting in terms of career......there was that interest genuinely in the kind of work they were doing in the inner city area and the potential to really take forward, a vehicle, that could give people a voice and influence what happened".

Jane was keen to get involved in community projects, things that bring people together in communities. The SE was very important to her because she had young children and they spent a lot of time in the park. Equally she had a professional background in physical regeneration and could see there was potential. For her personally, it became an opportunity to combine her skills, interests and needs with a practical step forward into the ideas of social enterprise. Henry believed in the plans for regeneration of his town, and he thought that a SE should be well located to help attract investors. Mary described her motivation to become involved in SE by telling the story of her life-changing experiences. These moments of career change were not realised in an instant, but took place over a period of time. During the time that Mary was away from her previous role, she had become involved with different agency structures. The priorities in these agency structures would have been different to her normal job role, which prompted Mary to find out what was important to her:

"I was about 37 and my husband was very ill, and subsequently died, and I left work and had four years off. (She recalls how she thought at the time) I don't want to go back for shareholders. I don't want to go back to work to make profit for shareholders, I want to do something worthwhile. I know that sounds -. I'll have to find a good way of saying. I wanted to find something that I would feel was benefiting people who were less fortunate. Anyway, so that was the thing, so when he died, I really thought about the world, I thought about life, and what I want from it. Did I still want to go and do some meaningless job, where I just made loads of money for somebody else - not made loads of money, but a little bit of money for somebody else - and I thought 'No, I want to do something to -.' So that changed my...... It did definitely change my direction, 'cos I probably otherwise, I would have carried on doing the same sort of job, and I would have carried on working full-time and life would have been very different".

Research by Aileen and Mottiar (2014, p. 60) shows how the key focus for SE social actors may indeed be altruistic and focused on society, but such individuals may also have private concerns and motivations regarding their personal needs, such as their family lives and goals that they personally want to achieve. When this personal desire combines with motivations gained within their own primary agency, and where they consciously realize that inequality exists, this could create a level of motivation that supports them to succeed in a social enterprise. For some of the individuals interviewed, this had proven to be a huge motivation in their life, which was still with them today. This happened to Chloe when she became aware that she was different from the other children, based purely on her father's status and wealth:

"For me, it's all about seeing the injustice, social inequality and just hating it with an absolute passion. You would if you were brought up, you know, in a horrible little cottage in the back of beyond and ... I don't know. It's not just that is it? But it's likewhen you are in a tied cottage, and you used to think that the people who lived in the council houses in the village were a big step above you, because you know, my dad was completely mad, so my mum was always worried we were going to lose the job, lose the house".

Others, like Sarah and Sean, who arrived with their parents in London as part of the post-war immigration, remember clearly their experiences of discrimination. They have been motivated not just by lifestyle choices, but have remembered and channelled their experiences into an agency structure that could create social change. Sarah explained the discrimination she and her family faced:

"Brought over from Ireland in the '50s as part of the whole recruitment to rebuild England after the war, I guess. And grew up in ********, and clearly remember the struggle that my family had, and neighbours had around the whole finding accommodation, finding work and you often hear about no blacks, no Irish, no dogs, that kind of tension".

Sean explained how certain incidents have remained with him, and how he can vividly remember his own emotions and thoughts. This gave him a huge motivation to address such inequality and provided the drivers for him to seek a structure that would allow him to fulfil this desire. Sean told the story below, and how it had shaped his thinking since childhood:

"And the second thing was going as a teenager in London, I went to a catholic school and being taken to the Tower of London. And of course, because it was a catholic school, Sister Margaret was very keen that we visit Thomas Moore's cell! So up the stairs we went, and we were standing there, and she said, 'And we are now going to say the rosary.' And I remember there was a man standing there who said to her, 'Put those filthy beads away you papist whore, and take those fucking children out!' And it struck me, 1) if you are poor or you are working class, you don't sound right, and 2) If you are from a minority or some sort of religious -. And her attitude was,

well actually she said, 'Well God forgive you for swearing in front of these children.' Utterly untouched by it. But me thinking, 'God are we really different?' 'And then thinking it's just wrong; it's just wrong. And looking back one reflects on whether (that might be another question) but you know, the impact you've actually had and how much has actually changed, and it's precious little".

With a primary agency motivating participants to seek better opportunities, they would be driven to seek new agencies. Over time they would become successful in their chosen routes. Yet despite their success and job security, these roles never felt correct, they did not meet a personal demand to address social need. This would have fuelled their motivation to discover an agency in which they would have felt more at home. This desire would have provided a strong motivation to seek an environment that matched their primary agency and still match their desire to address inequality that had been fostered through childhood. This theme has emerged from other research sources (Germak and Robinson, 2014) where proximity to certain social problems or causes led SE social actors to be motivated to engage in SE. Fred struggled to pinpoint his motivation, but he had found that he couldn't do a job that wasn't about making a difference. His family had provided this desire to ensure that he could better himself, and he was going to do the same in his community:

"I just, I don't know why......I was the first person in my family to get a degree. They didn't even think (Fred's parents) about going to college that was because it was incredibly important to them that their kids got jobs that were much better than the ones they had".

6.2 Agency Structures

This next section reflects the pursuit to understand how any agency structure interacts with a social actor and creates a dynamic interplay. It aims to explore how a social purpose is decided upon when developing a social enterprise and the continual dynamic interplay observed.

6.2.1 Confidence

When social actors interacted with agency structures, they would refer to the need for confidence. This prompted an analysis of the mechanisms that provided confidence as a method of understanding the strategic decision-making in a SE. Robert talked about when he became involved in SE, his need to build confidence and how, for him, this was crucial in dealing with agency structures. His development of knowledge and managing techniques proved invaluable as he progressed in his desire for social change:

"Pretty naïve, naïve but really eager and willing! (laughs). I think yeah, absolutely. You know, wanting to do good but lacking in confidence in regards to knowing. That's the thing, if you are naïve or you know that there's massive gaps in your knowledge, and I knew I was ignorant about it, and that kind of like – it was just a matter of trying to make – I needed that confidence to be able to -. Once you know what you're doing, you are then more confident at it. So I was consciously incompetent but willing (laughing). So I realise that actually you could talk to councillors, and realise that it is really just a big game. It's a massive game; it's a big City, but when you get to know people, it becomes drastically smaller as a City. And there really is just a big game where you've got some people in charge, who are being trusted by other people.......So these few people, the councillors, will run the City; they will direct the officers to be able to make decisions or to do different things, which they may or may not decide to obey; and the officers may have their own agenda as well. I realised it is just a big game of who can stay in power; who can stay in control; who can keep their jobs; who can have influence; who is scared to make decisions; who's not scared to make decisions, you know, personal ambition, all of that, all wrapped up in how you run a city".

Arthur echoed this need for confidence as he talked about his childhood experiences and the lack of support and encouragement for individuals to take the lead. How, even today, in his own highly successful career he still has to challenge his own beliefs that he his capable, so he can portray and articulate the need for social change. Arthur, along with others, described their constant questioning around competence, their right to be in the role, their own capabilities and their right to be in the position they occupy. Arthur in his interview articulated his feelings towards the issue of belief and confidence in his own abilities:

"If you're from, if you haven't had a particularly privileged upbringing you are not kind of socialised into being a leader. I am sure there are schools that nurture you into the sense of having the right to lead and achieve. Actually you feel like a complete fraud when you end up in a position of leadership, because it's not something that your schooling or your socialisation has prepared you for. So you are always questioning your capabilities, your right to be in that role and constantly challenging yourself. It's exhausting". (Laughing, Arthur recounts his thoughts) Oh my God, have I any right to be here? Are we doing as good as people telling us?"

Stephen relayed his need to provide a picture of confidence to ensure his legitimacy. This was not just with external networks, but with his own team. This need for confidence in an uncertain environment is part of the method by which Stephen and Arthur would maintain, develop and manage the agency structures needed to gain resources:

"And you know, basically I'm the Chief Exec, and I am the leader of a substantive local organization, and if I'm panicking, if I am not doing well in my visible outside world, people pick it up. So I need to be able to exude confidence".

Chloe touched on the mechanism of confidence and networks in detailing her ability to select people who are good at what they do, and would feel the same as her. She would gain a lot of confidence not from the competitive networks where she needed to obtain resources, but from her informal networks. These informal networks would strengthened her resolve and provide learning opportunities that would enable her confidence to grow and be maintained:

"....we all work in very different organizations in the voluntary sector, but right across the spectrum. None of them are like this. But we just met at various things and thought 'Mmm, we can learn a lot from that peer learning thing".

As Jack progressed in his job, he became more confident in his idealism. This confidence enabled him to maintain the focus on social change and not become too drawn towards the enterprise or other influencing networks, as they were not going to support that social change goal:

"I have become more pragmatic as a result of properly engaging in my principles and the ideal, i.e. it should be driven, the empowerment that is, fundamentally about giving people increased influence, control or helping them find an increased influence and control over their lives. That is what it is about and from that all the good stuff happens".

Sammy recalls a story that he was able to use when he was working with agency structures. This understanding and acknowledgment that many social actors in agency structures are not confident, and have little knowledge of what is a complex environment, have stuck with him. It has helped him in his approach to his SE and provided a level of confidence in challenging agency structures:

"The best bit of advice I was ever given was like 'Take it on the principle of 50%'. Most people in their job know 50%, as long as you know 50% of what you do, you can blag the other 50%. And I was like 'Well that can't be good enough.' Then I look around over the years and think that most people are blagging more than the 50%; they know a little bit about it. And the other bit of advice from the same person was 'If you don't understand anything in a meeting, just always ask, don't be ashamed to be asking questions.' And I remember the first time I ever asked, somebody was describing this model of working, and I said, 'I don't even know what those words mean, so could you also explain what they mean?' And I could feel everybody else in the room go 'Ooooh, he's asked that question!' Anyway I asked that question. And this person said, 'I don't really know what that means, or that means, that's part of the process.' And I thought 'What do you mean? You don't know what that is? That is the process, what does this mean then?""'Oh I don't know', and they opened it up to start people talking about it. And I'm thinking 'Oh my god, I shouldn't have done that!' and they were just kind of making it up".

Sean talked about his confidence in terms of his ability to articulate the social challenges his SE has faced, as he put it, "be more gobbier". However, over time he has not only been 'more

gobbier', he has found himself being more direct and assertive in requiring action to be taken. This has been gained through his role in SE, and he broke this confidence down further, in his ability to challenge:

".....'cos I think I am much gobbier, and much more assertive, and much more kind of just forthright than I used to be, but I don't think that's mellowing. But I just suppose that's growing up, you know".

This need to remain confident also resides in the need to remain focused on one's social intent. One method used by SE social actors to try and maintain confidence in their social purpose, and have the ability to articulate the needs of their communities, was in how they interacted with and developed their strategy with beneficiaries. By making beneficiaries central to their decision-making, they could maintain that focus on social purpose. This involved creating networks with beneficiaries, as well as maintaining the competitive networks that enabled resources to be gained.

This was a skill that required social actors to utilise their abilities to transcend their primary agency. They needed to be able to mix well with other agencies, whilst maintaining contact with their own. This was shown by their ability to work with different backgrounds, which was continued as they entered communities. However, this was not always successful, as the need to be professional in a competitive network might contradict the idea of beneficiaries of the SE being its key decision-makers. SE social actors talked about their desire for their beneficiaries to be a central driver, but highlighted the dilemmas of a SE. Stephen was straightforward in his assessment:

"I mean it would be the service users. I mean that's the right thing and the polite thing to say. I mean again, the harsh reality is that the funding regimes determine quite often what we do and don't do".

The beneficiaries did not have resources, and so their input would have less equal weight in strategic decisions. As discussed by other research participants, the needs of beneficiaries in their organization did not rank high on the list of priorities. As Mary pointed out:

"So for me, that was a big frustration that in the organization they really weren't that clear or focused enough on beneficiaries and their social purpose. Yeah. I think that's probably quite true of some charities anyway; they don't always talk about their social purpose. I think they should be really clear on that; they should know that why they're doing it. But where I worked, I mean they knew they helped vulnerable people, but they were never that clear on really why they were all there".

Alan remembered how when his organization started to grow and expand, taking on more contracts, there were a number of employees who couldn't understand why they had this neighbourhood boundary. They saw themselves as having a good product which they could sell and provide to others, regardless if they were beneficiaries. The links of social purpose, beneficiaries and social change can easily get lost without the confidence of the SE social actor leader keeping a focus on the social purpose:

"Why are we restricting ourselves just to work in here?" We could work all over the city, we are doing really good work. And you know, there was no external pressure, there was no financial economic pressure particularly for us to expand our boundaries. This is when SE normally finds that there's pressure contracting or something, it means that they can only deliver it if they deliver over a wider area. But these staff hadn't appreciated (or maybe they had appreciated, just didn't think it was important), that we were a local neighbourhood organization run by and for the people of that neighbourhood, and they said, 'Why are we restricting ourselves'?"

To overcome this pressure from funders, some SE social actors would make their beneficiaries' needs central to their strategic action. Chloe, for instance, would ensure that beneficiaries were part of the management role, and she found that this ensured her services remained of a high quality standard. Chloe put equal emphasis on her steering groups of local people in combination with the staff:

"....our strategy was to provide the highest quality services, with local people as the staff, and for it to be a community-led family centre, in which local people had a management role...... We do lots of consultations with local people, and all of that feeds up through into our board and then agreeing on what are the important things, what are the main things that we are going to go with, until eventually we end up with some form of semi-coherent strategy".

To support Chloe in this process of making beneficiaries central, she needed to gather professional support from others so she could remain confident on this path. Chloe talked about how she would consciously identify others who she could network with, and who would support her approach. These individuals would equally get support from Chloe:

"It doesn't matter who that person is. I suppose it's not necessarily the obvious organizations, it's more about individuals who just get it".

As individual SE social actors' confidence grows, they become more aware of the need to ensure beneficiaries from their primary agency become central to their social purpose strategy. This level of pro-social behaviour has been shown by Bargsted *et al.* (2013) to be associated with SE social actors' careers having a high level of orientation to change, and improving our world and society, based on the needs of the people, allowing them to integrate their social and work motives. To

ensure they remain on this career path, they utilise their ability to mix social and work motives to enable them to seek networks that understand their need to be confident - Something that is required when pursuing a non-traditional orientated career path. This supportive network then enables SE social actors to remain focused on the social purpose, and would ensure that the right decisions could be made with beneficiaries. However, this was always tested when the need for resources was required.

6.2.2 Social Actors and Resources

This was most apparent when participants were asked directly about their strategy, and was when the social actors would refer to their resource issues as a major component of their decision-making. This issue of resource allocation was examined in Chapter 3, and investment in SE has been examined by others (Ormiston et al., 2015; Freireich and Fulton, 2009). The aim for investors still remains the need to maintain the focus on financial investment first, which is that any investment should seek to maximize financial returns. However, the subsequent data analysis in this research examined how each social actor came into contact with various agency structures and managed the complexities of gaining resources for their SE. In the context of this analysis, the word 'resources' is used to denote those tangible assets that a social enterprise was employing, or trying to obtain. These assets are not necessarily a clearly identifiable lump sum of money, but could be an 'in kind' donation in the form of business support, a public sector contract, or a building.

The participants often referred to obtaining resources by discussing the funding environment, the word 'funding' becoming synonymous with 'resources'. The context of austerity in which this research has taken place may have increased the dominance of resource allocation within a SE strategy. However, such austerity has enabled the Government to enact their aim to shift power from central government to local communities (Coote, 2011). This process of 'We are all in this together' (Cabinet Office 2010, p8) could be providing more opportunities for community based SE, especially as SE is highlighted as the form that will carry the concepts of big society vision forward and achieve the shifting of power. Despite, these changing funding landscapes the participants continued to discuss previous and current funding contexts with equal concern.

Each SE social actor discussed the agency structures they were, or had come into contact with. This involved familiar funding regimes in the UK, some being quasi non-governmental organizations, such as the Lottery, and various funding schemes like Community Builders and Healthy Living. The two main funding avenues discussed came directly from central government. They were the 'New Deal for Communities' (NDC) and 'Single Regeneration Budget' (SRB).

Another area of resource allocation was from local authorities, and the soon-to-be-disbanded regional development agencies, which took the form of commissioning, contracts, or grants. Cornelius, Fred and Alan all talked about the influence of their local SRB board, and Jack about the origins of his SE through SRB. Chloe and Stephen highlighted their experiences with SRB and NDC organizations. Arthur and Jane referred to Lottery funding, and Naomi talked about both SRB and Lottery. Along with Naomi, Henry talked about the funding from regional development agencies (RDA's). William was the exception, having obtained his resources from a property development process involving the local authority. Sean's SE had been directly involved with NDC, and Eric's organization, like many other SEs, was born out of SRB funding. The issue of resources was never far from the SE social actors' thoughts, as Eric, Jack and Sammy all expressed:

"So our financial issues are the ones that every time we return to, because we are so marginal, we are so marginal. And sometimes I'm a pessimist; sometimes I'm an optimist. We haven't found yet a way of sustaining ourselves easily, and I don't know if we will. I don't know if we will". (Eric)

"So that's our strategies – surviving. We are a bunch of scrappers." (Sammy)

"It is hard to get money and say I am going to work with the community". (Jack)

Jack then explained how the process of deep-rooted community development work was very slow. His criticism is that funders or investors in social change still seem to give money to people who write big bold bids about physical changes to the community, with clear definable outcomes. Jack believes that these changes do have an output and impact, but for Jack, it was not having a positive impact on the deep rooted community development work:

"Individuals come together and slowly build their peer relationships and slowly build an outside network and slowly achieve things and celebrate the achievements".

Others discussed the substantial cutbacks in local authority resources, and how they had relied on contracts from local government to achieve their goals. This change in contract arrangements or cancellations enables some understanding of the precarious nature of many SEs, but also shows who was determining the outcomes of SE social purpose. Cornelius had a contract with the local authority which was 80% of their income, but which suddenly disappeared, so they looked for other ways of earning. They either went out of business, or they contracted with another organization and to meet their needs:

"We either went out of business, or we looked at other ways of earning money. The Job Centre Plus work is really important to us, and we've done so well at that that they've renewed our contracts and that's ok".

Other SE social actors experienced how resources and gaining access, despite services being provided, can be fraught with danger. This places an undue pressure on SE to gain resources from those who want to determine your social action, based on their outcomes. Stephen revealed his frustration with the senior people involved at their local NDC who occupied offices in their building, yet constantly regarded this resource as theirs. They disregarded standard leasing arrangements, despite the impact on this local SE. Stephen went on to express his feelings about the NDC programme, how little social impact they had, and the level of corruption he had experienced:

"We had the lease and it was given to us, we run it and we've got the lease on the property. They did pay for some of the refurbishment but wouldn't pay for the space, we were constantly chasing up; that hits our cash flow, because they are not carrying the £200,000. They in effect tried to bust us.....The NDC, one of the biggest in the country, £53,000,000. As anyone involved in it will tell you it was acknowledged to be the most successful NDC in the country. I've never heard such bollocks in me life, it's an absolute joke, it's a complete disgrace, it's a complete waste of money. One or two little things, but actually very corrupt. It was basically run by the council for the council".

Sean's summary of when he first tried to create a SE, working with an existing agency structure, the local council, provided an insight into the constant battle to secure resources. The council eventually went back on original agreements. Both the NDC and the council used their resources to negotiate and manage other agencies, using the SE as a conduit to enable the community to meet their own outcomes. If these approaches are challenged, or a SE creates a scenario where they have their own resources, a dominant agency will then withdraw from the process. Sean explained how the SE's idea was then taken back by the council, as it was potentially worth a lot of money:

"The initial discussions were based on valuations of leases and rents that the Councils own, that valuers had done. As soon as the Council found out what independent valuers and others thought of the leases and the retail rents, they reneged on the Trust and said, 'Oh no, no, that's quite a lot of money, we'll keep that'".

The assessment by Stephen and the experience of Sean are examples of the need for a dominant agency to gain direct access to communities, using access to resources as a motivation for SE. Another account by research participant, Naomi provided an experience along similar lines. She recounted the bizarre behaviour of her county council. She explained how her organization, along with partners, had raised £1.7 million for the purchase of the building to create a library, community space and some supported accommodation for early start-up businesses. They had spent a lot of money - tens of thousands - into making a proposal that was incredibly robust. They

had planning permission, and were about to purchase the building, when without notice the County Council pulled out:

"We are all pretty convinced that the reason the County Council pulled out was something to do with political control". (Naomi told ironically how the County Council were using exactly the same building that they bought at auction and spending more money than they would have had to have spent, to do exactly the same thing). "Absolutely bizarre, and it's about where decisions are made within County Councils, or District Councils, and how much are they influenced politically, which defies the need of the community".

The behaviour of agency structures in wasting resources rather than allowing others to gain any perceived power continued in other interviews. Chloe relayed her story about her experiences with NDC. This, she felt, was one of her most challenging times as a social actor in a SE. She talked about their relationship with their local NDC, and how they told her to merge with them or fold. At that point Chloe would need to decide if they were going to reduce their operations to almost nothing and just wait until they'd gone, or go for every penny they could get off them. She talked about how the NDC presented themselves as this slick machine of regeneration specialists, and recalled how each year she would have to bid for money on a regular basis, throughout the scheme. Then one year, again without warning, the NDC ran out of money and Chloe's organization was faced with a £1 million funding cliff. Furious with herself for not mitigating against that happening, Chloe came to her own conclusions:

"So we went for soaking them for every penny; and we soaked £8/9 million off them......they pretended to plan, and they looked like they were planning, but it was all empty stuff, 'cos they had no real feeling or care about this area. We should have realised they were that. We just couldn't believe they would get into that situation. I wouldn't blame them, I would blame us, and we have been trying to manage our way out of that ever since...... They were just the most repulsive poverty scroungers that I've ever met, very arrogant".

Henry, a volunteer Chair for a small community, SE described how his group had been asked to join with other communities to enable the agency structure, the former RDA, to achieve their outcomes. The local groups had different aims and goals, and meetings would deteriorate into various factions. As Henry was Chair he tried to reconcile these differences, however his SE decided they would go their separate ways. The SE, chaired by Henry along with his community, then took more control and focused on having just local representation. The RDA did not agree with this action and soon began to distance themselves from his SE. For Henry this created an element of frustration and misunderstanding with the RDA. Henry went on to talk about the funding process he was engaged in with the RDA. Again, like the others, the RDA agency structure

just stopped at the last stage of a project, left without warning, and thus the SE had a shortfall of resources:

"There seemed to be a distancing once we pulled our horns in and we are not going to have all these representatives from every group, Tom, Dick and Harry. We are here to still serve the community, yet we were somewhat isolated.............I think that never really got resolved............it was in three stages and we completed two stages and then they pulled the rug in the third stage left us £10,000 short".

Alan was clear that his SE was driven by whatever priorities, objectives and measures of the new European programmes had set. They would run for three years, when the European programme would do a review, and then there would be discussion about the consultation. At the time, this made Alan think how he could get as much out of the resources pot as possible. This for Alan, made the European programme a bigger influence, than the regional government office, as they set the priorities of the programme. This agency structure created a competitive environment for the different SEs to compete for resources. This did not have any focus on social change, but what each organization felt would place them at an advantage:

"There was a whole bun fight about consultation and where should we put the money for the next three years, and each organization was saying, 'Well, I think you should put more into youth work and outreach, put more into employability.' And they were just backing their own projects basically, so you do this big fight, and then the new prospectus would come out, and it was pretty much the same as the old one, with the same sort of measures and carved up in a slightly different numbers............Well how can we get as much out of this pot as we can?"

Naomi regarded the European programme as important for the SE, as it was funded externally to the community. This brought not only resources to the SE, but also a legitimacy within the other agency structures surrounding the community. This enabled her to compete for more resources, but equally gave the organization a strategic purpose:

"That European money was really important in moving the organization from being just a bunch of volunteers to being something that actually had a role and a place and a strategic purpose".

Jeremy described how his board needed to move forward with their governance, and funders had begun to question their processes, which were losing legitimacy. This ability for those investing into a community to influence the structure of the board provides an indication of the importance SE places upon those with resources:

"Well, some of them in the Trustee Board had realized that it was reaching a point where they needed somebody like me on board, a sort of Chief Exec figure, somebody who could provide the leadership, had got the skills and experience of running similar organization, but putting into it a

strategy, fundraising, governance, and getting the Board away from the day-to- day operational stuff into more of a governance/strategic overview. And they were neglecting those things, and some of the funders were telling them off! And so it was driven by lots of different things".

Building close working relationships with agency structures gave some SEs the ability to seek external resources and gain legitimacy. This, in turn, provided those dominant agency structures with their own legitimacy. However, the legitimacy with the dominant agencies created the issue that, central to an organization sustaining itself, was not the community, but the agency structures. This lack of legitimacy created difficulties for some SEs as they tried to establish a direct legitimacy with the community but neglected the agency structures. Eric describes his SE approach of being people-centred, and finding it hard to sustain their SE. The barriers to being supported were usually termed as not meeting the criteria, providing a reason for exclusion:

6.2.3 Networking and Agency Support

As the different social actors developed their SE by seeking out resources, they came into contact with different agency structures that could provide support and advice. Some of these agency structures were provided through statutory bodies, or alternatively there were organizations paid to provide a support or advice service. The experiences of social actors when the SE was directly supported by an outside agency were mixed. Lucy had a good experience with one person from a support organization. Her other experiences with another SE consulting organization resulted in her putting in a complaint. Lucy now approaches her need for support by self-help. She will do all the reading and learning around a subject, be it legal structures, finance and business planning:

"They had a very intelligent person in the early days, who got promoted, so I then got a new mentor. They were so grossly incompetent and I got a ridiculous response to the complaint as well that was also very evident of their lack of competence. We know in the community if we want something done we do it ourselves.....sitting up late into the night reading stuff until I understand it".

As Lucy discovered, some agency structures had individuals that could provide a great level of support, whilst others would make the running of a SE even harder. This mixed experience prompted SE social actors to seek out and work with the right person. This working within the dominant structures enabled SE social actors to find allies to support their work. These people would not always be open and widely acknowledged within the agency structures. Sean recalled an incident with a senior civil servant:

"But I remember [Civil Servant]; we'd been shouted at for something or the other. We were always shouted at, because we were always doing stuff we weren't supposed to do, although they could never tell me where it said I wasn't supposed to do it! And I remember that person taking me to one side and saying (in the lift actually coming out of a meeting at ODPM), 'I've waited until we are in the lift; what you are doing is fantastic, carry on doing it. I will shout at you in public, but it's brilliant, and what we will do is try and formulate policy on the back of this, but I won't be able to do that yet, and we've never had this conversation.' And the lift door is opening, and this person is saying, 'hope that's been helpful *******"'and shaking my hand, because there were two civil servants waiting to get in! And it was just really nice to know that we were pushing boundaries, and we were trying to do things differently, and actually there were very senior civil servants who were really pleased that we were doing that, but just couldn't say so publicly. And he didn't need to have that conversation; he could have just left me to suffer in silence, but he did. And it just gives you some comfort that at the heart of government there are people who are thinking at least partially like you do".

Chloe said she always looks for support and advice and thinks that is an interesting aspect of her work. She developed this further and talked about her networking, and how it was about being close. Chloe would identify individuals that she could build a relationship with which created a mutual benefit. These relationships would create a network opportunity away from the competitive nature of agency structures and resource allocation. However, Chloe would always refer back to local people, the beneficiaries, and always put an equal emphasis on her steering groups of local people in combination with the staff:

"The minute I was here, I've always asked people. I've always assumed everybody else knows better; that's the basis on which to start!when you are really puzzling about a question, somebody always comes up who is the right person for that time, it's usually somebody who knows just a little bit more than you. It doesn't matter who that person is. I suppose it's not necessarily the obvious organizations, it's more about individuals who just get it........ We do lots of consultations with local people, and all of that feeds up through into our board and then agreeing on what are the important things, what are the main things that we are going to go with, until eventually we end up with some form of semi-coherent strategy".

Another area in which agency structures became involved with social actors was through the professional networks that had been created. These networks would sometimes be created by social actors themselves for support or collaboration. More prominent were the networks created by agency structures with resources in which social actors would engage. Fred, at the beginning of his job, had become influenced by the local SRB programme. This SRB programme was unusual, as it was run by a local organization not the local authority. This meant they had funds and were influential in the local area. Fred recalled how this SRB programme was trying to do it with social purpose and how their ideas and the discussions he had with them were crucial to forming how he thought about things. Fred felt that his external advice and support came from this local peer network and through members of his national community organization. There he would meet others in a similar situation with similar experiences, all of which helped reduce the feeling of being isolated:

"Just being local neighbours or more formally through the network. It has all been on that basis. Peer support and not being isolated".

Arthur, in his desire to find solutions, would find other organizations that had unique aspects which he took inspiration from. He would visit these SEs and borrow their ideas, also developing relationships with others in a similar context. He recalled how these relationships gave him confidence, especially from the regional network he was part of:

"Going out and talking to other organizations that were doing this kind stuff just gave us the confidence to do it.......To be in a network of others within the region that were doing things differently kind of inspired you to take ideas back and continue to shape your thinking".

Jeremy always felt that building relationships was his strength, and used these networks to gain favour with key people from funding to policy. This approach of building relationships was evident in other SEs as they sought to be at the forefront of funders. Jeremy emphasised his need to strengthen key relationships and become legitimate in the networks where resources could be gained. He still remained in touch with local people, but the emphasis was on those funders:

"One of my strengths is networking and relationship-building. Particularly in this leadership role, I think it's absolutely crucial to use that old analogy. But one eye is facing outwards and the other eye is facing inwards, and if we don't have those relationships... 'cos again I think work is predicated on who you know and how well you know people, that could be from local people who want to volunteer to funders, to politicians, to policy-makers, whatever".

Jane recalled how inspired she was by a trip to another SE. The course, provided by this SE, gave Jane's own SE a business framework, but importantly an opportunity to network and learn from people who had already gone through the process. Jane regretted not developing the

understanding of the SE networks further, and how the experiences and knowledge gained could have helped her when the enterprise social purpose began to get lost. As the SE developed, she trusted in one person for the whole process. They presented as very experienced, and so despite also getting advice and support from a network occupied by SE social actors, they turned to the business person and they didn't follow the networking advice. This loss of direction as the more dominant agency actor took control left Jane with a bitter taste. Therefore, despite a support network, the dominance of the business culture became too strong:

"They run this fantastic course and about seven of us went to it and all of us came back with wow, this is really just trust our instincts......we very much trusted him, we trusted him, he had experience, not run a community cafe before, but had run social businesses and had achieved well in that area and so he was one of us and we trusted him, and in the end he said let's just do this, this is the simple way to do this, it's all right we are all friends, it's all right we are all going in the same direction, more fool us, we ignored the advice".

Stephen was upfront about his local networks with his direct peers. He saw these networks as competition for resources. Although the network presented itself as a coherent and non-competitive network, they were only there to gain resources. This would not provide the peer learning and support that SE social actors require to sustain themselves. Stephen went on to talk about those other chief executives in similar types of organizations, but in other cities. They did not have the competitive element to their relationship which enabled a peer to peer experience providing much needed support and advice:

"There's the immediate networks and being a chief executive, and then working with other chief executives where you will smile at each other and you are all polite, and then you stab each other in the back, you bitch, you clap, you know, you claw, you do all of that stuff to some people......They are removed, there is no competitive edge, the relationship is purely 'cos you get on with someone, you are not necessarily working together in that way, but you are sharing, you are learning, you are bouncing ideas, and also you realise you are not isolated, you are not alone".

Naomi had a similar experience as Stephen, and identified other organizations and peers to work with and exchange ideas. The competitive nature of the immediate networks enabled much more of an open relationship. The aim was not to gain resources, but to develop and challenge ideas:

"There's one other organization nationally that I work with very closely, and which is very similar to us, and I just feel I learn stuff all the time; every time I meet them I think I learn stuffbut it's based on share, it's kind of open sharing of how things are done".

This need to find networks outside of your immediate sector shows that the sector itself is very competitive. Other studies have shown how fierce economic competition and opportunistic behaviour can lead to the isolation of social enterprises, and can ultimately transform the social movement into a classical competitive market (Huybrechts and Nicholls, 2013). This competitive nature will make collaboration for resources and the management of agency structures to overcome any dominance very difficult. One question that becomes increasingly important is how SE social actors build these relationships and what effect this process has on the strategic decision-making of a SE.

6.3 Emergent Interplay

With a key aim for this research being to understand how social actors and agency structures affect the emergent strategies of a SE, a series of research questions were developed. These questions revolved around the causal mechanisms associated with the social actors running a SE and the agency structures. In this section, an exploration of these causal mechanisms that have arisen due to a combination of factors related to these two areas has been made. This was utilised to develop further in-depth knowledge of the SE phenomenon, and begins to shed some understanding of the emergent interplay between SE social actors and agency structure mechanisms.

6.3.1 Transcending Agency

One aspect of this interplay that was striking among participants of this research was the ability of the social actors involved to transcend their own primary agency. If SE social actors were only able to interact within their own primary agency, then they would need to conform and adopt a manner that aligns with that original agency. This requirement to conform and become part of a group is supported by other models of rationality based around social relations, such as model of contextual rationality (White, 1988). This model describes the actions that creates and maintains an institution and its traditions with the aim of fostering the right behaviour and ultimately a good life with others, Reed (1991). This process acknowledges that social actors need to create and maintain an interplay that both binds, sustains and enriches their relationships (Weick, 1993).

However, SE social actors showed an ability to transcend their own agency which enabled them to move in different social settings with a variety of agencies external to their own primary agency. This proved vital when the need of the SE was to have a leader who could work with beneficiaries in the community they served, whilst networking with other professionals who may well not be from the beneficiary or social actors' primary agency. As Jack pointed out:

This ability to utilise social skills in a variety of contexts, combined with an understanding of their and other primary agencies' roles, provided an advantage in managing a SE. These skills suggested that mixing with other primary agencies at an early stage of forming their own social agency provided extra confidence in becoming a SE social actor. The more they navigated different networks, the greater the ability to see another perspective, yet equally remain focused on the beneficiaries supporting their primary agency. This social skill may be the result of that person or their personality, the element that one retains throughout life. However, without a social context that results in a changing primary agency, then the ability of a person to transcend their own primary agency becomes increasingly difficult. This is due to the person being born into a social context and placed collectively together with others to become a social agent that becomes the major informant of their primary agency. They become bounded by their immediate social relations and context.

This premise would result in a SE social actor gradually becoming alienated to those persons who can fit neatly into their primary agency structures interplay. As they have taken a path that straddles their original social context and engaged with other primary agencies, they find an environment that matches their own agency increasingly more difficult. This could then become a motivational driver as the strong desire to associate with other primary agents would be and would have influenced the social actors they became. The more they follow this desire by socially mixing, the greater the ability to see the other argument and continue to network. Cornelius was one example of a SE social actor who began to be involved in many different agencies, and articulated his need to network:

"It's a real struggle for people such as us to go. But that's where we need to be. We need to be in those places where we can talk to people, get a network and other things, but it's just really difficult".

The social actors interviewed would look to obtain and seek out these environments, as Jeremy articulated how his strengths were relationship-building and networking. This was with local beneficiaries as well as investors. This was a major part of the role and if that was something you were not enjoying, then to continue growing the SE would be difficult. Sarah discussed how organizing and meeting others was really enjoyable:

"So I think the first roots we did were around organising opportunities for people to meet and mingle. And I remember really, really enjoying the first......"

This desire for variance in primary agencies would inevitably help their networking process, whilst providing an ability to make sense of their environment. This sense-making derives from a reality

that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs, (Weick, 1993). Over time this ability to make sense of the multi layers of the context in which they operate will provide a higher level of confidence in their decision-making. This requirement of confidence gained through social actors transcending their primary agency can be a personal struggle if you have not been developed to be that person. If you are not from the dominant agency structure, you will not have been told that you should have an expectation and entitlement. This creates a continual internal struggle for social actors, and was articulated by different participants. Arthur talked about the lack of socialisation in becoming a leader, whilst Chloe expressed her realization that confidence played a major role in her ability to manage a SE. Again, Stephen became aware that confidence was crucial to ensuring others would commit to the SE:

"If you haven't had a particularly privileged upbringing you are not kind of socialised into being a leader". (Arthur)

"So I suppose most of the changes are about confidence, and you just have to get to know yourself much better......Yeah. Yeah, I think so. And I think I appear more confident". (Chloe)

"And you know, basically I'm the Chief Exec, and I am the leader of a substantive local organization, and if I'm panicking, if I am not doing well in my visible outside world, people pick it up. So I need to be able to exude confidence". (Stephen)

This lack of confidence from SE social actors could aid the agency structures by allowing voices of those most dominant, such as the views of business, to control a SE. The techniques that can overcome this causal mechanism will need to be understood. This knowledge of the role confidence brings could support those driven by their primary agency to change society. Therefore, when faced with a social actor from a dominant agency such as business, they would have the skills and confidence to manage the relationship. Otherwise this causal mechanism will create reluctance on the part of the SE social actors to address the strategic decision-making with social change as a central driver. This would leave a vacuum for an outside agency like business to then dominate the SE strategy. As Jack discovered on his board:

"Because the interest of the board was in enterprise, we really started to focus on how we could better improve local enterprise in that area".

This is because business itself is not a problem, but as Fred and other participants found, social solutions cannot always be solved with a business approach. Although, through experience, SE social actors become more adept at understanding the SE models available and what can or should not be implemented, they needed the confidence to challenge business on their strategic

decisions. Fred talked about the promotion of a SE model as a solution to his dilemmas with the local park:

"So we need to look at different ways of winning resources. We need to establish a social enterprise that can win contracts for landscaping work elsewhere. To bring money back in and then reporting back on, well actually you can't run a landscape firm and also expect it to run the park from its profits because that business model because no one can make that business model work we had tried it and we can't make it work either".

This need to address the causal mechanism places an emphasis on the SE social actor's ability to challenge. However, this also required that the governance made up of beneficiaries should develop the skills to understand, develop and sustain business activities. This was discussed by Sean as he talked about the capacity-building of the community:

"I think, if any government is going to invest £2 billion of public money into x number of communities again, they really need to invest a tiny proportion of that in at least 12 months – preferably 24 months – capacity-building within communities before they just hand the money and say 'Spend it well and wisely.' Because for that community to have had people working with them in the 12-18 months running up to being given that money, to explain what the responsibilities were, to explain what social enterprise was".

6.3.2 Social Justice, Opportunity and Family

The requirement for SE social actors to build their confidence was one causal mechanism that participants discussed. Another area of interest concerns SE social actors' motivations, as discussed in Section 15.3. However, a more specific driver raised in the research interviews was the desire to seek social justice. As participants detailed their biographies, a pattern of deeper desires emerged that was more than just the emergent interplay between the social actor, their social skills, confidence and the connection with a social problem. Intertwined with this interplay was an underlying motivation to tackle society's injustices. This was not always directly stated in the way of Chloe:

"But I suppose it is that kind of determination to keep on and on going, if you decided you have got some real social purpose that drives you, then it is that drive to keep on and on going and how you keep self-motivated.......For me, it's all about seeing the just, injustice, social inequality and just hating it with an absolute passion".

Other participants were less direct during their interview and would talk about how they saw society and injustice. Their experiences drove them to become more determined as social actors for change, not just the inequality they witnessed, but the structures that had created the need

for social justice. William's priesthood training and coming face to face with poverty helped him to gain an understanding of the circumstances of the people he was working with:

"...Most of those people were not there as a result of anything that they had done, there was no sense in which they were responsible. They, in my view, were the product of social constructions which made people poor and left them there, 'cos that's the way it worked".

Naomi talks about her motivations for social justice, about her experiences of poverty and how her father was an incredibly intelligent man who left school at 13 and did not have access to education. This first manifested itself in her desire to become politically active, and was followed by putting into action her thoughts about helping people to help themselves and become educated:

"I think I was, in my 20's probably, very politically motivated (not party politically motivated, but politically motivated in terms of how to change people's lives, particularly around education and things, how do you help people to help themselves stuff.) And I suppose now in my 50's I think I am slightly more mellow as far as that political motivation is concerned, but actually that underpinning things are the same. And I think lots of that is to do with the background I came from".

The participants' experiences gave an internal desire to change society, seek social justice and make a difference. They wanted to become agents of social change and transformational leaders who inspired others (London, 2008). This motivated the social actors to seek environments that were conducive with their own social construct. Other studies have illustrated that social actors who start SEs have often been victims of social problems and find themselves bound to alleviate the sufferings of others in similar circumstances (Omorede, 2014).

As a researcher, this forced me to reflect on my own desire for social justice and how, like the participants, this underlying need to seek social change and gain justice has kept me going through some extremely testing situations. I do not think I would have continued if it was just about my own personal fulfilment. As Cornelius, Fred and Eric all state, running a SE and keeping going throughout difficult times requires a deeper commitment:

"And I found it really, really difficult to keep going in the sense that it was hard work, and for a volunteer -. I don't mind hard work in the sense that I know we've got to keep going, but I was working five or six days a week, nearly full-time you know, just trying to keep the organization afloat, but not actually doing the things that we wanted to do". (Cornelius)

"So I felt a huge, personally liable guilty upset betrayed really angry I was a really angry man for a long time. It affected me to the point that this process fighting for this building when it clearly needed to happen it was ridiculous. To leave this space derelict and what it was costing our community". (Fred)

"I cannot see a time – I cannot conceive of a time when I would not be interested in making a difference in the world. I can't see a time. Even if all I had to do, if I was sat in a chair and all I could do was read about it, and see what other people were thinking and feeling, and the arguments for a world where a lot of people are disempowered, disenfranchised, are marginalised, I still want to know the intellectual, the factual, the informational basis for all those things". (Eric)

This reflection continued with Sarah discussing her motivations and how she was going to be the person to tackle these injustices. It was her emotional driver to deal with injustice that drove her forward and kept her focused on the SE:

"I would get angry with injustice; I'd get angry with lack of opportunity and lack of ambition; you know I just -. Somebody's got to do something about that, and ***** it will be me!" (laughs)

Robert, like Sarah and the other participants when discussing their motivations, would focus on tackling injustice. It was about ensuring that people had an opportunity, and they felt other people's lives could be better, even if they did not need to be the same.

"I still had this Grrrr-arg edge to me as a Christian, but was predominantly wanting to be able to see people's lives fixed and to people to lead better lives. So it's not surprising then that I have ended up where I am doing what I'm doing, 'cos that's still the predominant driver behind everything that I do".

For Sean, as others expressed, these social justice desires were closely aligned with his primary agency experiences. It was the facing of injustice and discrimination, the alienation of these experiences that enabled them to maintain their desires for social change. Sean explained key moments in his childhood that he had reflected upon:

"And it's two things. And it struck me, 1) if you are poor or you are working class, you don't sound right, and 2) If you are from a minority or some sort of religious -. And her attitude was, well actually she said. 'Well God forgive you for swearing in front of these children'. Utterly untouched by it. But me thinking 'God are we really different?' And then thinking it's just wrong; it's just wrong".

Alongside the data that showed a strong motivation for social justice was another interplay between SE social actors and their motivations, and that was a commitment to family. Fred and Jeremy stated very clearly that family was a major influence on their career paths:

"my family is really, really important to me". (Jeremy)

"I draw a lot from my family as to who I am. I have come full circle in terms of being very close to my family and valuing them a lot again because of everything that I have been through". (Fred)

With such strong commitment to family, a pattern of social justice related to their current context began to emerge. It was as if the social actions they had taken in the SE addressed not just social justice, but the social justice that they experienced through their own current context. The social change was a mirror placed against their own dilemmas which they faced in their work/ life balance. This started to become evident in the participants and how they would engage in activities that helped meet their own personal needs. At the time Jane became involved in a SE, she had started running a play scheme in the park over the summer, which was very successful. This scheme directly related to her own need for childcare, and yet crucially was a platform for Jane to gain confidence. Jane explained how she felt at the time:

"Community-minded, keen to get involved in things, not having a huge amount of confidence perhaps, feeling that other people knew, yep, lack of confidence, feeling this sort of thing other people knew what they were doing and talking about a lot more than I did".

However, over time, being involved in a play scheme and other social activities had helped her gain confidence. At the time the SE was created Jane was still in the process of confidence-building and this may have been a major factor in her not taking the lead in the SE. I would argue that Jane would now take the lead in any SE if the opportunity arose, but at the time her lack of confidence affected the final strategic decision of the SE:

Jane's experience may be a reflection of society's discrimination against women and those returning to work after raising children. This is an area of research that could be followed up, however this research focused on the path that motivated Jane to become involved and be part

of the SE. What became evident was that the skills she could bring and the vision she tried to create had been lost when the dominant agency structure took control:

"We didn't follow the advice because we had one person in the process who was very experienced and we very much trusted him. We trusted him, he had experience, had not run a community cafe before, but had run social businesses and had achieved well in that area and so he was one of us and we trusted him, and in the end he said let's just do this, this is the simple way to do this, it's all right, we are all friends, it's all right we are all going in the same direction. More fool us, we ignored the advice".

As other social actors progressed in their SEs, you begin to see the balancing act between lifestyle and creating a difference in their communities. The main focus may be an altruistic desire which is focused on society. However, equally, such individuals may also have private concerns and motivations regarding their personal interests and their family lives that influence their decisions (Aileen and Mottiar, 2014). Naomi and Chloe, as Jane had experienced, were both juggling the issue of childcare with career choices, as they explained. They both started developing family centres, which formed the basis of the SE development. Another participant, Sarah, reflected on her situation and her own family:

"Well, I was trying to spend time with young children, but I wasn't comfortable not working really". (Chloe)

"I didn't know where it was going to go, but I could see it was really interesting, and I suppose it was containable, having three children". (Naomi)

"..... and as the kids went through school developed campaigning around after school club provisions and all that kind of stuff". (Sarah)

This process of social change that is related to a drive for social justice, yet formed in a social context, could provide a challenge to the sense-making provided as a rational for social action. Weick (1993) describes sense-making as how reality becomes an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make a retrospective case for what occurs. That is, how do we make something sensible? This creates a situation where people hang onto their own mental models, manipulating sense-making by sense-giving. The strategic decision to develop childcare facilities may have had some basis on wider community need, but the drive for such change could be coming from a belief about a need of one's own family situation. Thus individuals are creating and sustaining images of a wider reality, in part to rationalize what they are doing by reading into their situational patterns of significant meaning (Morgan *et al.*, 1983. P. 24).

For social actors, to find themselves leading a SE, was an opportunity to change society to address inequality, yet equally it enabled a rationalisation of their context. The opportunity availed came after a succession of attempts by a social actor to meet their own desires for their underlying drive for social justice combined with their own social context. What if strategic decisions in a SE followed a similar path to the lives of the SE social actors and the external factors that had affected them? - As the emergent strategy theory of Mintzberg and Waters (1985) proposed, when they highlighted how an intended deliberate strategy soon becomes a realized strategy as external and internal influences take effect.

One causal mechanism that could play a part in this emergent interplay is how a SE social actor affects a SE by how they frame a political opportunity and mobilise constituencies, (Rao *et al.*, 2000). One example of this would be the personal circumstances of an individual and their closeness to a social problem (Germak and Robinson, 2014). In effect, the sense-making process of a SE social actor takes a dominant lead. As discussed earlier, for some participants, the key issue was childcare, which then became a determining factor in their decision to become involved in SE and the strategic direction the SE took, especially at the beginning. This was not restricted to childcare, as Mary found out when working out her responsibilities, and how she manage financially, and Arthur, seeking new opportunities, but drawn into the SE and its surrounding community. Each of these drivers affected their decision-making. Chloe was very clear what the social purpose was at the beginning:

"I think I said to the steering group that I only see myself in this role for three years and I after three years I think I am going to move on. I'm not a community development expert and then actually just loving the community and the opportunity and seeing, and constantly having new visions which we can achieve together. That is what kept me there for ten years in total". (Arthur)

"So I can only speak for the family centre, and the family centre at the time, our strategy was to provide the highest quality services with local people as the staff and using it, and for it to be a community-led family centre, which local people had a management". (Chloe)

6.3.3 **Professional Management**

The social change that arises from a sense of social justice, combined with the need to meet a SE social actor's social context, became the platform by which they needed to manage agency structures and gain resources. This began a period of sense-making and sense-giving that tried to balance opportunities for the SE with their own desire for social change, whilst addressing the dominance of agency structures with resources. This emergent interplay results in social actors interacting with pre-existing agency structures with different primary agencies from the

beneficiaries of the SE. The pre-existing dominant agency structure began to encourage social actors from their own agency structures to become involved in the SE. The SE soon became dominated by other priorities than that of the SE, as Jack, one of the participants outlined:

"I think the business voices had a more sort of dominant role on the board".

If you are seeking social justice, that goal may well place you in direct conflict with the interests of a dominant group. Jane discussed this topic when talking about those who did not fit the business ideal would create tensions in the SE:

"There are some people, others would think of as a little bit bonkers but that's because they are a kind of people person, they look at things in a different way, they don't always look at things in a traditional business like quite way, and there is quite a lot of creativity, creativity is quite an issue actually I think within the community setting there is quite a lot of creativity that goes into it and tension was with one or two people that saw business skills as being kind of superior to these other community minded skills".

To cope with this dominance of agency structures, the SE social actors would utilise forms of legitimacy, one that was prevalent with SE social actors in this research being labelled as 'professional'. This coping mechanism was seen when the social actors and the methods by which they would obtain resources and debate with agency structures began to emphasis the concept of professional. This emphasis on the professional was an attempt to gain legitimacy within the hegemonic structures. The concept of being professional, as explained by Fred, was about providing an objective argument, and not allowing the SE to be seen as a subjective, emotional organization. In effect, they provided a different sense-giving process for agency structures:

"Most of that was done in a very professional and objective way as far as the outside world was concerned".

This desire to create a professional environment could result in decisions being dominated by that same professionalism. Mary knew she was the real decision-maker, proposing to the trustees a strategic direction which they would go along with. But, as she stated:

"Really it should come from the Trustees.....not the right way of doing it, I don't think, but that's how it would have been done."

As social actors progressed in their careers, matching the development of their organization, this gave them a sense of confidence from their new found professional status. Alan noted how when his organization started getting a good reputation for actually delivering projects, being professional they suddenly became free to do their own thing. Jane had mentioned her

professional background in regeneration almost like a legitimacy badge. Then when justifying voluntary support she would talk about a person's professional skills:

"....He used all his professional skills to achieve......".

Henry put a lot of emphasis on the project manager bringing his professional skills to enable the social action to take place. He also saw the professional as taking on the burden of the social purpose. This person would then be able to lead the way. Robert talked about how he had developed through his experiences and adopted the professional skills, but this was never his intention, whilst Fred referred to his SE as a small professional organization that was able to meet the requirements of grant funders and investors in order to bring those resources into his community. One social actor, Arthur, tried to subvert this professional approach by employing people who had experienced the very issues the project was trying to address:

"Employing ex-travellers to work with the traveller community, to taking on people that were exdrug users to work with the drug using community, to taking on young people that had been in prison to work with the ex-offender community, to work with you know people who have been in the mental-health system to work with people who were experiencing mental health was our greatest asset kind of, and our greatest strategy for impact but was also one of our biggest challenges in terms of the kind of, yes subverting the expectations that our funders had and our public sector partners had in terms of the approach that we used".

Arthur had recognized that in his networks the professional image was important, but also realized that to meet the needs of beneficiaries, he required those same beneficiaries to undertake the social action. They would have the knowledge and the same identity that would provide the empathy and motivations required for social change. However, challenges to the professionalism portrayed have started to become more apparent as funding has recently diminished. Sammy talks about those social actors who were once seen as the professionals:

"And I see other organizations that have their backs against the wall and they were big players and they were the professionals, and they knew how to do it best, and they've kind of got all their eggs in one basket, and they are going down the pan".

This SE social actor as the professional disguised their desires by providing agency structures with an image of organization that employs a rational basis for decisions. This included statistical evidence and measurable outcomes that would satisfy the dominant hegemonic approach making the SE credible to dominant agencies. This created a sense-making process that was seen as 'professional' yet crucial for a SE to obtain resources. This required a SE social actor's approach to management, and the perception of that management by funders was increasingly important. Cornelius, SE Chair, talked about being the professional:

"I have been there for 16 years, there's all sorts of things that have happened, and there's a feeling within our sector that there's community projects that have gone to the wall, and people on the grapevine, are talking about how we want to grab it all. It's not the case, but it's just that we feel that we are being very professional about the way we approach things".

This need to be professional eclipses the brand of a SE and starts to dictate the requirement of having the right professional skills in a SE, someone who has the right levels of expertise. According to Henry, another SE chair:

"There wasn't a lot of experience in project management and so in the early stages when we secured some funding we actually took on a project manager, which we had funding for three years. That was helpful because it actually started to deliver and I think that was key that you must have someone who is professional and able to develop the work".

This need to portray a professional environment started to create a façade for funders and investors. Façade is what Nystrom and Starbuck (1984) called a symbolic front created by organizational actors to reassure stakeholders of the legitimacy of the organization and its management. This can lead to decision-making that perpetuates the façade, whilst neglecting the social action. Alan, the CEO of a community organization detailed in Table 7, Chapter 5, used a metaphor of a mouse-wheel to describe the functions of his SE:

"I always used to conceive of it as like a mouse-wheel kind of thing; it felt like it was a mouse on a treadmill, (you know, wheel), and always pedalling really, really fast but always felt as though, just going round in a circle, the 12 month financial cycle. Either coming up to year end and spending like mad, and making sure we've defrayed everything, or we were at the start of a new financial year, and suddenly finding that all the funders and contractors were still thinking about what they wanted to do for the rest of the year, and doing their stint, so everything ground to a halt. Or it was the middle of the year, when we were producing our annual report and finalising our annual accounts and preparing for the AGM. Or it was coming up to Christmas where we were actually in the meat of the work we were doing, or we were back near the side of Christmas where we were madly spending in advance of the year end, and making sure we had defrayed everything. And it was just, we were just round and round in that loop".

Alan's metaphor provided an analogy of the professional image, where a SE seeks to deliver the goals of the funders. This ability to create a façade through a professional image was discussed with other participants and Fred was clear that he had created a façade as he states.

"Yes, most of that was done in a very professional and objective way as far as the outside world was concerned".

However, whilst meeting the requirements, norms of behaviour and creating a façade of being professional, the actual work of social justice could get sidelined. As Jack began to discuss:

"Funders still seem to give money to people that write big bold bids about doing things, stuff, physical changes to the community particularly and I find that really frustrating and you have to play the system to pull out the bits of money to do the actual real work, while doing all the, you know the showy stuff. That does have an output and impact but not as for me a positive impact as the deep rooted community development work. I still find that very frustrating".

Another consequence is the lack of empowerment of beneficiaries as a reliance on professionals for social change is portrayed. For Henry, there was a loss of direction and ability to address social issues, once the professional had left. The desire for a professional had created a dependence on the professional, as Henry found when he analysed the volunteers who were left:

"And so strategies had to alter because we no longer had the money to pay for the project development officer so you have to go and if you've got no one to deliver projects you are then left with a small bunch of dedicated volunteers who do what they can with the time that they have got".

That is not to say the skills surrounding the building of a professional image are not required. The SE social actor still needs to run a successful enterprise, manage the finances and ensure sales and profit is maintained, whilst adding social value, as Arthur learnt from his experiences:

"I am much more focused on our financial management (laughs out loud) you know it's very very easy to get carried away and to be focused on the social rather than on the enterprise and the financial disciplines, because I have had some really hairy times".

With the professional SE emerging as a legitimate organization in the eyes of the agency structures, then the ensuing emergent strategy will affect the SE social purpose. Gradually the emergent strategy takes control, and this change can take a SE in a different direction, and thus outcome than intended.

6.3.4 Managing Structures

This theme of an emergent strategy driving forward a SE social purpose could have become a causal mechanism for maintaining hegemony. The change in strategy of a SE was evident when participants in the research talked about their different incidents of working with agency structures and gaining resources. For many, it would leave them struggling to cope with the results. Arthur recalls the danger of believing in the praise received from those working in dominant agency structures. He then created a situation where all he did was expand his deficit which threatened the organization:

"We had all these political visitors, nothing we did ever went wrong so we expanded. In hindsight the SE was fragile, at best awaiting failure at worst an expanding failure.......I think the whole expansion of the SE was in hindsight a bit of a bad plan. It was one that was strongly encouraged by our primary care trust".

This vulnerability of needing resources aligns an organization to the dominant agency and their purpose. The SE will focus on chasing the next contract or funding pot, which creates a diversion from the social purpose and soon turns to organizational survival. Cornelius had a contract with the local authority which was 80% of their income, but suddenly it went, and they looked for other ways of earning. This was not as a means to further an original social purpose, but to ensure the organization had income, regardless of its ability to deliver social change:

"We either went out of business, or we looked at other ways of earning money. The Job Centre Plus work is really important to us, and we've done so well at that that they've renewed our contracts and that's ok".

Sam was clear about his understanding of being driven by funding. They understood their history and how in the past they had followed the money. Sam talked about where the money was, they would do it. They were a funding led organization but as Sam put it they were still there:

"We would be described in the past as a funding-led organization; our strategy is where the money is, we will do it. But we've always got that if you look at your model, those kind of bits of where were from and what we are trying to do are still there".

Chloe learnt from their relationship with their local NDC, and how they told her they needed to fold or merge, and it was that experience that now created a lack of trust. One of Fred's stories revolved around a derelict building in his community he was trying to renovate. At one stage the funding body who had agreed to supply the resources for the project withdrew the funds because they made a mistake on another project, and required Fred's funding to make up a shortfall. This made Fred very upset:

"I felt a huge......, personally liable, guilty, upset, betrayed, really angry I was a really angry man for a long time". He went onto fight this decision, "funnily enough, we fought it and won".

This need for resources to meet local needs drives forward the strategic direction of a SE. The danger is that this process can end up breaking the SE, or you just become a conduit for an agency structure. Cornelius was clear that he would work with anyone, as the boundaries were no longer applicable:

"Because funding is really, really difficult, we can't — we've got to earn money. Yeah, we've got to earn our keep. So we work with anybody who - virtually we will work with anybody who wants to work with us".

The boundaries of a SE and the community they served became more blurred and disregarded as a SE grew: who were the beneficiaries and who were the customers? Naomi talked about working across a much wider remit:

"Initially the objects of the charity were for this area and the surrounding area. In 2011 they changed the objects to be able to work across the county, we tried to work with the original name and it didn't work. In December 2013, we changed the name to suit the county wide remit".

One danger for a SE is that they become the new agency structures seeking their own legitimacy in communities. The strategy had changed their social purpose, as SEs sought new resources, new contracts, and new money. However, if SEs were able to access resources then, as Fred says, more social change would happen:

"Why do we do this you know? When you get to the end of this you got to think if you look at what has been achieved relatively to how hard it was. Imagine what we could have done if we had a system that works".

What if SE begins with a deliberate strategy to manage agency structures, developing an ability to manage them? This will go some way to achieving the SE that is required by the primary agency collective, and avoiding the social actors of dominant agency structures managing the relationship. This should be possible, as dominant agency structures, in order to survive, will require a level of legitimacy with external primary agencies, not just their own grouping. However, the engagement with agency structure was shown to be performed regularly by practitioners, but was not always productive. As Arthur noted:

"I think we could have managed some of our relationships with our stakeholders a bit more effectively. I think that we were quite challenging to the local authority, many would say rightly so. But actually, you know, you have to work in partnership with people like the local authorities and it's very easy to throw stones and say you are rubbish without necessarily giving them the options and solutions to improve".

For others, time and effort to attend meetings trying to place an emphasis on a relationship can result in wasted time and energy on red herrings, as Stephen explained:

"Spent five years going to City Council's community cohesion forum's executive committee,
there would be about ten of us. Now there's me and one other guy from the voluntary
sector, five years I went to this thing. One day I sat in a meeting, they tabled a
document which is a strategy It was in September, and it was taking effect from the

previous April, so they were already six months into this programme, and it had no outputs
...... the targets would be populated as you approached the end of the year. That sort of
thing is extremely painful to go and sit through".

This ability for SE social actors to manage agency structures requires resources and a clear notion that a good proportion of time is wasted and will not achieve the desired social change. Yet for the SE to remain legitimate, it is required to sit through such processes. Without legitimacy, it can be very hard to gain resources, as Eric highlighted:

"It's never (the SE) endured great political favour at a local level, which has meant that very often resources that might have been made available to such an organization elsewhere within the City weren't made available to ****** (the SE)".

Yet, for Sean, this need to manage structures began to make him question the legitimacy of SE and its impact, raising the elephant in the room. By engaging with dominant agency structures, do SEs achieve change, or do they create another morphostatic organization?

"If you look specifically at the UK as opposed to social enterprise across Europe or you know, in a society where less than 1% of the population still own over 60% of the land; in a society where in the last 36 months 1,000 people have enriched themselves to the tune of £514 billion, and yet we are told we are in austerity".

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter combined the data collected and the detailed analysis, and applied this formation to the analytical framework presented in Chapter 4. Elements of the analysis has been placed into specific areas associated with Archer's morphogenetic approach (Archer, 2003) and the Communicative Action outlined by Habermas (1984: 1987). In the first section the theme 'Life Agent' addressed one of the research objectives. Who are and what are the cultural backgrounds of the SE social actors. The second section as did the first examined the social actors but from the perspective of how their relationships with agency structures are generated and maintained. The third section, called 'Emergent Interplay', developed beyond the initial data analysis and combined a process of interpretation to provide further research findings. These findings showed how social actors own history and circumstances combined with the dominance of agency structures affected how the emergent SE strategies developed are sustaining the status quo.

Chapter 7: Discussion – Hegemony's Relationship with Social Enterprise

"I wonder, a bit of me consistently wonders, what impact social enterprise can have, and whether in fact we are not colluding with that whole context"

7.1 The Social Enterprise Social Actor

The last words by research participant, Sean brings the whole thesis back to where it began. Can SE foster social change, or is it a morphostatic organization, a force that reproduces the dynamics of the context, and retains the social structure of the laminated system (Rees and Gatenby, 2014)? Does SE support the stability of a social structure that protects the privileged position of a dominant alliance (Gramsci, 1971)? To find a definitive answer would always be a difficult position to reach, considering that the very definition of SE is a contested debate, as highlighted in Chapter 3, and shown by the high percentage of conceptual research papers (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013). This is compounded by trying to understand and debate what constitutes SE social change and the achievement of SE operational outcomes (Ruebottom, 2011).

Despite this debate, the SE dynamism researched and analysed through Archer's morphogenetic approach (Archer, 2003) and the Communicative Action outlined by Habermas (1984; 1987) has resulted in an Analytical Dualism Framework (Figure 2, Chapter 4). This has started to provide an understanding as to what mechanisms and their relationships constitute a shift from a morphostatic organization into a counter-hegemony endeavour. This begins to support the need to develop critical work that could usefully consider the 'micro' detailed terrain of how the highly political processes implicated in social enterprise unfold, what tactics are being employed, whose futures are being materialized, and how (Tedmanson *et al.*, 2015, p. 441). In the chapter, the previous findings are discussed and explored, providing practitioners with some idea of how to foster social change, and provide academics with the possibility of further research. It begins by expanding the discussion on SE relationship with hegemony, drawing on the three central themes derived from the data analysis: life agent, agency structure and emergent interplay.

One of the three central themes that emerged from the data analysis - life agent - highlighted explanations of how a SE social actor develops over time. The first area that was shown to have a significant effect was the level of adversity that SE social actors have previously faced. This adversity did not just centre on the agency structures, but equally on the social actor themselves. As suggested by Omorede (2014, p.262) in their paper, passion for a cause is an important factor

contributing to social entrepreneurial pursuit, as is an identification with the 'local conditions', which all help develop the mindset for starting a social enterprise. This was reflected in this research study, where a combination of past experiences created a social actor's motivation for social justice. These experiences develop over a long period which reflected the need for a time-line that would show how emergent interplay was at work in the lives of SE social actors. This level of detail explored with a SE social actor provided examples of the affect such mechanisms have upon the decision- making within a SE, and thus hegemony.

This places an emphasis on the SE social actor's broader context in which the activity is taking place, and a greater appreciation of the role that context has in shaping social change through resistance (Newth and Woods, 2014). The SE social purpose was indeed driven by a passion for social justice and a motivation for social change. However, this social purpose reflected the SE social actor's own needs and circumstances. An example of this was how one SE social actor could correlate their progression with that of their own childcare needs and the strategic action of their SE. It appeared that the SE focus and expansion mirrored their own children's progression, such as from a nursery to a playgroup, to after school clubs, and then to a youth centre. It was not that social justice was not being achieved, but that it was mirroring a gap or issue within the lives of the SE social actors. They had identified an issue that they had closely associated with, and aligned themselves with those in the community who had an equal desire. Zahra et al. (2008) noted this influence in the nature of social opportunities, and rejected the concept of entrepreneurship opportunity in favour of an understanding from a social, rather than economic perspective. Specifically, some of the attributes associated with social opportunities required a level of relevance and accessibility. Similar identification of social opportunities through an individual's personal goals, motivation and concerns, their social appraisal, has been raised by Baierl et al. (2014) as a strong indicator of intentions.

This desire to align oneself with others in a community was identified in research by Scheiber (2014). Their research identified a need to develop social capital with beneficiaries over a significant period of time, and was highlighted as a key factor in efforts by social entrepreneurs to address social change. Social capital was defined as the availability and exchange of resources which derive from a relationship with other actors (Bourdieu, 2007). In the case of these social entrepreneurs, many had the same background and had lived in a similar social context. Others who were not from this social background had spent a long time with marginalized beneficiaries, in which they established trust and knowledge. This approach supported their aim of empowering these marginalized beneficiaries, including the initial stages of conceptualizing and implementing a social enterprise. This would have not been possible without the social capital and thus resources of the beneficiary group (Scheiber, 2014).

If the path that leads a SE social actor to create or manage a SE can be concluded to be an issue of life agency and emergent interplay, in which opportunities become available, then this should be factored into the development of a social purpose driven organization and its managers. This was shown in the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1993), when a greater emphasis is placed on the interplay between the social agent and their social context, and how they evolved into the social actor, more causal mechanisms become apparent. One mechanism that became apparent among participants of this research was the SE social actor's ability to transcend their own primary agency.

This ability to transcend enabled them to move in different social settings with a variety of primary agencies external to them. This enabled SE social actors to disseminate information in their personal and market networks, a primary role in the success of economic action (Christopoulos and Vogl, 2015). Networks can be defined as a set of actors and a set of relationships that link them together (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003, p.167). In social entrepreneurship literature, the most common usage of the notion of social networking places the skills required to network as a critical core activity (Dufays and Huybrechts, 2014). This points to the requirement for a SE to have a development process that can support social actors to transcend their own primary agency, and equally a focus on SE social actors who have the same primary agency as the beneficiaries of the SE. This would create social actors with a desire for social justice derived from being part of a beneficiary group, who have the social skills that empower them to transcend and network with the dominant agency structures. This desire for social justice, sustainable futures, doing something worthwhile and making a difference, have been identified as key motivations by Christopoulos and Vogl (2015, p. 14).

These causal mechanisms on their own may play a role, but when placed together, another mechanism was shown to be an issue for participants in this research. This was the need for personal confidence. Sastre-Castillo *et al.* (2015) concluded that the theory of universal values (Schwartz, 1992, quoted in Sastre-Castillo *et al.*, 2015) of which confidence is an element, strongly supports an understanding of social entrepreneurs' personal characteristics. In particular they insist that a SE social actor will need to be confident if they are going to enable the other causal powers to be enacted. This places an emphasis on the need for SE social actors to have personal confidence that fosters the belief that they can be equal. As shown by participants, this can be a personal struggle for someone from a beneficiary group where social agents are not developed to be the leader, to be part of a dominant agency structure.

Therefore, to overcome this issue, SE social actors should be encouraged to develop aspirations, expectations and an entitlement to social change, thus avoiding constant internal struggles that

they are not worthy. This development of personal confidence aligns with the concept of emancipation, where people are able to resist forms of false consciousness that keep them from genuinely understanding, expressing, or acting on their own interests (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000) especially access to forms of communication. Personal confidence for the SE social actor will enable issues of emancipation, politics, ethics, caring, solidarity and community to become sources of inspiration for drawing out the radical potentiality of entrepreneurship (Tedmanson *et al.*, 2015).

These life agent causal mechanisms could be characterised as the Macchiavellian 'Modern Prince' as outlined by Gramsci. He saw this as a new type of political party and oppositional culture that would gather together intellectuals (organizers) and the masses in a new political and intellectual practice, 'organizing the organizers' (Thomas, 2009, p. 437). He envisaged that organic intellectuals, through political education and action, establish an alternative, democratic, self-directed and emancipated culture which coordinated the means of existence in a non-exploitative way (Hogan, 2015, p.14). With the organic intellectual being realized through the Life Agent theme, the ability of SE to emerge as a significant component of social change, where mechanisms can provide practice begins to create the counter-hegemony organization of emancipation.

These causal mechanisms of the consciousness of individuals and their social relations, plus societal structures will have their own causal powers, and are detailed in Table 13. These causal powers can be described as the potential abilities given to a social actor or agency structure to have the capacity to act in a certain way and/or facilitate various activities and developments (Lawson, 1997). However, crucially when such mechanisms are put together, we may observe a different reality. This knowledge can then be used to transform alienating and restrictive practices (Myers and Klein, 2011).

Table 13 SE Social Actor

Causal Powers	Causal Mechanisms
Social Justice Motivation	In the case of many social entrepreneurs, many had the same background and had lived in a similar social context as their beneficiaries. Others who were not from this social background had spent a long time with marginalized beneficiaries in whom they had established trust and knowledge (Scheiber, 2014). This link to beneficiaries is part of the social entrepreneurs' desire for social justice derived from being part of that group.
Transcend Social Context	What sets them apart is they have developed a set of social skills that empower them to transcend and network with the dominant agency structures, the competitive networks. Yet they remain focused on and build relationships with their beneficiaries.
Opportunity fits with Social Justice	Social entrepreneurs identify with an issue that they closely associate with, and align themselves with those in the community, their beneficiaries, who have an equal desire for social change. Their personal circumstances and their closeness to a social problem become relevant (Germak and Robinson, 2014).
Own needs are met by Circumstances	Social entrepreneurs will need to ensure their domestic situation enables them to pursue such desires. If this all fits together, then the social entrepreneur will have a greater chance of interacting with beneficiaries and competitive networks, allowing success in the management of agency structures (Newth and Woods, 2014).
Personal Confidence	This places an emphasis back on to a leader to have the personal confidence that enables them to believe they can be equal in the network (Christopoulos and Vogl, 2015).

7.2 Agency Structure and Resources

With a SE social actor having the confidence, motivation and skills to interact with pre-existing agency structures from different primary agencies, the focus can turn to the acquisition of resources. This is because, as shown by Sunley and Pinch (2012), without resources, social change could not be actioned. This resource context places an emphasis back onto SE to engage with pre-existing agency structures in a competitive environment to gain the resources to enable social change to take place. As shown by Christopoulos and Vogl (2015, p.16), SE social actors intuitively understood the importance of cultivating high-cost strong ties with resource-wealthy actors. With a need to secure resources, a social entrepreneur would, over time, engage with networks of investors. This places a significant emphasis on to SE social actors gaining access to resources based on their position and the structure of a network (Dufays and Huybrechts, 2014).

This dependence on external environment is associated with the concept of resource dependence theory. This theory requires an examination of the SE as an open system which is dependent on activity in the external environment (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). As Pfeffer and Salancik (1978, p.1) state, "to understand the behaviour of an organization you must understand the context of that behaviour." According to Jack et al., (2010) networks are not just resource acquisition but about socialised issues, such as social learning and confidence-building through interdependence and the sharing of experience. This creates a process where being accepted into this network may well be a mechanism with causal powers that, through a structure of incentives and opportunities, undermines or supports the very purpose of a SE (Urbano et al., 2010). Caution is required, as entrepreneurship will cut two ways, comprising both of emancipation and oppressive forces and SE might end up treating the symptoms, rather than the root causes of today's most virulent social and ecological problems (Tedmanson et al., 2015, p.441). This is because the requirement for SE social actors to conform and behave according to the existing agency structures creates the interdependence between them (Nicolopoulou et al., 2015). Moizer and Tracey (2010) showed how tensions between social action and revenue generation eventually lead to the social action of a SE being relegated. What began as an enterprise driven to change society, a new agency structure, becomes the very vehicle that could be undertaking the strategy of existing agency structures.

This negotiating of a network with the aim of resources acquisition for social change can be seen in the way SE social actors have their own understanding of a social purpose, their sense-making, Weick (1993). This creates a situation where a SE social actor will try to maintain their understanding of a situation by manipulating agency structures' own sense-making by sense-giving. However, the same process occurs within the network, and it is the network that provides

a level of sense-giving. This required a SE social actor to gain new organizational and social skills when implementing their social agenda through sense-giving. Organizations would use stories with stakeholders to gain legitimacy and thus gain access to resources, as noted by Smith and Woods (2015). One approach to understanding this sense-giving is through three distinct rationales - the economic, political and the social (Barinaga, 2013). The economic provides empowerment through focusing on a material dimension, such as providing access to finance. The political rationale provides empowerment through symbolic representation, such as offering art and media representations that have had their meaning altered. The third develops a social rational that empowers citizens through social relations within a community.

One mechanism that became prominent for SE social actors to employ, so they could manage sense-giving and gain resources from structures was to develop an external orientated persona of the professional. This formed a common approach when the acquisition of resources was needed, in particular, the use of the leader façade by SE social actors. This is common in SE where the social entrepreneur is portrayed as the knight in shining armour. SE social actors will adopt a professional image to meet the appropriate persona required by the investors. They will use professional and competitive networks to ensure they are building their own reputations as SE social actors. Such an approach can be best described as the management of a combined persona related to their social and professional identify. People who can provide this viable image are perceived as being capable of meeting the technical and social demands of their jobs (Roberts, 2005, p.687).

Even if the SE social actor is successful in their use of the leader façade as a method to manage hegemonic structures, the SE will require other supporting strategies in the management of agency structures. One strategy adopted was to ensure that not only the leader is professional, but the SE is as well. This helped SE to gain greater legitimacy within the hegemonic structures, and the mounting evidence has shown that the survival and growth of a SE is related to the level of the legitimacy it can gain (Dart, 2004; Nicholls, 2010; Nicolopoulou *et al.*, 2015). Techniques such as Social Return on Investment (SROI) quantify outcomes, and subsequently impact, by recourse to financial proxies, which stimulates dialogue with stakeholders and contributes to raising the level of legitimacy of the SE (Manetti, 2014). This ability for a SE to adopt a 'professional' approach as a means to manage the agency structure and, crucially, obtain resources, can have an impact. This is most notably in a SE's ability to include beneficiaries and remain strategically focused on its social purpose.

This is because the need for resources and survival drives forward the strategic direction of a SE, rather than the needs of beneficiaries. This is because as new lenses are turned on to the SE, they

will be required to evidence social impact, which will mean new types of measurements (Zeyen, 2013). This method of how to communicate societal value creation is much more challenging than just providing measurements on profits through financial statements (Zeyen, 2013). Such demands are directly related to the theory of targets and measured performance indicators. They form part of investors' and funders' indirect control, and become a central mechanism to managing a SE. This form of homeostatic control begins with a set of desired results that are specified in advance and must be in a measurable form; secondly there must be a system of monitoring these measures, and lastly any feedback mechanisms will be linked to measured performance (Bevan and Hood, 2006, p.519). Ironically, this type of system was being advocated by public services in the UK, just as the same approach was collapsing in the USSR (Bevan and Hood, 2006; Bird *et al.*, 2005).

Thus the danger for a SE is that when it pursues a strategy of legitimacy, it will end up meeting the demands of an agency structure becoming their conduit, especially when the demand for outcomes is increased. As shown in research by Sunley and Pinch (2012), SEs expressed some dissatisfaction with funding, in that they felt that awards were becoming increasingly demanding and conditional on specified outcomes. This has placed additional burdens on SE social actors in trying to balance the tensions of funding interests and the demands of their constituents (Baron, 2002; Sarprong and Davies, 2014), which frequently undermined their organizational philosophies.

This use of the 'professional' to create the right impression has been researched by others (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Roberts 2005). They noted that façades were used when stakeholders (in the case of SE, the main one being agency structures with resources) search for visible signs of organizational efficiency and effectiveness in meeting their goals (Abrahamson and Baumard, 2008). These symbolic fronts, erected by SE participants, were designed to reassure their stakeholders of the legitimacy of an organization and its management, (Nystrom and Starbuck, 1984). It was not the case that SEs promoted a façade showing how they were fulfilling their social obligations; on the contrary, this was not sufficient for the capture of legitimacy, as key stakeholders might come to view their value proposition as antithetical to their ideals (Sarprong and Davies, 2014).

The façade would act as a buffer allowing organizations to gain resources for their projects regardless of efficiency or effectiveness (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). They could hide the social action if such action was in opposition to an investor's principles. This research evidenced different types of façade, a one common one being the 'rational façade'. This rational façade would project to stakeholders an organization that is run on rational lines (Abrahamson and

Baumard, 2008) which has become a key requirement of SE funders and investors. This was shown when one of the research participants, Alan, experienced his 'mouse on a wheel', driving forward to meet the outputs and outcomes of the latest funding round. This will demand a constant adjustment in time in relation to context, and, more specifically, to the issues at stake and conditions imposed by the funding agencies (Gawell, 2013, p. 217).

Another type that has become prevalent in SE is the progressive façade. This is where an organization must use the newest, most improved and efficient means in their projects (Abrahamson, 1996). In other words, they must be the latest innovators, with a new management fashion. One consequence of this façade is that, what Kimberley (1981) called 'old wine in new bottles', a project would not change, but be described in a new, innovative way. This was how Fred would describe his methods of sticking to the same project, but rewriting it for funders as a new, innovative project. He would be constantly tweaking it, or finding new ways to explain the project. This was not just the SE providing new descriptions, but the funder would be recommending, almost colluding with the SE, the best way of describing and presenting a project. Fred described how one funder would be always coming back and asking for the project to be written one particular way, and then changing their mind and asking it be written in another way. One façade that SE strives to achieve is the reputational façade. They need to indicate to funders that they serve stakeholders, following acceptable accounting standards, monitoring outputs and providing great evaluation. Cornelius had spent some time ensuring his stakeholders knew about the professional approach of his SE. Thus he could serve different clients, as contracts dictated.

The process of façades can serve a real purpose in drawing resources into communities where beneficiaries require investment. However, the danger is that in this process of creating a façade, the SE or the social actor begins to believe in their own façade - as Arthur discovered, when they believed in their own hype and invested heavily in their cafés, with near fatal consequences. There will always be a need and an emphasis on the ability of a SE to gain legitimacy within the hegemonic structures as resources are required. However, the SE must ensure that pre-existing dominant agency structures do not dominate the strategic direction. As Garrow and Hasenfeld (2014, p. 1488) expressed;

"It is important to locate social enterprises in the broader context of the neoliberal welfare regime, especially the symbolic and political messages they convey".

One strategy that could help avoid this scenario would be to ensure that there is a desire from beneficiaries to become part of the decision-making process. This will avoid funders dominating the agenda of social change, as the beneficiaries have a voice and can challenge perceptions and stigma associated with their needs. This creates a SE aim of emancipation, where alternative

paths and responses, not just access to information, but to a range of skills required to decode, encode, interpret, reflect upon, appraise and arrive at a consensus on decisions (Simonds, 1989) is fostered among the beneficiaries. Table 14 provides a summary of causal powers that have resulted from resource allocation in a competitive network and include the causal mechanisms affecting the powers outlined.

Table 14 Agency Structures and Resources

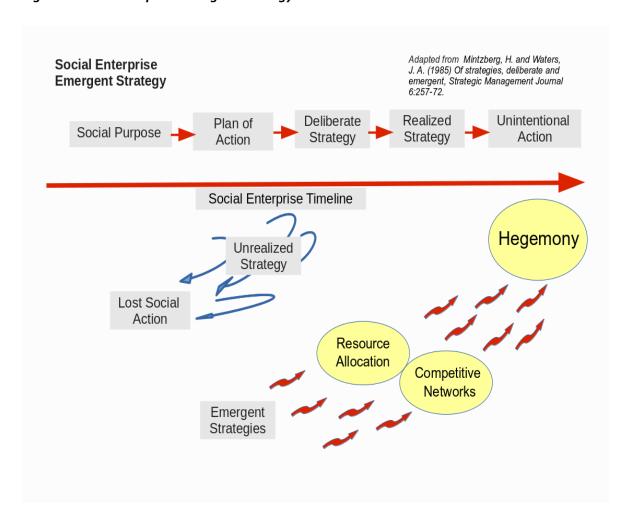
Causal Powers	Causal Mechanisms
Legitimacy	Competitive networks enable a social enterprise to grow for the simple reason that they can provide access to resources. As Sunley and Pinch (2012) have observed that despite SE resourcefulness and improvisation, the marginal financial standing of SEs limits their capability to deliver social outputs and value. Thus a SE must gain legitimacy within a competitive network in order to gain access to resources.
Professional	To gain access to resources, leaders will use professional and competitive networks to ensure they are building their own reputations as social entrepreneurs. Such an approach can be best described as the management of a combined persona related to their social and professional identity. People who can provide this viable image are perceived as being capable of meeting the technical and social demands of their jobs (Roberts, 2005, p.687). This is one method by which social entrepreneurs gain legitimacy.
Social Impact	At the same time, they need to provide evidence to the competitive network of their social impact. This forms part of investors' and funders' indirect control and becomes a central mechanism to managing a SE. This form of homeostatic control begins with a set of desired results that are specified in advance and must be in a measurable form; secondly there must be a system of monitoring these measures, and lastly any feedback mechanisms will be linked to measured performance (Bevan and Hood, 2006, p.519).
Managing Agencies	This creates a situation where a SE needs to manage these structures to enable social change, and has resulted in SE social actors employing façades. That is the competitive network search for visible signs of organizational efficiency and effectiveness in meeting their goals (Abrahamson and Baumard, 2008), and so SEs erect symbolic fronts. Techniques such as Social Return On Investment (SROI) quantifies outcomes, and subsequently impact, by recourse to financial proxies, which, stimulates dialogue with stakeholders, and contributes to raising the level of legitimacy of the SE (Manetti, 2014). These are designed to reassure their stakeholders of the legitimacy of an organization and its management (Nystrom and Starbuck, 1984). The façade would act as a buffer, allowing organizations to gain resources for their projects, regardless of efficiency or effectiveness (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). The result of adopting this process to gain resources is the adjustment of their social impact to suit the investor, which can result in the neglect of the beneficiaries. Thus the danger for a SE is that when they pursue a strategy of legitimacy they will end up meeting the demands of the competitive network and losing strategic direction, especially when the outcomes specifications are increased. As shown in recent research by Sunley and Pinch (2012), SEs expressed some dissatisfaction with funding, in that they felt that financial awards were becoming increasingly demanding and conditional on specified outcomes.

7.3 The Emergent Interplay of Social Enterprise

As discussed, when SE social actors are creating a SE, the social purpose can be changed, which can lead to a SE acting as a hegemony organization. One theory of how this might occur in organizations is the concept of an emergent strategy (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985). The notion of an emergent strategy starts with an organization setting out on their journey with an intended strategy, a deliberate approach. In a SE context, the intended action plan may be driven by an ideological purpose that has originated in a shared belief, where the intentions of the SE exist as a collective vision of all actors (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985). This process of deciding upon the social action, a collective vision, leads SE social actors to identify political opportunities, frame issues and problems and mobilise constituencies (Rao *et al.*, 2000, p.240). This social action then drives forward collective attempts to instil new beliefs, cultural norms, and values into a social structure, thus creating the social enterprise. This strategy would be concrete in detail with no ambiguities.

Despite this deliberate approach, the SE does not maintain their intended strategy, and instead ends up with a realized strategy. It is suggested that through the process of delivering your social purpose, the environment and, crucially, the networks you operate within, changes the strategy. In practice, this means that the strategy will involve time and resources devoted to networking, communicating, lobbying and negotiating with stakeholders to build consensus and retain legitimacy, whilst mobilizing financial resources and managing people (Doherty *et al.*, 2014). This strategic change occurs because your social purpose is re-formulated through any unrealised strategies being dropped while emergent strategies infiltrate your social purpose. These emergent strategies embed themselves into operational action and remain consistent, but they would have not been decided upon intentionally. These emergent strategies would have come from the networks you operate within and the external influences that impact the environments the SE occupies (see Figure 8 for a visual representation).

Figure 8 Social Enterprise Emergent Strategy



However, there are some clues within the research as to how one can maintain a counter-hegemony organization and create the morphogenetic SE, yet still attract resources. What if the SE was to undertake the practice of putting a deliberate façade in place? This would require a SE to undertake purposeful decision-making processes in order to decide what to erect (Abrahamson and Baumard, 2008). In effect, the SE and their social actors premeditated the creation of a façade strategy. This could result in unintentional actions that would have become dominant in the emergent strategy, to be left unrealized. To support this course of action would require the SE social actors to gain an understanding of these decisions, whilst remaining focused on their strategic goals. They would, as with all strategic decisions, enable their own resources to be invested in this purposeful façade. Alongside such action, the SE would adopt a morphogenetic strategy with the community they serve. This combination of intended action would help avoid the complete encapsulation of an agency structure. In effect the SE employ their social purpose in a form of organizational impression management, through which they seek legitimacy, by constructing different marketing communication narratives to meet the expectations of stakeholder groups (Doherty et al., 2014; Teasdale, 2010).

It is worth noting the dangers of a purposeful façade such as the withdrawal of SE social actors' ability to serve the beneficiaries. This is because energy and resources have been created to serve the network. The façade could result in success, and thus the SE can begin to believe their own façade. The very result of counter-hegemony gets lost along with the aim of emancipation, ultimately losing the beneficiary's ability to become the future modern prince and address the social purpose. Hegemony can be further aided if the SE social actor was sidetracked into creating an individual social entrepreneur façade. This could then be employed by agency structures to serve their interests. For, if it was shown that the social entrepreneur was why the SE became successful, then any future SE derived from the beneficiaries would be sidelined, unless they had the social entrepreneur as a figurehead. This combination of causal mechanisms is a method by which hegemony can be maintained. To stop this from emerging would require the maintenance of a purposeful strategy whilst ensuring the leaders within a SE are not part of any deliberate facade.

This is what one research participant, Chloe, had begun to achieve as she gathered like-minded individuals together for the purpose of support and sharing practice. This network then had the capacity to act together, as opposed to being a passive participant that accepts agency structural forces. This network provided a means to challenge her practice and thinking, and help her focus on social change, basically becoming her own morphogenetic network. This activity existed whilst she maintained a level of façade for funders. At the same time she developed a SE with its own organizational capacity, backed by a strategic deployment that focused on social change. This combination of strategic thinking enabled her to transcend existing hegemonic agency structures and create a morphogenetic social enterprise, see Table 15 for summary of emergent causal powers.

Table 15 Emergent Interplay

Emergent Causal Powers	Causal Mechanisms
Understand and manage the Façades	What results from a social entrepreneur's aim of gaining legitimacy is compliance with a dominant agency. However, those who remain focused on the beneficiaries and social change adopt coping mechanisms. These can be described as façades. The process of façades can serve a real purpose in drawing resources into communities where beneficiaries require investment. However, the danger is that in this process of creating a façade, the SE and the social entrepreneur begin to believe in their own façade. As these agencies operate in a competitive network that is far removed from the beneficiaries you work with, aligning their goals with that of your targeted community will be difficult. So you may have started with a deliberate strategy, but due to the external influences, you drop your unrealized strategy (social change) in favour of the façade.
Beneficiary capacity	There would always be a need to emphasise the SE's ability to gain legitimacy within the hegemonic structures, as resources are still required. One alternative that can be practised is having a high level of awareness of the strategic façade and its purpose. The SE and the social entrepreneur can deliberately create a strategy of façade. This would include the input of SE resources into this deliberate façade, whilst adopting a morphogenetic strategy with the community they serve. This scenario would require that the SE develop the capacity and desire from beneficiaries to become part of the decision-making process. This will avoid funders dominating the agenda of social change, as the beneficiaries have a voice and can challenge perceptions and stigma associated with their needs.
Avoid the internal leader façade – servant leadership	The danger of such an action is the withdrawal of social entrepreneurs' ability to serve the beneficiaries, as they must serve the competitive network. The leader would be encouraged, and as a result the aim of emancipation is not adopted. Ultimately the social change of enabling beneficiaries to become the future leaders and address the social purpose would not be realized. This is because if the leader was side-tracked into creating an individual social entrepreneur façade, they would be employed by the competitive network to serve their interests, meeting their outcomes and desires.
Strengthen non- competitive morphogenetic networks	To support the avoidance of the leader façade and strengthen the resolve of a social entrepreneur, then developing and engaging in morphogenetic networks would provide them with a unique support system. This can then help develop the morphogenetic SE.

7.4 Transforming the Original Analytical Dualism Framework

In the previous section, SE has been shown to have a series of causal powers that work within preexisting agency structures and are seen as common sense. This series of causal powers form part of the political tensions inside socio-economic forces, and within a cultural 'superstructure' (Levy and Scully, 2007). This is commonly referred to as hegemony, the contingent stability of a social structure that protects the privileged position of a dominant alliance (Gramsci, 1971). As discussed in Chapter 4, Gramsci's (1971; 1985) conceptualization would place SE as part of the discursive role played by civil society through the construction and promotion of narratives that represent the current economic structure as benefiting the whole of society. That is, SE must be a good thing, part of an ethical capitalism that will change society for the better. Equally, Gramsci (1971) understood that such economic structures like SE can negotiate and resist, but such resistance is made difficult by the social and economic structures that continually advantage certain groups (Levy and Newell, 2002).

This common sense becomes more prevalent when SE investors request the delivery of public services in deprived communities, at an ever-reducing cost, where social change has become a manufacturing process. The SE needs to function as both a social service and a commercial production system (Garrow and Hasenfeld, 2014). This will not only produce poor returns to the investor, but it also perpetuates the myth that an organization, even a SE, can alone achieve a set outcome in the field of social change. This is because social change is complex, and measures that are single-goal orientated, involving a direct point of time, are questionable. This is most notable when SE social actors have different needs at different points in a SE life cycle (Ruebottom, 2011). As research and practitioners make a concerted effort to understand and codify the creation of economic good, the measurable constructs and uniformly accepted methods for evaluating outcomes will become necessary (Gamble and Moroz, 2014). This illusion of manageability is compounded by investors and SEs having a perception of success that leads to over-optimistic estimates of outputs without ever accepting that there is a fair amount of risk. This results in any social problems being fixed by applying post-decisional control over the outputs and outcomes which, in turn, will help reduce investors' anxiety (Das and Teng, 1999), leaving no room for failure. How would a SE begin to dispel the illusion of manageability, where outcomes being achieved by any organization are directly attributed to one factor, such as a service intervention?

For a SE to challenge dominant agencies with such a notion of failure which has acquired a normative level of legitimacy, is risky and can lead to the collapse of the entity. Huybrechts and Nicholls (2013) allude to this when they discuss how fair trade has been conceived and promoted in the UK in a way that makes corporate participation cognitively legitimate, in the sense that

without corporations' fair trade would be virtually unthinkable. However, what if a model of practice could be provided that gave a strategic approach for SE to manage the perceived view of investors? This type of SE can foster the new Macchiavellian 'Modern Prince' 'organizing the organizers' (Thomas, 2009, p. 437), as outlined by Gramsci. He envisaged that organic intellectuals, through political education and action establish an alternative, democratic, self-directed and emancipated culture, which coordinated the means of existence in a non-exploitative way (Hogan, 2015, p.14). The issue with such a vision is, as we have seen in this research, some SE social actors have the ability to transcend existing hegemonic structures, developing organizational capacity and strategic deployment. Unfortunately, what has also been shown is that, regardless of a SE approach, they can be unintentionally drawn into meeting the needs of a dominant agent structure as they struggle to gain resources. This results in a SE being transformed from an organization for social change into an organization that maintains the collective defence of the status quo and hegemony.

Throughout the research, this defence of the status quo was explored using an analytical dualism framework. The aim of this framework was to enable a process that supports the exploration of a deeper understanding of the causal mechanisms involved in SE role within hegemony. What followed was a research process supported and enabled by this critical framework of social enterprise, which released ideas and inspirations of present emancipatory promises. Emancipation that can provide access to communication resources, both raw information and the skills needed (Simonds, 1989). This stimulated a reflective process about SE, and the consequence of this work created a new bricolage framework, which could help future research and SE practitioners in the pursuit of social change. This next chapter will show these changes and how the original framework has been transformed into an Analytical Dualism Framework for creating a Morphogenetic Social Enterprise (Figure 9). It is hoped this will be a tool for both practitioners and academics to use in their own analysis of SE, in fact any organization that aims to resist hegemony. This may also provide practitioners and academics a process by which these ideas can enter praxis.

7.4.1 Social Entrepreneurs Timeline

The framework developed in this thesis started life as a model that examined the relationships between SE social actors and agency structures (Figure 1, Chapter 4). This model represented the idea of a beneficiary becoming the SE social actor who creates a SE. This established an understanding of the interplay between the roles that social actors perform when developing a SE. It included their social conditioning and how social actors mediate between agency structures. This initial structure drew upon the morphogenetic approach of Margaret Archer (Archer, 1995,

p249). She defines people as having distinctive properties: the person, the social agent and the social actor. The model established a consistent understanding of the social actor by providing a series of sub-components of how people interrelate with society.

This analysis raised the issue of dominance by structural forces, where social actors within agency structures can use their knowledge and capital to ensure their interests are met. The pre-existing agency structures achieve such dominance by over-representation when social interaction takes place. They are able to maintain such dominance by forming new agency structures that ensure social actors behave within their rules and norms of behaviour. Their interests can then be facilitated by utilising the development of the social relations between them and the social actors. A SE that may have consisted of social actors from a different primary agency succumbs to the institutional pressures of the existing agency structures, the requirement to become legitimate forming part of that dominant agency.

The cognitive and moral legitimacies essential for new organizations to overcome their initial vulnerability, are provided by the dominant agent structures of funders (Bruton, et al., 2010) and these are outlined in Appendix A. The result is not radical change but a more reinforced embodiment of the existing structures, as the social actors adopt the habits and rituals of these dominant agency structures, all of which are seen as normal (Scott, 2001). Employing an understanding of ritual discussed by Augusto Boal (1992), it is the habit that makes the monk. Following this logic would then suggest that the end result would be a SE designed not in the social actor's own self-interest, but one that is diverted to meet the interests of dominant institutions. However, this dominance is not always a fait accompli. This research found that some SE social actors have causal powers that enable the SE to remain focused on social change. These causal powers have their own mechanisms which can help explain the powers, yet not necessarily predict them (Potter and Lopez, 2001). These mechanisms have been examined using the initial model developed to provide a consistent understanding of the SE social actor.

7.4.1.1 Social Justice Links with Beneficiaries

The first causal power that has been noted within this research is that SE social actors have a strong social justice desire that links them with beneficiaries of the SE. Social entrepreneurship scholars had previously argued that the values of the entrepreneur are important in understanding their link to social value creation (Stevens *et al.*, 2015). The model established this link by providing a series of sub-components of how people interrelate with society. This is where the research set the term 'SE social actor'. However, this individual is also referred to as a 'social entrepreneur', and for ease of disseminating these findings to practitioners, this chapter will refer to this term due to its familiarity.

The first element of the social entrepreneur is who they are as a person, their personality. This was not examined in detail, as this element will remain with them throughout their life. A number of papers have examined individual personal traits, including the psychosocial aspects (Bargsted *et al.*, 2013; Smith *et al.*, 2012) However, what was looked at was the very nature of being born into a social context. Individuals who participated in the research would have grown up in a social context, and by default, this would have created a social agent. This agent interacts within their own primary agency and then gradually begins to interact with other agencies. This process enables a social entrepreneur to perform their role in society. Through the research participants revealing their original social context, new agencies, relationships, experiences and journeys taken, the research disclosed how they developed as a person. This enabled a deeper understanding of how such beginnings and paths of each social entrepreneur has helped the social construction of their current role.

This social construction analysis found that social entrepreneurs in this research had moved beyond their original primary agency, but, crucially, their desire to tackle social injustice based on their own experiences remained. This empowered the social entrepreneurs to continually engage with their own primary agency, yet still network with secondary agencies. Other research has found that being close to a social problem is a strong motivator for social entrepreneurs (Germak and Robinson, 2014). This was an important factor in understanding causal mechanisms that affect this social action due to the concept that the morphogenetic approach suggests. That is, when an actor begins to interact with a different primary agency, they begin to create a new type of agency, known as a 'corporate agency' (Archer, 2003; 1995). In the thesis, this term has been redefined as 'agent structures'. This means that social entrepreneurs, when creating a SE, would come under pressure to mix with other pre-existing agency structures, and have to change in order to gain legitimacy and associated resources to enable their SE to be successful. It was this process of acceptance that began to show the mechanisms and the resulting causal powers that can undermine the very purpose of a SE. What began as an enterprise driven to change society, a new agency structure, becomes the very vehicle that appears to undertake the strategy of the existing agency structures.

If a SE is not a counter-hegemony organization, and is undermined by dominant agent structures with an ability to coerce a SE to conform to their rules and norms of behaviour, the SE could be adding to the very social problems they are trying to change. Indeed, if it is the rules of economic organization that form the basis of a community's social enterprise construct (Amin, 2009), how will a community provide goods and services to their vulnerable or marginalised people? By

default, the only area of inclusion for the beneficiaries, i.e. those who benefit from such adding of social value (Spear *et al.*, 2009), is as a measure of social value. The prevalence of the agent structure's gate-keeping role to resources places social entrepreneurs in a difficult position. How to conform and gain resources, yet remain focused on the needs of beneficiaries?

Yet despite these causal mechanisms and the power gained from such a process, this research began to recognize that such emergent interplay was being countered by the actions and ability of some social entrepreneurs. They appeared to manage agency structures, whilst crucially remaining focused on their social justice desire to emancipate the beneficiaries. They were able to achieve this due to the strong links with beneficiaries of the SE. This desire to align oneself with others in a community was identified by Scheiber (2014). This research identified a need to develop social capital with beneficiaries over a significant period of time, and was highlighted as a key factor in efforts by social entrepreneurs to address social change. Social capital was defined as the availability and exchange of resources which derive from a relationship with other actors (Bourdieu, 2007). In the case of these social entrepreneurs, many shared the same background and lived in a similar social context. Others who were not from this social background had spent a long time with marginalized beneficiaries in whom they established trust and knowledge. This approach supported their aims of empowering these marginalized beneficiaries, including the initial stages of conceptualizing and implementing a social enterprise. This would have not been possible without the social capital, and thus resources of the beneficiary group (Scheiber, 2014).

This strong link with beneficiaries would bring concepts of social development, social justice and equity to the forefront of the SE, creating a SE that resisted inequality. This different approach provided a focus on beneficiaries creating their own freedom as a means of emancipation through their limited power and the use of cultural resources, as Dey and Steyaert (2012) have advocated. One example of this self-reliance approach is 'Fundacion Paraguaya', a SE that deals with poverty directly by 'empowering' the poor. This SE, instead of simply giving money out to poor people (as many international development organizations still do), helps the poor to help themselves (Maak and Stoetter, 2012, p.416). They achieve this by focusing on strategic goals, which are firstly to discover and promote new ways to equip the poor with tools to become economically successful. The second goal is to expand the access to finance via a micro-finance programme. The third goal is to educate young people through entrepreneurship programmes (Maak and Stoetter, 2012).

7.4.1.2 Transcending Agency

Assuming that the social entrepreneur relies solely on their desire for social justice and strong links with beneficiaries, then the agency structure will continue to dominate. The SE will struggle to transform beneficiaries from having passive participation to active involvement. The SE will just

remain an attempt to re-mold a situation, and thus hegemony is maintained. This is because a SE needs to gain resources, and therefore whilst the social entrepreneur needs to develop a causal power that enables them to remain focused on social justice, they will need to have gained other causal powers that provide the social skills to transcend their own primary agency. This will enable them to network with different agencies, and thus gain legitimacy and, ultimately, resources.

The difficulty experienced by social entrepreneurs is that when you are interacting within your own primary agency, you need to conform and adopt a manner that aligns with that original agency. This requirement to conform and become part of a group is supported by other models of rationality based around social relations, like the model of contextual rationality (White, 1988). This model describes the actions that create and maintain an institution and its traditions, with the aim of fostering the right behaviour, and ultimately a good life with others, Reed (1991).

This process acknowledges that a social entrepreneur needs to create and maintain an interplay with beneficiaries that binds, sustains and enriches their relationship (Weick, 1993). However, this research has shown that some social entrepreneurs have the ability to transcend their own agency, which enabled them to move in different social settings with a variety of agencies external to their own primary agency. This proved vital, as the social entrepreneur is equally required to network with other professionals. Again, the social entrepreneur needs to create and maintain an interplay with those professionals, and enable those parts of the network to bind, sustain and enrich those relationships (Weick, 1993). This ability to utilise social skills in a variety of contexts, combined with an understanding of their own and other primary agencies' roles, suggests that mixing with other agencies at an early stage of forming their own social agency could provide extra confidence in becoming a social entrepreneur. The more they navigate among different networks, the greater the ability to see another perspective, yet equally remain focused and capable of interplay with beneficiaries. This social skill may be the result of that person or their personality - the element that one retains throughout life.

Despite the possibility that it may be personality that provides the skills, without a social context resulting in a changing primary agency, the ability of a person to transcend their own primary agency becomes increasingly difficult. This is due to the person becoming bounded by their immediate social relations and context. The aforementioned premise could result in a social entrepreneur gradually becoming alienated from their own primary agency as their social mobility progresses. Thus finding an environment that matches their desire for social justice with their primary agency becomes increasingly difficult. Nonetheless, social entrepreneurs may return to work within their primary agency for purposes of social justice, but equally, through a desire for

social mixing, they can appreciate other arguments, and continue to interplay between different networks. This becomes a central strength for a social entrepreneur - their ability to build relationships and networks with the right people and agencies, for the right purpose. This networking activity is considered to be one of the critical skills of both traditional and social entrepreneurship (Dufays and Huybrechts, 2014).

7.4.1.3 Opportunity and Circumstances

Another causal power that the emergent interplay began to reveal was the result of an entrepreneurial causal mechanism that operates between the need for transcending agency and a drive for social justice, which is linked with a known set of beneficiaries. Any entrepreneurial causal mechanism will be determined by a complex, multi-dimensional and dynamic set of factors and circumstances (Sastre-Castillo, 2015), and the causal mechanisms revealed are no exception. They relate to the issue of opportunity and circumstances, but not as opportunity recognition, which is critical to any entrepreneurial endeavour, including a social enterprise (Henry, 2015). These mechanisms are not concerned with social entrepreneurs developing an opportunity as a result of inefficiency in the marketplace. They are also not concerned with the development of knowledge in relation to the value of resources, or with recognizing an opportunity for profit maximisation. Rather, these causal mechanisms are about opportunity in relation to family situation and the context in which they live. In particular, some social entrepreneurs showed a strong commitment to family, which linked with a pattern of social justice related to their current context. It was as if the social actions that they experienced through their own current context became the strategic direction of the SE.

Consequently, one could conclude that a SE's social purpose was indeed driven by a social justice link, with beneficiaries creating a motivation for social change. Yet this would neglect the influence of a social entrepreneur's own needs and circumstances. Zahra *et al.* (2008) noted this influence in the nature of social opportunities, and rejected the concept of entrepreneurship opportunity in favour of an understanding from a social, rather than an economic perspective. They proposed five attributes and the concept of an individual's relevance to a social opportunity as key variables most likely to influence social action. The personal experiences, identity, skills and demographics of a social entrepreneur (Meyer, 1995) will affect their decisions in tackling social problems.

Examples of this were shown in the research, as the social entrepreneurs correlated the progression of the strategic action of their SEs with their own childcare needs. It appeared as if the SE focus and expansion mirrored their own children's progression, from nursery to playgroup, to after-school clubs and then to a youth centre. It was not that social justice was not being

achieved, but that it was equally filling a gap or issue within the lives of the social entrepreneurs. They had identified an issue that they had closely associated with, and aligned themselves with those in the community who had an equal desire to create the opportunity for social change. What some social entrepreneurs began to progress was a SE that provided a balancing act between lifestyle and creating a difference in their communities. The main focus may have been an altruistic desire, focused on beneficiaries' wellbeing, but equally such individuals may also have had private concerns and motivations regarding their personal interests and their family lives that influenced their decisions (Aileen and Mottiar, 2014).

This process of social change that is related to a drive for social justice, yet formed in a social context could provide a challenge to the sense-making provided as a rationale for social action. Weick (1993) describes sense-making as how reality becomes an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make a retrospective case for what occurs. That is, how do we make something sensible? This creates a situation where people hang on to their own mental models, manipulating sense-making by sense-giving. The strategic decision to develop childcare facilities may have some basis on a wider community need, but the drive for such change could be coming from a belief about the needs of one's own family situation. Thus individuals are creating and sustaining images of a wider reality, in part to rationalize what they are doing by reading into their situational patterns of significant meaning (Morgan *et al.*, 1983, p.24).

For social entrepreneurs, to find themselves leading a SE was an opportunity to change society by addressing inequality, yet equally it enabled a rationalisation of their context. The opportunity availed came after a succession of attempts by social entrepreneurs to meet their own desires and underlying drive for social justice, combined with their own social context. What if strategic decisions in a SE followed a similar path to the lives of the social entrepreneurs and the external factors that had affected them? This is what the emergent strategy theory of Mintzberg and Waters (1985) proposed, when they highlighted how an intended deliberate strategy soon becomes a realized strategy, as the external and internal influences take effect.

Equally, such a causal mechanism could play a part in this emergent strategy by the way a social entrepreneur frames a political opportunity and mobilises constituencies (Rao *et al.*, 2000). One example of this would be the personal circumstances of an individual and their closeness to a social problem (Germak and Robinson, 2014), where, in effect, the sense-making process of a social entrepreneur takes a dominant lead. As discussed in Chapter 6, for some research participants, the issue of childcare became a determining factor in their decision to become

involved in SE as nascent social entrepreneurs, and subsequently influenced the strategic direction the SE took.

7.4.1.4 Personal Confidence

Another causal mechanism that develops over time, alongside opportunity, is a social entrepreneur's confidence. Research participants referred to the need to build confidence, and how this was crucial in dealing with agency structures. Some of the social entrepreneurs echoed this need for confidence as they talked about childhood experiences and the lack of support and encouragement for individuals to take the lead. - How even today, despite their successful careers, they still have to challenge their own beliefs that they are capable of articulating the need for social change. They would describe their constant self-questioning around competence, their right to be in the role, their own capabilities and their right to be in the position they occupied. This need to provide a picture of confidence was linked back to the requirement to ensure legitimacy with agency structures and beneficiaries, not just with external networks, but also within their own organization. This need for confidence in an uncertain environment was part of the method by which some social entrepreneurs would maintain, develop and manage the agency structures they needed to gain resources.

This causal power of personal confidence in dealing with networks both created a need for, and also enabled social entrepreneurs to select people who were good at what they did and would feel the same as them. From this informal network a social entrepreneur would maintain and grow their confidence. These informal networks would strengthen their resolve and provide learning opportunities that would further develop an inner personal confidence. This would enable social entrepreneurs to become more confident in their idealism, and enabled them to maintain the focus on social change. The social entrepreneur would thus avoid becoming drawn to the success of the enterprise or other influencing networks, if they were not going to support that social change goal.

Over time, this confidence would develop not only an ability to articulate the social challenges faced by a SE, but the social entrepreneurs would become more direct and assertive in requiring action to be taken. They would gain the personal confidence to challenge and remain focused on their social intent. One method used by social entrepreneurs to try and maintain confidence in their social purpose, and have the ability to articulate the needs of their communities was in how they interacted with and developed their strategy with beneficiaries. By making beneficiaries central to their decision-making, they could maintain a focus on the social purpose. This involved creating networks with beneficiaries, as well as maintaining the competitive networks that enabled resources to be gained.

This was a skill that required social entrepreneurs to utilise their desire for social justice with beneficiaries, their ability to transcend agencies and a social context that matched their own circumstances. This timeline of a social entrepreneur's growing confidence involved a higher awareness of the need to ensure beneficiaries became central to their social purpose strategy. This level of pro-social behaviour was shown by Bargsted *et al.*, (2013) to be associated with social entrepreneurs' careers having a high level of orientation towards change and improving our world and society. This is based on their desire to integrate their social and work motives. To ensure they remained on this career path, they utilised their ability to mix social and work motives to enable them to seek networks that understood their need to be confident. This is required when pursuing a non-traditionally orientated career path. This supportive network enabled the social entrepreneurs to remain focused on their social purpose, and would ensure the right decisions could be made with beneficiaries, although this was always tested when there was a need for resources.

7.4.2 Emergent Strategies

The word 'resources' in this thesis is used to denote those tangible assets that a social enterprise was employing or trying to obtain. These assets were not necessarily a clearly identifiable lump sum of money, but could be an in-kind donation in the form of business support, a public sector contract, or a building. The participants of this research would often refer to obtaining resources by discussing the funding environment, the word 'funding' becoming synonymous with resources. The need for resources by a SE would place social entrepreneurs into a scenario in which they needed to manage the interrelationship between themselves and the investors. This is because, as shown by Sunley and Pinch (2012), without resources, social change could not be actioned. As shown by Christopoulos and Vogl (2015, p.16). SE social actors intuitively understood the importance of cultivating high-cost strong ties with resource-wealthy actors.

7.4.2.1 Resource Allocation

With a need to secure resources, a social entrepreneur would, over time, engage with investment networks. This places a significant emphasis on SE social actors gaining access to resources based on their position and the structure of a network (Dufays and Huybrechts, 2014). In examination of one of these investment networks, the financial institutions of the City of London, referred to as the City, we can see how a SE that does not conform to their criteria will risk losing access to various forms of resources required to exist. The City is a good network to examine, as they are seen by other investment networks as a key indicator of how to allocate resources. Most notably, the City was funded by the Big Lottery to write a report documenting the City of London's

guidelines on what types of SE they would provide resources for. This information was set out in the City of London's report on SE financial investment (ClearlySo, 2011). The information and knowledge gained shows the type of strategy a SE should adopt when trying to gain resources from the City.

This dependence on the external environment is associated with the concept of resource dependence theory. This theory requires an examination of the SE as an open system which is dependent on activity in the external environment (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). As Pfeffer and Salancik (1978, p.1) state, "to understand the behaviour of an organization you must understand the context of that behaviour." Accordingly, Jack *et al.* (2010) see networks not just for resource acquisition, but about socialised issues, such as social learning and confidence-building through interdependence and the sharing of experience. This creates a process where being accepted into the network may well be a mechanism with causal powers that, through a structure of incentives and opportunities, undermines or supports the very purpose of a SE (Urbano *et al.*, 2010).

This idea of conformity can be seen when you examine the rules that govern a City investor's decisions on which SE they will invest in, the first being that the SE should be providing return on investment at market or close to market returns. This forces a SE requiring resources to pursue in society what is most highly valued, and, by the philosophy of the City, this is measured by level of return on investment, or, for a social enterprise, levels of profit. Another key criteria for the City is the reliance on the individual, another of their rules stating that they require managers with a track record in which they can develop confidence, that is, managers who have pursued what is most profitable. The perceived logic is that if such an approach is adopted, then society's needs will be met, and dependence on City agency structures that provide resources to social entrepreneurs is cemented. As stated by Amin (2009), in capitalism, one can observe a structure of competing forms in which the social and cultural activities and the resulting institutions create rules of economic organization that reward individuals.

This is where the need for caution by a SE is required, because entrepreneurship can cut two ways, comprising both of emancipation and oppressive forces, and the SE might end up treating the symptoms, rather than the root causes of today's most virulent social and ecological problems (Tedmanson *et al.*, 2015, p.441). This is because the requirement for SE social actors to conform and behave according to existing agency structures creates an interdependence between them (Nicolopoulou *et al.*, 2015). Moizer and Tracey (2010) showed how tensions between social action and revenue generation can eventually lead to the social action of a SE being relegated. What began as an enterprise driven to change society, a new agency structure, becomes the very vehicle that could be undertaking the strategy of the existing agency structures.

An example of this process can be seen when social entrepreneurs in a SE seek the highest possible return, which would require accessing more lucrative market environments. They would not be selling goods and providing services to a community who have very little income, as the result is a low profit business. If the social entrepreneurs could gain high value returns in such an environment, then a process of exploitation would need to exist for such returns to be evident. Any deviation would be in contradiction of the dominant business philosophy of the city investors, that of the social entrepreneur pursuing the activity that is most highly valued, and thus achieving the highest possible wage. Indeed, if SE was to adopt this set of rules, why should a SE provide goods and services to vulnerable or marginalised people (Amin, 2009)?

The process of compliance is no different if one tries to obtain finance for SE from other sources. Social entrepreneurs must provide proposals for appropriate funders. Evidence of the influence of this steering media has shown that "providers of funds can influence the actions of those to whom the funds are provided" (Broadbent *et al.*, 2010, p.464). As suggested by research into the grantor–grantee relationship, it is the prior networking processes amongst the funding agency structures that are often a more powerful predictor of grant decisions than the proposal (Grønbjerg *et al.*, 2000). As financial support is something that a nascent SE will find difficult to provide itself, they will tailor their SE to meet the funding relationship just like any other business requiring investment. This inevitably results in the SE becoming part of that investor's portfolio of organizations designed to meet their interests, rather than those of the beneficiaries.

To reinforce an investor's interest, funding is often provided in the form of loans. Profits gained can be used to repay these loans (Doeringer, 2010) which means they neglect to address the original social purpose. These mechanisms all add to reinforcing the dominant position of the investor, a process that creates a mechanism for a SE to adopt someone else's social actions. There are alternative investments which can facilitate resources to SE, but they operate from a different philosophy, that of pluralism and communitarianism (Ridley-Duff, 2007). The influence of the investment process is still present, but their approach to resource allocation promotes organizational citizenship and stakeholder rights, instead of capital ownership. This changes the networking processes of a SE away from the City's investors, towards a more direct influence on the social entrepreneurs, who have grouped to form their own SE, creating a communitarian pluralist approach, the socialisation SE (see Chapter 2 for further details).

This method of shareholding can create a SE focused, not on the interests of an established agency structure, but on a group of social actors forming their own SE. Although such a socialisation approach challenges the very dominance of pre-existing agency structures, it does place a reliance on resources coming into the SE from groups of social actors that have the same

primary agency, with the added presumption that such resources are available. Unfortunately, although the structure is democratic, without resources, your ability as your own agency structure to develop an independent strategic SE is heavily reliant on donations or City resources, and you are back into the grips of dominant agency structures. In addition, such an approach can become a members' club and would only exist to serve a defined group, which may be desirable, but can lead to exclusion of those who do not fit the primary agency or the criteria developed by the new SE agency structure: an exclusive club that can go on to form exclusive institutions.

7.4.2.2 Competition and Networks

This need for resources in order for the SE to achieve social change has created a SE strategy that places the acquisition of resources as a central driver. This issue of resource allocation and investment in SE has been examined by others (Ormiston *et al.*, 2015; Freireich and Fulton, 2009) and was reinforced when research participants were asked directly about their strategy. The social entrepreneurs interviewed referred to their resource issues as a major component of their decision-making. This placed a big emphasis on the negotiating of a network, with the aim of resource acquisition for social change. Each social entrepreneur discussed the investors they were, or had come into contact with, when trying to gain resources. These involved familiar funding regimes in the UK, and some were quasi non-governmental organizations, such as the Lottery and their various funding schemes, like Community Builders and Healthy Living. The two main funding avenues discussed were direct from central government. They are the 'New Deal for Communities' (NDC) and 'Single Regeneration Budget' (SRB). Another area of resource allocation was from local authorities and the disbanded regional development agencies, which took the form of commissioning, contracts, or grants.

Criticism from research participants was that funders or investors in social change still seemed to give money to people who write big bold bids about physical changes to the community, with clear definable outcomes. It was this action that was not allowing a positive impact on the deep rooted community development work. Others discussed the substantial cutbacks in local authority resources, and how previously they had relied on contracts from local government to achieve their goals. This placed an undue pressure on SE to gain resources from those who wanted to determine their social action based on outcomes. This provided little social impact, and impeded the SEs in delivering social change. These agency structures would be the grounds for consistent battles to secure resources. Agencies used their resources to negotiate and coerce the SEs into acting as a conduit to enable the community to meet their own outcomes. If these methods were challenged, or a SE created a scenario where they had their own resources, then a dominant agency would withdraw from the process.

This threat results in a SE competing to meet whatever priorities, objectives and measures of the investor had set. Each SE would then create their strategy based on how they could obtain as much from the resources pot as possible, as if they were entering a market. The investors set their priorities making them the biggest influence on any strategy adopted by a SE. By default the SE will then have entered into a competitive environment with other SEs to compete for resources. This did not have any focus on social change, but was driven by the competitive advantages that each organization could secure. This process of competition not only brought resources to the SE, but also a legitimacy within other agency structures, which would in turn give the organization a strategic purpose. Without this legitimacy, in the competitive environment, difficulties for the SE would follow. They would be deemed as not meeting the criteria, providing a reason for exclusion.

Thus the danger for a SE is that when they pursue a strategy of legitimacy they will end up meeting the demands of an agency structure becoming their conduit, especially when the demand for outcomes are increased. As shown in research by Sunley and Pinch (2012), SEs expressed some dissatisfaction with funding, in that they felt that awards were becoming increasingly demanding, and conditional on specified outcomes. This has placed additional burdens on social entrepreneurs in trying to balancing the tensions of funding interests and the demands of their constituents (Baron, 2002; Sarprong and Davies, 2014), which frequently undermined their organizational philosophies.

7.4.2.3 Hegemony

Through SE gaining legitimacy with investors in a competitive network, the SE could form part of the political tensions that exist inside socio-economic forces, and within a cultural 'superstructure' (Levy and Scully, 2007). This is commonly referred to as hegemony, the contingent stability of a social structure that protects the privileged position of a dominant alliance (Gramsci, 1971). As discussed in Chapter 4, Gramsci's (1971; 1985) conceptualization placed SE as part of the discursive role played by civil society through the construction and promotion of narratives that represent the current economic structure as benefiting the whole of society. That is, SE must be a good thing, part of an ethical capitalism that will change society for the better. The notion that SE could act as a counter-hegemony agency structure seems a distant possibility. The concept of counter-hegemony is where the social entrepreneurs who are being coerced by hegemonic structures create their own agency structures, in order to counteract their effect. They have the capacity to challenge such structural forces, as opposed to being passive participants who accept such forces without redress.

However, due to the SE needing to gain resources, they must enter into arrangements and networks with investors who, as part of the socio-economic structure, protect their privileged position. This is because any focus on making profit places SE into financial frameworks, engaging in markets and opening themselves up to the mercy of capitalist ideology (Bull *et al.*, 2010). These causal powers force a SE to conform to their rules and norms of behaviour. This is why debates on SE definitions have become important, because for a SE to gain legitimacy, they must conform to an investor's definition, or risk losing access to resources. Unfortunately, what has been shown in this research is that, regardless of the SE approach, there is a strong possibility that the SE will be coerced into meeting the needs of the investor.

This is most evident when a SE needs to provide evidence of social impact, and forms part of an investor's or funder's indirect control and becomes a central mechanism to managing a SE. This form of homeostatic control begins with a set of desired results that are specified in advance and must be in a measurable form; secondly there must be a system of monitoring these measures, and lastly any feedback mechanisms will be linked to measured performance (Bevan and Hood, 2006, p.519). This creates a situation where a SE needs to manage this environment, because it will need resources to grow, and so must adjust its social impact to suit the investor, rather than the needs of the beneficiaries. Thus the danger for a SE is that when they pursue a strategy of legitimacy, they will end up having to meet the demands of the investor, especially when the outcome specifications are increased.

The SE could be adding to the very social problem they are trying to change. Indeed, if it is the rules of economic organization that form the basis of a community's social enterprise construct, (Amin, 2009), as seen by the National Consumer Council (2003a; 2003b), how will a community provide goods and services to their vulnerable or marginalised people? The prevalence of investor's gate-keeping role to resources places social entrepreneurs and beneficiaries into mechanisms that are aligned with, and controlled by, the interests of the dominant agent structures, such as funders and professional management.

As decisions on the mission, and thus the strategy, are decided by the investor, and at the same time by the community, each will perceive their legitimacy to be paramount. This process goes some way to explaining the lack of trust deeply embedded in the public sector, which is sympathetic to SE, yet mistrustful of their ability to deliver services in a professional manner(Chapman *et al.*, 2007; Frumkin and Andre-Clarke, 2000; Dart, 2004; Austin *et al.*, 2006). Equally, if the agency structure carefully selects the citizens to participate in the process, thus allowing these people to be defined as legitimate, then the views of other, perhaps more critical elements, will become de-legitimized (Welch, 1991).

7.4.3 Purposeful Strategy

This state of hegemony requires social entrepreneurs to manage the competition for investment that will enable a social enterprise to grow, for the simple reason that they need to gain access to resources. This creates a danger than when social entrepreneurs develop their social purpose, it is changed through the act of obtaining resources. This can lead to a SE acting as a hegemony organization. One theory of how this might occur in organizations is the concept of an emergent strategy (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985). The notion of an emergent strategy starts with an organization setting out on their journey with an intended action plan, a deliberate approach. In a SE context, the intended action plan may be driven by an ideological purpose that has originated in a shared belief, where the intentions of the SE exist as a collective vision of all actors. This strategy would be concrete in detail with no ambiguities.

Despite this deliberate approach, the SE does not maintain their intended strategy, and instead ends up with a realized strategy. It is suggested that through the process of delivering social purpose, the networks operated within change the strategy. This change occurs because the social purpose is re-formulated through any unrealized strategies being dropped, while emergent strategies infiltrate the social purpose. These emergent strategies embed themselves into operational action and remain consistent. They would have not been decided upon intentionally, but would have come from the networks operated within, combined with external influences that impact the environments the SE occupies. In practice, this means that the strategy will involve time and resources devoted to networking, communicating, lobbying and negotiating with stakeholders to build consensus and retain legitimacy, whilst mobilizing financial resources and managing people (Doherty *et al.*, 2014) (see Figure 8 for a visual representation).

This creates a situation where a SE needs to manage these structures to enable social change, and has resulted in some social entrepreneurs over time employing a façade over time. The competitive network with resources will be searching for visible signs of organizational efficiency and effectiveness in meeting their goals (Abrahamson and Baumard, 2008), and so a SE erects symbolic fronts. These are not always intentional, but would be designed to reassure the investors of the legitimacy of the organization and its management (Nystrom and Starbuck, 1984). The temporary façade acts as a buffer allowing organizations to gain resources for their projects, regardless of efficiency or effectiveness (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). However, there is always the danger that a SE pursues this strategy of legitimacy but ends up having to meet the demands of the competitive network, especially when the outcomes specifications are increased.

7.4.3.1 The Purposeful Façade and Professionalism

To counter the possibility of an emergent strategy deflecting and changing their social purpose, some social entrepreneurs undertake the practice of putting a deliberate façade in place. This would require the organization to undertake purposeful decision-making processes in order to decide what to erect (Abrahamson and Baumard, 2008, p.438). In effect, the SE and the social actors have premeditated the creation of a strategy of façade. This could result in the unintentional actions that would have become dominant in the emergent strategy to be left unrealized. To support this course of action would require the social entrepreneurs gaining an understanding of these decisions, whilst remaining focused on their strategic goals. They would, as with all strategic decisions, enable their own resources to be invested in this purposeful façade.

One common type of façade is the 'rational façade'. This rational façade would project to stakeholders an organization that is run on rational lines (Abrahamson and Baumard, 2008). This has become a key requirement of SE funders and investors, the need to meet the outputs and outcomes of the latest funding round. Another deliberate façade is the reputational façade, which leads to investors believing the SE should serve stakeholders, yet follow acceptable accounting standards, be good at monitoring outputs and provide great evaluation. This drives some social entrepreneurs to spend a lot of time ensuring that stakeholders know about the professional approach of their SE.

This façade is most typified when, in order to gain access to resources, leaders will use professional and investment networks to ensure they are building their own reputations as social entrepreneurs. Such an approach can be best described as the management of a combined persona related to their social and professional identity. People who can provide this viable image are perceived as being capable of meeting the technical and social demands of their jobs (Roberts, 2005, p.687). To ensure new investment, a SE will combine their reputational façade with an aim to appear fresh and vibrant, a progressive façade. This is where an organization uses the newest, most improved and efficient means in their projects (Abrahamson, 1996). In other words, they must be the latest innovators, resulting in social entrepreneurs sticking to their projects whilst selling investors a new innovative project, when in fact it is the same project - what Kimberley (1981) called old wine in new bottles.

The process of façades can serve a real purpose in drawing resources into communities where beneficiaries require investment. However, the danger is that in this process of creating a façade the SE and the social entrepreneur begin to believe in their own façade. This can create unintended consequences for a SE, such as being successful, as the façade begins to work. The SE is now making a continual adjustments so as to manage the conditions imposed by the funding

agencies, whilst the actual issues at stake get missed Gawell (2013, p. 217). This process can lead social entrepreneurs who have created a professional environment to make decisions about social change, based on that same professionalism. So they may have started with a deliberate strategy, but due to the external influences, they drop the unrealized strategy (social change) in favour of the façade, which then becomes the realized strategy.

To avoid a wholesale loss of a social purpose, this professionalism should combine with a series of façades, whilst adopting a morphogenetic strategy with the community they serve. A purposeful strategy should be provided by putting a façade in place, whilst erecting an understanding of their strategic goals with the community. The aim would be to avoid the encapsulation of an investor. One requirement of success would be insurance that the leaders within a SE are not part of the façade. So within any strategy, there should be an acknowledgement of professionalism, and how that process can lead to success, but also how a counter-hegemony SE can be lost. This combination of intended actions would help avoid the complete encapsulation of an agency structure.

7.4.3.2 The Morphogenetic Network

As previously noted, the danger of a purposeful façade is the withdrawal of a social entrepreneur's ability to serve the beneficiaries. This is because energy and resources have been created to serve the competitive network which could result in success. The SE begins to believe in their own façade. The very result of avoiding hegemony gets lost and the aim of emancipation is not encouraged, ultimately losing the beneficiaries' ability to become the future 'modern prince' and addressing the social purpose. Hegemony can be further helped if the social entrepreneur is side-tracked into creating their own personal façade. This could then be employed by agency structures to serve their interests. If it was shown that the social entrepreneur was why the SE became successful, then any future SE derived from the beneficiaries would be side-lined, unless they had the social entrepreneur as a figurehead.

This inevitably brings pressures to conform, become legitimate and possibly lose focus on the original social purpose. To overcome this pressure, some social entrepreneurs made their beneficiaries' needs central to their strategic action. For instance, they would ensure that beneficiaries were part of the management role, and placed equal emphasis on their own steering groups of local people. This focus on beneficiaries was supplemented by finding individuals who could provide professional supervision, moral support and encouragement. This support would enable the social entrepreneur to remain confident in their chosen strategy. This worked, by social entrepreneurs consciously identifying others with whom they could network, and who

would support their approach. These individuals would equally get support from the social entrepreneur. It would hence become a mutual beneficiary network.

However, due to the difficulties of resource allocation which had become very competitive, this network would need to consist of those outside of their immediate sector. This would be achieved by enabling social entrepreneurs to network within non-competitive agency structures that challenged and supported the leader's desire for social change. This would enable the leader façade to be avoided. What was a competitive environment is then eliminated, and replaced with a collaborative process. This is non-competitive in nature, and would be termed a morphogenetic network. This network provides the type of support that a social entrepreneur and their SE required as they moved towards the development of a morphogenetic SE.

7.4.3.3 The Morphogenetic Social Enterprise

The analytical dualism framework, combined with research, resulted in a new outcome for social entrepreneurs, which is a 'Morphogenetic Social Enterprise'. This SE will aim to change the status quo and not be drawn into becoming a morphostatic SE, where they serve investors and their desired outcomes. The SE could begin to dispel the illusion of manageability where outcomes achieved by any organization are directly attributed to one factor, such as a service intervention. This type of SE could foster the new Macchiavellian 'Modern Prince' 'organising the organizers' (Thomas, 2009, p.437), as outlined by Gramsci. He envisaged that organic intellectuals, through political education and action, establish an alternative, democratic, self-directed and emancipated culture which coordinated the means of existence in a non-exploitative way (Hogan, 2015, p.14). Figure 9 shows the whole framework of causal powers that combine to provide an understanding of what is required of a social entrepreneur if they want to change the world.

7.5 **Conclusion**

This chapter concluded the thesis by critically discussing the research findings within the context of a SE development and the role of the SE social actor. This provides practitioners and academics with a knowledge of mechanisms that constitute a shift from morphostatic to a morphogenetic SE through a counter hegemony organisation. The first section details the causal powers associated with the SE social actor, the social justice motive, the ability to transcend social context. Followed by how any opportunity presented will need to fit with the social actors own identity, alongside the need for their own domestic situation to be met by the contextual circumstances. Finally this section reveals how personal confidence becomes a major component of maintaining a SE of social change.

The second section details the causal powers of the agency structures and their use of resources. It starts by detailing how the need for legitimacy by a SE has become a driver within a competitive network in order to obtain access to resources. This power is dealt with by some social actors creating their own professional identity and coupling this with social impact measurements that confirm their abilities. This process leads a SE to meet the outcomes of their social impact which are designed to reassure the investor that the SE is efficient and effective. In many cases this is a symbolic front, a facade to reassure investors. This legitimacy pressure is one mechanism that creates an emergent strategy whilst your unrealised strategy is dropped.

In the third section the methods by which some SE social actors manage this situation is discussed. The symbolic front erected to obtaining resources required to achieve social change, a façade is used as a deliberate strategy. This enables the SE social actor to present a manageable front rather than all the complexity of social change and associated risks. To ensure the SE avoids a leader façade they adopt both a servant leadership and build beneficiary capacity to be involved in the SE decision making. Lastly this section details the morphogenetic SE non-competitive networks that enable the SE social actor to be supported and challenged in their own and the SE development. The last section completes this chapter by providing a detailed explanation of how the research findings has transformed the original analytical dualism framework to create the new morphogenetic SE framework.

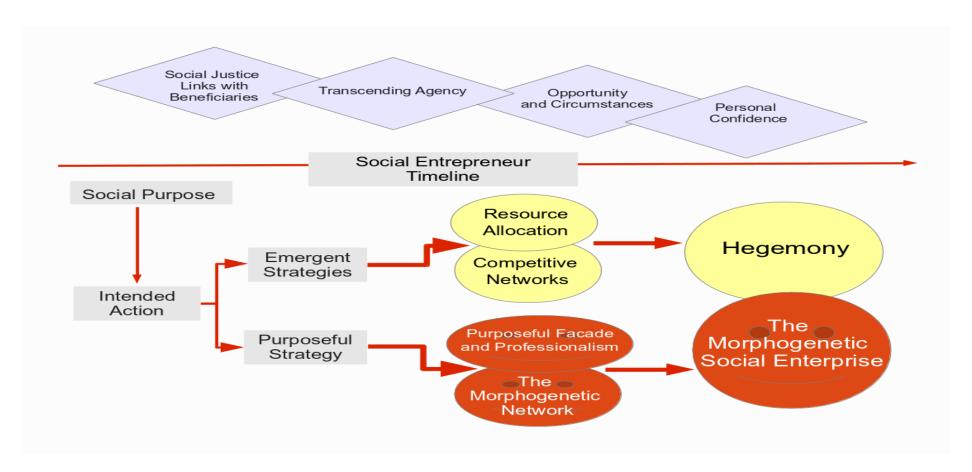


Figure 9 THE MORPHOGENETIC SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

Chapter 8: Summary and Conclusions

This chapter provides the summary and conclusions to the thesis. The first section provides an outline of what has been developed by revisiting the research aims and questions. This is followed by a section on scholarly contributions, detailing the importance of these contributions to a range of audiences, including academics and practitioners. The research process that led to these findings provided learning experiences, which are outlined. This is followed by a section that describes the limitations posed, and ideas for future research.

8.1 Revisiting the research aim, objectives and questions

This thesis was driven by the desire to help social entrepreneurs understand whether, if you create a SE, you will achieve a desired social change and if this is even possible. Through a literature review of SE, and an exploration of wider social and philosophical concepts, this led to a more focused research aim, which was to explore the impact social entrepreneurs and agency structures have on the emergent strategies of a SE. This was intended to enable social entrepreneurs to gain a greater understanding of the causal mechanisms that create the strategy for a SE. It is hoped that if a social entrepreneur is better equipped to manage their SE strategy, they are more likely to become a counter-hegemony organization. This ability for a SE to be counter-hegemony will then help social entrepreneurs achieve the desired social change.

This aim enabled the research objectives to move away from exploring and validating a type of organizational practice and focus on the political and dialogical practices of social enterprise (Cho, 2006). Therefore, the intent of this research was about understanding social entrepreneurial and agency structures discourse associated with the social phenomenon of SE. This required the research objectives to focus on gaining an understanding of how such a phenomenon relates to the complex layers in society, from the micro world of the social entrepreneurs to the meso level occupied by agency structures, to the macro dynamics of dominant societal frameworks. To support this research process, a framework was developed (see Figure 2, Chapter 4). This provided the architecture by which an in-depth understanding of how a SE emergent strategy is shaped, including interplay between social entrepreneurs and agency structures. This culminated in the following research question underpinning the research:

What is the impact of social actors and agency structures on the emergent strategies of a social enterprise?

The objectives that followed from the research question focused this research further, by making the first objective about gaining a better understanding of who the SE social entrepreneurs were, and how they decided on a SE social purpose. The second objective was related to the first, but specifically aimed to explore how their narratives affected SE strategy. The final objective was to again explore the narrative effect on a SE emergent strategy, this time by examining the agency structures surrounding a SE. The objectives that followed were then stated, using the analytical dualism framework:

- To understand the agency of social actors who create a SE and their decision-making process.
- To explore how the narrative of social actors who create the SE influence the subsequent emergent strategies.
- To demonstrate how SE emergent strategies are affected by the dynamics of agent structures.

These objectives would involve a critical confrontation of the dominant perception of SE, in that it has already passed the test of critical scrutiny. Most notably the literature had not explored the experiences and understanding of the social entrepreneurs involved, and the impact that this might have had on their SE strategy. This led to the first objective being directed towards the social entrepreneurs themselves, using the analytical dualism framework outlined in Table 2, Chapter 4. The findings revealed insights about the social entrepreneurs' social contexts and their subsequent journey to becoming social entrepreneurs.

To explore this phenomenon, a series of interviews with social entrepreneurs was undertaken, in which we discovered who they were and how they made decisions in a SE. The findings began by detailing the key motivations and incidents that had shaped them as individuals. This explanation drew heavily upon the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1993), in that the exploration surrounded the researchers' primary agency, the social agents they were and the social actors they became. This led to a discussion on the impact these causal mechanism had on the SEs and the social entrepreneurs involved, in particular how the emergent interplay between the social agent and their social context had worked to develop them as social entrepreneurs.

From the perspective of this thesis, it could be argued that social entrepreneurs have an intrinsic ability to transcend their own social context. They can mix well with different agencies, yet, as they progress in their life's journey, they still have a deep desire to address social justice. However, such a desire to challenge social injustice sits within their own primary agency. In effect they remember where they are from, despite their skills in seeking and maintaining other networks not related to their original primary agency. This drives a social entrepreneur to work with and support beneficiaries that fit their own primary agency profile.

Empowering social entrepreneurs from beneficiary groups to transcend their own primary agency enabled them to move between different social settings, and with a variety of primary agencies. This reinforces the notion that the beneficiaries of a SE should become its leaders and managers. This would require that any SE learning should offer specific skills support to social entrepreneurs on how to transcend their own primary agency. It is proposed that such an approach would create social entrepreneurs with a desire for social justice, derived from being part of a beneficiary group, yet having social skills that empower them to transcend and network with the dominant agency structures. If this approach was adopted and combined with developing aspirations, expectations and entitlement to social change, then a 'modern prince' (Thomas, 2009) could be instituted.

With a social entrepreneur empowered to decide upon a social purpose, this thesis illuminated the decision-making process and another significant causal mechanism. It was found that decisions about what a SE social purpose would be would encapsulate the social entrepreneur's own social context. This social context would involve not just the window of opportunity that becomes available, but is also related to their own circumstances. This resulted in a SE meeting a social need that is related to the social entrepreneur's own circumstance, such as the need for childcare facilities.

The effect of opportunity and circumstance on social purpose leads to a deliberate strategy, and this thesis, using the notion of emergent strategies, looked at how SEs were influenced by a) SE social actors, and b) the agency structures surrounding them. This critical confrontation led to findings about the emergent interplay between the social entrepreneurs and how they mediated between agency structures. This was not a one-sided causal mechanism. The agency structure had influence, but the causal mechanisms identified were not able to exist without contributions from the social entrepreneurs. The competing mechanisms were seen to be interdependent.

The thesis unfolded these competing mechanisms to show how the need for resources to achieve social change becomes a major factor in determining emergent strategy in a SE. This causal mechanism led to a series of actions that had the opposite effect to the desire of the social entrepreneurs and their social purpose. Despite the sacrifices of individual social entrepreneurs, the social change they sought may not be achieved. This was because a SE must compete for resources, and to do this it must adopt a management approach dictated by the dominant agency structures. This was manifested in the thesis as a SE aiming to be seen as a professional organization, to become legitimate in the eyes of those who hold the resources. Indeed, it is the rules of economic organization that form the basis of a community's social enterprise construct (Amin, 2009), as seen by the National Consumer Council (2003a; 2003b). By default, the only area of inclusion for the beneficiaries, i.e. those who benefit from such adding of social value (Spear *et* al., 2009), is as a measure of social value.

The reaction by social entrepreneurs to maintain their desire to address a SE social purpose was to utilise further the professionalism desired by agency structures, and create a SE façade. This SE façade would show that positive outcomes had been achieved, despite much community development and associated social action being slow and very difficult to measure. However, this thesis has shown that there are inherent dangers in pursuing such a deliberate strategy without understanding the full consequence upon SE emergent strategies. This is where some social entrepreneurs shed light on how to achieve a counter-hegemony organization that results in social change. This started with the causal mechanism surrounding the social entrepreneur's level of confidence. The greater their confidence in their ability and motivation for social justice, the more likely they would align their strategy with the beneficiaries. They enabled beneficiaries to be not just a measure of social value, but to become central to strategic decision-making in the SE.

Placing beneficiaries as central decision-makers within a SE was constantly challenged within the dominance of agency structures. The need to keep beneficiaries as passive recipients increased, the more there was a need for resources to be allocated. To counter such requirements, and enable social entrepreneurs to maintain their confidence and remain focused on social change, they would seek support from their networks. The social entrepreneurs would create or join with others in a series of non-competitive networks that strengthened their resolve, yet challenged their leadership. This ensured that they did not succumb to the consequence of a leader façade.

The process of façades can serve a real purpose in drawing resources into communities where beneficiaries require investment. However, this can create unintended consequences for a SE, such as being too successful, and the façade becomes the realized strategy. To avoid a wholesale loss of a social purpose, this professionalism should combine with a series of façades, whilst adopting a morphogenetic strategy with the community they serve. That is, it should provide a purposeful strategy of putting a façade in place, whilst erecting an understanding of their strategic goals with the community. So, within a SE strategy, there should be an acknowledgement of professionalism and how that process can lead to success, but also how a counter-hegemony SE can be lost. This combination of intended action would help avoid the complete encapsulation of an agency structure. This knowledge will support the ability of the SE to be counter-hegemony, which will in turn help social entrepreneurs to achieve the desired social change.

8.2 Contributions

8.2.1 Ongoing Scholarly Debate

This thesis makes two important academic contributions: theoretical and methodological. On a theoretical level, this thesis has developed two new frameworks. The first framework is an

extension of the analytical dualism of the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1993) and combines the life agent framework of Habermas (1984; 1987) and Gramsci's (1971; 1985) theory of hegemony. This produced a framework of analysis that combines individual properties and dimensions of agency structures and social actors, placing them on a time line. What results is that the Life Agent interacts with Agent Structures over time through emergent interplays and is placed in the field of hegemony. The framework could then serves the following purposes: to support the development of research questions, to provide guidance on data collection, particularly the research interview questions, and finally to provide a priori of template codes used in later data analysis, enabling the researcher to think through possible relationships (Dey, 1993). This application of a reflective yet critical framework can potentially release society's ideas and inspirations concerning the ever present emancipatory promises.

The second framework is the Morphogenetic Social Enterprise. This framework demonstrates how social entrepreneurs interact with agency structures, and explicates the underpinning processes of decision-making and learning to manage emergent strategies in developing a SE. It brings together important elements of SE, which were previously under-researched, or researched in isolation from one another. This forms the interdisciplinary nature of the current research and the contribution it makes to the fields of strategy and entrepreneurship.

In the strategy field, there exists a disunion around resource dependency of SE and planning for strategy development in SE. The framework of the morphogenetic social enterprise allows for challenging of conventional thinking and application of strategy models to the very complex phenomenon of SE. To understand and manage the associated dynamics, the emergent strategies and underlying process of learning have been brought to the fore of the debate through this framework. This creates a multi-level synthesis of the social entrepreneur's trajectory at the micro individual level, with the meso relational dynamics of decision-making around social purpose, alongside the interface of meso-macro levels of emergent SE strategies, with a focus on how they interact to influence hegemony. This framework can be used as an analytical tool for delineating the interrelationship between individual agents and agency structures that operate with multiple causal mechanisms over time. The framework also generates further research questions, which will be discussed when outlining suggestions for future research in Section 8.4.

The methodological contribution of the thesis lies in the operationalisation of a critical realist methodology to the social enterprise and social entrepreneurship domain, which entailed both inductive and deductive approaches, as called for recently (Patton, 2015). Within this critical realist methodology, the use of two new techniques in interviewing participants was adopted. The first was called 'debating through visual stimuli'. The use of visual stimuli is important, because applying these before an interview was means of avoiding a continual debate about 'What is a SE?' and enabled quality data to be forthcoming around the key themes of the interview process.

The second was the use of narrative within a semi-structured interview, which helped reveal both the identity and experiences of participants.

8.2.2 Contribution to the ongoing debate with practitioners

This section presents the contribution of this research to practitioners within the field of SE. These proposals provide practitioners in SE with some indications of what they need to understand for success in social change. However, they also raise other issues surrounding the phenomenon of SE that, although needing further research, take the debate beyond definition and organizational practice, giving practitioners an understanding of the frameworks and discourse of SE political and dialogical practices in which they may engage. Especially important is how an individual's own set of circumstances, history and desires can become integral to a SE, whilst agency structures become intrinsic to the barriers, not of the construction of SE, but to the aim of social change.

If knowledge of SE frameworks is made available to practitioners, then any training in strategic decision-making should be coupled with a detailed explanation of how a façade can be employed by a SE to counter dominant agency structures. This use of a façade can provide a screen in which to deploy strategies that deflect a dominant agency, whilst enabling a SE to gain legitimacy. This would put the SE into a strong position to gain resources, without being deflected from the social purpose by having to meet the dominant group agendas. Crucially, this needs to include how to manage and maintain a morphogenetic support network that challenges social entrepreneurs on their practice and thinking, and ensures they do not create a leader façade. That is because a leader façade would not be conducive to building beneficiaries' ability to become the 'modern prince' and address the social purpose identified. The leader would need to remain focused on the SE façade, and not develop the individual social entrepreneur façade required of agency structures. If this was to happen, it could result in the SE becoming successful, but any future beneficiary social entrepreneurs being side-lined, as they will not be deemed worthy, ultimately creating an unsustainable SE. In addition, any supportive network developed should ensure that they collectively challenge the failure in the funder's ability to foster social change, in particular how they place a reliance on manageability, underestimating risk factors and the use of postdecisional controls in achieving outcomes, rather than fostering a culture of social change.

8.3 Researcher's learning experience

The learning experience of this PhD journey, which began in 2010 and finished in 2016, is best illustrated by reflecting upon my academic, practitioner and personal development. As an academic, I was able to engage in a body of literature that covered a wide spectrum of social science domains. This was from philosophy, economics, organizational studies and management, and allowed an expanding understanding of decision-making and social enterprise to evolve.

Adopting a critical realism approach at the doctoral level, and developing a new analytical dualism approach to social enterprise enabled me to learn and generate new ideas. Working closely with other practitioners as an academic, and prolonged engagement with the research ensured that my own critical and reflective path was strengthened. I have gained a comprehensive understanding of research methods, which enabled me to develop a critical management approach to my academic studies. These skills have been developing, as I undertake research activities in my role as chief officer in a community development organization. I am able to push for a more rigorous process to be adopted both by my organization and the partners I work with, including the agency structures. The process of collaborating with other academics, both in lectures and in the co-production of publications, has been an area that will be developed further, but has paved the way to enabling my research findings to be used by others.

As a social enterprise practitioner myself, the completing of this thesis has provided a level of credibility to the work I do, what I termed in the thesis 'professionalism'. However, instead of a professional façade approach being adopted, I have become very capable in dealing with agency structures, from government and funders, to business, in a way that reflects the 'modern prince' ideals of Gramsci (Thomas, 2009). This has enabled me to develop an organization that is robust and sustainable, yet culturally determined that its beneficiaries become their own leaders. During my research, I have lectured on international entrepreneurship and strategic decision-making, as well as social enterprise. This has broadened my own professional practice by combining research and teaching activities. I now provide regular support to the university in their engagement with local social enterprises, and direct community involvement where students can gain real knowledge and experience by working in a bona fide social enterprise.

Personally, I had the opportunity to manage and develop two social enterprises during my study, and integrated my learning into my practice. Working within a community of management scholars has helped me develop the capacity to analyse personal experiences and my own practice, for the betterment of those social enterprises. The entire experience, of being a research student, a part-time lecturer and social entrepreneur has improved my self-reflexivity through my work evaluations, peer observations and reviews of my scholarly writing.

8.4 Limitations and suggestions for future research

This research study has been methodologically robust, and rigorously designed and implemented. However, there are always elements that could have been improved on, or alternative approaches adopted. The first area is the particular the use of a sample that focused on a homogeneous group within England. This restricted the availability of potential participants, because the homogeneous group of SE outlined in Chapter 5 would have needed to meet set criteria. This led to a very time-consuming and continual networking approach to the gathering of

participants who fitted the criteria and consented. In the case of this research, such purposive sampling, being driven by the subjectivity of the researcher's decisions, enabled such bias to be utilised as a means to improve the data collection. However, in future the resources required to enable such a sample to be part of a research study may be difficult to acquire. The alternative would be to look at a much wider sample of criteria, such as registered 'Community Interest Companies', which would provide an opportunity to reduce the resources required and increase the options for research into SE.

This would enable specific sampling criteria that looked at participant's background from an ethnic grouping or gender perspective and provide insight into their experiences. The analytical dualism framework developed can then be further utilised to see if the cultural background from a gender or ethnicity perspective effects the resulting research findings. This would help develop the morphogenetic social enterprise framework further and strengthen the transferability of the analytical dualism framework. This same process could be applied but on an international basis by exploring a series of SE across a range of countries. This again would help establish if the cultural backgrounds from specific countries have an effect on the framework.

The first area of interest that this research did highlight was the issue of gender and its impact on social entrepreneurs' decision-making. Currently, the findings summarised in the morphogenetic SE framework does not have gender as part of the critique. Yet, a further study would reveal greater understanding of social entrepreneurs if gender was a critical component of such research. Similar approaches but with ethnic grouping as well can then form part of the new SE framework. During the research process, the data analysis has created other areas of interest which, due to the limitations of this study, I have not pursued. Such as a focus on beneficiaries' influence on management, and thus the strategic decision-making of SE would provide a deeper understanding of the ability of a SE to meet its social purpose. I could not pursue these lines of inquiry, but this does suggest new areas for further research.

Another area that could have been improved was the concept of 'resonance', favoured by Lincoln and Guba (1985). This term refers to the ability of research to meaningfully reverberate and influence an audience (Tracy, 2010, p.844). I feel that by inviting the research participants to come together as groups for discussion, in order to help them reflect on each other's experiences, I could have created another level of resonance. This was not possible, due to practical and financial limitations.

Appendix A SE Chronological Definitions and Ideological Drivers

Definitions, interpretations and models of SE	Discourse	Categorisation		Year Proposed
SE is a revenue-generating venture founded to create economic opportunities for very low income individuals, while simultaneously operating with reference to the financial bottom-line.			Emerson and Twersky, (1996)	1996
SE represents a problem-solving process with the aim of creating and sustaining social value.	Despite the heightened sense of accountability to the constituencies served and outcomes created they are still the construction of the social entrepreneur. This discourse thus promotes the capitalist approach of the individual entrepreneur who solves the social problem despite an economic goal not being part of the definition.		Dees (1998, p5)	1998
Social enterprise is a private activity conducted in the public interest, organized with an entrepreneurial strategy, whose main purpose is not the maximization of profit but the attainment of certain economic and social goals, and which has the capacity for bringing innovative solutions to the problems of social exclusion and unemployment.	requires attention, very much driven by social mission much like the charitable sector.	-	(OECD 1999)	1999

Social enterprises tend to have common characteristics that define enterprises and organizations as social enterprise and being different: A continuous activity selling goods and /or services; high degree of autonomy; economic risk; paid work; being bound to a set of beneficiaries or community; having a democratic structure; limited profit distribution; concerned with empowering members.	gapproach that encourages democratic processes in governance and yet empathises with trade as		Borzaga and Solari, (2001,p. 17)	2001
A social enterprise is a business with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the business or in the community, rathe than being driven by the need to maximise profit for shareholders and owners.	· -	•	DTI (2002)	2002
Social enterprises are described as trading organizations in a market.	Very much just trade orientated.	Mission Driven	Pearce, (2003)	2003
SE can be co-operatives and for-profit organizations but should also include the traditional organizations of the third sector.	eThis definition has a more widely encompassing definition. This allows for many organizations to be included and call themselves a SE. This can create more confusion than clarity.	socialisation and	Patton (2003, p.13)	2003
Creates innovative solutions to immediate social problems and mobilises the ideas capacities, resources and social arrangements required for sustainable socia transformation.	ltransformation identified. These consisted of local capacity building which was similar to	an added dimension of mission driven	Alvord <i>et al.,</i> (2004, p. 262)	2004
SE differs from the traditional understanding of the non-profit organization in terms of strategy, structure, norms and values and represents a radical innovation in the non-profit sector.			Dart (2004, p. 411)	2004

SEs are directly involved in the production of goods and provision of services to a market. They seek to be viable and make a surplus from trading. They have explicit social aims. They are accountable to their members and the wider community. They are autonomous with governance and ownership based on participation.	explicit about social aim and participation	Allan (2005, p. 57)	2005
The definition used is broad, an organization that aims to achieve profit, through narket activity and social benefit, through a second bottom line.	SE assumptions: They are collective or Mission driven democratic pursuits institutionally different from earlier mechanisms. The institutional with aspiration for characteristics of SE contradict their chosen definition. That is they adopt the socialisation category with a collective dominance, yet the definition reflects a mission driven approach with the pursuit of profit at the forefront. The argument is to ensure control of the institutionalisation of SE that takes on the emancipatory aims of a movement. However, such a broad definition emphasises the profit approach above all else.	Reid and Griffith, (2006, p. 2)	2006
nocial entrepreneurship is presented as a Venn diagram with an opportunity circle at the top, and two enabling variables, people and capital resources as circles at the pottom. The three circles intersect, reflecting the overlapping and interdependent vature of the variables. At the centre of the circles is the integrating variable and ocial value proposition, (SVP). Surrounding all three circles are the contextual forces haping the other variables and requiring scrutiny by the entrepreneur.	entrepreneurs become too focused on the organization rather than the social impact, with social value relegated to the pursuit of	Austin <i>et al.,</i> (2006, p. 17)	2006
E is defined as including development trusts; Community enterprises; housing associations; football supporters' trusts; social irms; leisure trusts and co-operatives.	This definition is similar to Patton (2002) in that Non-profit, it is a more widely encompassing definition socialisation and	Office of the Third Sector (2006)	2006

Social entrepreneurship is presented as a diagram with three circles inside a triangle On the sides are environment, sustainability, social mission; and in the circles are risl management, pro-activeness and innovativeness. The constrained optimization model is how Social Value Creation is achieved (SVC).	manage a SE and beneficiaries' role is side-lined.	Weerawardena 2006 and Mort, (2006, p. 32).
SEs have a distinguishing attitude that differentiates them from some public voluntary and private organizations, that is the twin goals of economic and socia capital building.		Ridley-Duff, 2007 (2007).
SE is about opportunity recognition and goal orientated behaviour, associated with value creation linked to a community benefit. Social enterprises tackle a wide range of social and environmental issues and operate in all parts of the economy with a view to add social value and wealth creation.	ethe driving force. However, the mission driven	n Chell, (2007). 2007
Social enterprises are not-for-profit private organizations providing goods or service directly related to their explicit aim to benefit the community. They rely on a collective dynamic and they place a high value on their autonomy and bear economic risks linked to their activity.	atheir exploration of European approaches the	Defourny and 2008 Nyssens, (2008, p.204)
The only defining characteristics of social enterprise are an activity involving trading combined with the primacy of social purpose.	gAdopting these characteristics of SE as the Mission Driver definitive definition promotes an agenda of purely trade to achieve a social purpose. This approach can relate to any SE but has the effect of enabling the mission driven SE to be clearly placed above the non-profit and socialisation categories as the focus is trade and the fundamental assumption that a social purpose is naturally a good thing regardless who decides what that social purpose is.	Peattie and 2008 Morley, (2008 p. 95)

SE represents the simultaneous importance of the social mission and of the economic activity.	Their understanding of SE has taken the keyN areas that have influenced both USA andm European definitions of SE. This enables the construction of SE to be orientated towards non-profit and mission driven categories of SE as socialisation process have been identified as very weak. This allows for any dominant group to claim SE for their purpose and raises important issues about stakeholder involvement for SE.	nission driven	Huybrechts and Defourny, (2008, p. 189)	2008
SEs are complex and definitions are contextual and politically driven.	They have identified how avoiding clarity Nenables inclusive approaches but acknowledged that this results in less rigorous analysis. Due to lack of clarity of the mapping of SE they would cover all three categories.	ffered.	Lyon and. Sepulveda, (2009, p. 83)	2008
SE primary driver is to create 'social good' replicating a profit-seeking business, but whose surpluses are reinvested in the core purpose in which they show how they are generating social wealth as well as economic wealth.	=		Thompson, (2008, p 160)	2008
SE incorporates economic activities that privilege social and environmental needs before profit maximisation, ensuring the involvement of disadvantaged communities in the production or consumption of socially useful goods and services.	managerial agents with workers from o		Amin, (2009 p. 30)	2009
SEs have three main foci - economic entity, the individual and the process. Proposing the following definition as a process that reflects action-orientation, opportunity recognition of social wellbeing improvement and acquiring the resources to make it happen.	fosters a mission-driven approach concepts of		Diochon & Anderson, (2009)	2009

SEs are private autonomous institutions that supply services and goods with a meritor general-interest nature in a sustainable manner and this definition should exclude third sector organizations that do not carry out entrepreneurial activities and perform advocacy or re-distributive functions; public institutions; profit enterprises engaged in social projects.	eby excluding certain types of organizations that dfit within the non-profit sector and private	Galera and 200 Borzaga, (2009, p. 225)
SEs are non-profit ventures designed to achieve both social and commercia objectives.	ISuch a definition places SE directly within the Non profit sphere of non-profit using a causal loop analysis to show the tensions that exist between profit and social action, creating strategic implications around revenue generation and legitimacy.	Moizer and 201 Tracey (2010, p. 252)
Business organization that takes into account human society or the welfare of humar beings.	Promotion of the efficient and effective SE that Mission Driven adopts the methods of elite managerial agents to obtain successful added social value. Questionable as to whose social value is being added, the elite managerial values or the beneficiaries.	Doeringer (2010) 201 p.292
SE can be understood as the pursuit of a social mission or the creation of a tota wealth that combines both social and economic wealth generation to sustain itself.	lConsensus exists on the dual actions proposed Mission Driven but is unsure if it is about change or driven by a socio economic action. Key to further research is Non profit tackling the lack of understanding of the values taken from market and civic domains and if such values will actually address the social change identified. This places the definition between a mission driven and non-profit SE. The legitimacy is given through the market forces and civic understanding not by the beneficiaries.	Hervieux, <i>et al.</i> ,201 (2010, p. 38)

	1	-		
The mapping process struggled to frame SE. Opted to work on three areas: activities and thresholds of activities; activity based compared to identity based approaches entity status.	1 1 1	ocialisation and	Dart <i>et al.,</i> (2010 p 190)	2010
SEs are broadly defined as the use of non-governmental market based approaches to address social issues. Social enterprise often provides a business revenue.	The definition provided places SE in its origins of Noticivil society moving to markets to solve issues as civil society withdraws. This has been driven by the cultural and environmental landscape but places the definition within the mission driven SE and away from the non-profit.		Kerlin, (2010 p 164)	2010
SEs can be conceptualised as hybrid organizations, simultaneously having both economic and non-economic aims.	In the paper, the conclusion is that SE shouldS consider governance within the contextual factors and indigenous cultures of the beneficiaries. This reflects and promotes a socialisation approach to SE as a means to gather innovation and promote sustainability.		Overall <i>et al.</i> (2010, p. 150)	,2010
SEs have to combine public tasks and private tasks, functioning effectively and efficiently and facing public accountability.	The case study used to explain the systems Neasurement approach was based around housing associations. The conclusions reached involved the process of measurement as a key factor in success. This managerial approach adopted by many in the non-profit sector has been promoted over social movement. The social movement has become the municipal approach to social problems, which places this definition within the non-profit sector mirroring the needs of a select group.	•	Straub <i>et al.</i> (2010 p. 322)	2010

SE refers to the management of a system of double equations, being on the one hand, the social mission and, on the other hand, the commercial activities.	eHow to manage a SE and create the goal Mission Drive orientated SE that will be focused and successful.	n Bacq and Jassen,2011 (2011, p. 388)
Section 183(8) states "For the purposes of this section, a body is a social enterprise if— (a) a person might reasonably consider that it acts for the benefit of the community in England, and	definitional debate has reached such a stage insocialisation evolution that any real concrete understanding mission di	Health and Social2012 andCare Act (2012) p riven,185.
(b) It satisfies such criteria as may be prescribed by regulations made by the Secretary of State."		
This article focuses on social enterprises, broadly defined here as organizations pursuing a social mission through their economic activity.	sTheir understanding of SE has taken the keyNon-profit areas that have influenced both USA and mission driver European definitions of SE. This enables the construction of SE to be orientated towards non-profit and mission driven categories of SE.	andHuybrechts and,2013 n Nicholls (2013, p. 131)

Appendix B Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet Study Title: Social Enterprise Research

What is the impact of social actors and agency structures on the emergent strategies of

a social enterprise?

Researcher:

lain Lucas

Ethics number: 2442

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If

you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

My name is lain Lucas and I am a part time post graduate student studying a Ph.D. My

main job is as a Chief Officer of a social enterprise in Gosport, Hampshire. This and

previous roles has created an interest in how the emergent strategies in particular the

social purpose is effected by the social actors involved. This research will firstly analyse

the discourse of the SE actors creating the SE, specifically their relationship with the

emergent strategies. Secondly, how the SE discourse is effected when there are other

external actors involved. This movement towards understanding social enterprise actors

influence of a SE social purpose when a SE is taking shape and growing will help the

exploration of SE development and support mechanisms that could be provided. This

research is self-funded.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been contacted because you have been identified as someone who is involved

in or have been involved in creating social enterprises (SE). It is believed that you can aid

the process of learning about this phenomenon. In this research SE is defined as an

organization that has a stated social purpose and that purpose is why the enterprise

exists. This stated social purpose must also be related to an identified geographical

community that has a population located in a specific sub regional area and have less

than 20,000 households. The organization must also define themselves as a social

enterprise or other associated term such as a Community Development Trust. The

geographical area of the SE have been restricted to England.

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The first criteria that enables participation is the need to have been or still involved in a SE. The social enterprise must have been from the stated homogeneous group. They would have at least two years' experience of working in or with the SE and thus developed a knowledge related to the themes of agency structures and social actors involved in SE. If the participants have fulfilled this criteria and aged over 18 then the next inclusion criteria will be based on the role they have performed within the SE. Such roles needed to have involved management activity in some capacity. In addition to the role within a SE, this research was interested in the role of SE support agencies. So an extra criteria for some participants is that they must have been working or paid by an external agency to the social enterprise they have been involved with. Their social purpose must also be related to an identified community.

What will happen to me if I take part?

The research process will involve an interview with those participating in the research. The interviews may take from one to two hours. The interview consists of a series of questions to illicit understanding and gather stories. The researcher will ask participants the same questions and this process provides a structure. However the process is not restricted to these questions and depending on how the interview develops other questions may be required. Outcome – Your data will be transcribed and then analysed as part of the research study. Some direct quotes by yourself may be used in the final thesis but not identified as coming from you. The thesis will presented as part of my doctorate and some papers maybe published based on the conclusions.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

The main benefit is for the wider SE community. This research should help the knowledge of understanding of SE who are starting out on their journey to achieve social action. There may be benefit to individuals and the organization in the external feedback and reflective process of the research. However, this cannot be guaranteed.

Are there any risks involved?

There are no major risks involved in this research.

Will my participation be confidential?

In this research confidentiality is defined as the non-disclosure of research information except to another authorised person. It will not be shared with those who are not already

party to it, however it may be disclosed if the person providing the information provides explicit consent. The researcher has no legal protection for confidentiality and if asked to disclose by a court I will be obliged to provide the data. The researcher cannot provide confidential when Illegal activities have taken place.

Linked anonymity - Complete anonymity cannot be promised because as a participant you could be identified even though your data will be coded to distance the data from your participation. The data is coded alongside other answers to questions and stories provided by participants making it hard to trace. If someone knows you, the story and the context they may infer where it came from despite no names of individuals or organizations related are provided. However, this will not enable persons to categorically trace the source of data.

Storage of data — Data will be stored electronically and encrypted and password protected and is owned by the University of Southampton.

This research will be compliant with the Data Protection Act. All interviews and observations are confidential and will be recorded via a dictaphone and all data will be kept securely. Any transcripts of interviews or observations will be kept securely and made anonymous in the process of transcribing.

What happens if I change my mind?

At any time before the interview you have the right to withdraw from the process and this will not effect your legal rights.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you may wish to contact the research support officer, Angela Faux (risethic@soton.ac.uk) or Dr Martina Prude, Head of Research Governance (mad4@soton.ac.uk).

Where can I get more information?

If you would like to find out more information feel free to email lain Lucas on il1c10@soton.ac.uk, alternatively if you would like a confidential discussion with the research supervisor feel free to email Mine Karatas-Oskan on M.Karatas-Ozkan@soton.ac.uk

Appendix C Ethical Approval

Ethical Research Approval

ERGO application form - Ethics form

All mandatory fields are marked (M*). Applications without mandatory fields completed are likely to be rejected by reviewers. Other fields are marked "if applicable". Help text is provided, where appropriate, in italics after each question.

1. APPLICANT DETAILS

1.1 (M*) Applicant name:	Mr Iain Lucas
1.2 Supervisor (if applicable):	Dr. Mine Karatas-Oskan, Dr. Edgar Meyer
1.3 Other researchers/collaborators (if	
applicable): Name, address, email,	
telephone	

2. STUDY DETAILS

2.1 (M*) Title of study:	Critique of the agency effect on the emergent and long term strategies of a Social Enterprise (SE).
2.2 (M*) Type of study (e.g. Undergraduate, Doctorate, Masters, Staff):	Doctorate
2.3 i) (M*) Proposed start date:	April 2013
2.3 ii) (M*) Proposed end date:	October 2015

2.4 (M*) What are the aims and objectives of this study?

Aim: To understand how the discourse of SE actors and associated united agencies effect the emergent and long term strategies of a SE.

Objectives of the research are:

To understand the sub components of SE actors who create a SE.

To understand how SE actors decide on the primary social purpose of a SE.

To explore how the discourse of SE actors who created the SE effect the emergent and long term

strategy of the SE.

To explore how a SE emergent and long term strategy are effected by united agencies intervention.

2.5 (M*) Background to study (a brief rationale for conducting the study. This involves providing a brief discussion of the past literature relevant to the project):

The original intention of my study was to help people understand if creating a SE could achieve their desired social change. This required a direct challenge to the assumption that SE is a radical approach to tackling social justice. Instead what was proposed is that SE could well be a reinforcement of the social imbalance that it is trying to address. The current SE discourse comes from a mixture of academic theories (Teasdale, 2011). This has created confusion about the very nature of SE, (Lyon and Sepulveda, 2009; Dart et al., 2010). The one redeeming factor in this discourse is that the desire to pursue social change is still central to SE actors. This common goal is important because it enables the debate to progress away from just a defining debate to developing a more in depth understanding of a SE ability to achieve social change. This is because if a social purpose is the distinguishing feature of a social enterprise then analysing the relationship between a SE social purpose, the SE actors involved and the united self interest agencies surrounding a SE will increase our understanding of SE phenomenon.

Having taking account of what discourse surrounded the question of what is a SE, and in examining the numerous definitions of a SE, with no definitive results forthcoming, what did emerge was a method to categorise SE based on themes. These themes surround a SE actors underlying philosophical approach to SE, the entrepreneur and their mission driven SE, the traditional non profit and the co-operative sectors socialisation SE. With an explanation of the different approaches to SE rather than a definite criteria the focus could turn to how united self interest agents ensure that their needs are being met by the phenomenon SE.

Explanations of this process was explored by combining an understanding of the united self interest agents with the new categorisation of SE. This showed that regardless of a SE categorisation, SE will be constrained or enabled by the use of resources. With a united self interest agency having a mechanism of dominating a SE through the management of resources, any positive actions to transform beneficiaries from passive participation into active involvement has been curtailed. This conclusion has led to a series of research questions that have been designed to help gain a deeper understanding of these SE interrelationships that may have become alienating and restrictive and ultimately stopping social change happening.

This research thus aims to develop an in depth understanding of how a SE strategy in particular the long term goal set by a SE, its social purpose, is shaped by united agencies and the social actors surrounding that venture. To achieve this aim this research will firstly analyse the discourse of the SE actors creating the SE, specifically their relationship with the emergent and long term strategies. Secondly, how is the SE discourse effected when there are other united agencies involved. This movement towards understanding a united agencies influence of a SE social purpose when a SE is

taking shape and growing will help the exploration of SE development and support mechanisms provided. Thus the further research that is recommended to address this understanding is articulated in the below question.

2.6 (M*) Key research question (*Specify hypothesis if applicable*):

How does the discourse of SE actors and associated united self interest agencies effect the emergent and long term strategies of a SE.

2.7 (M*) Study design (Give a **brief** outline of basic study design)

Outline what approach is being used, why certain methods have been chosen.

This study design was developed with a Critical Realism (CR) paradigm that assumes that ontologically the world has a reality but it is a very complex reality. This stance emphasises a society that is seen through its relations, with any social act presupposing those relations, even though such relations can be ontologically independent. As Marx has said society is the sum of the interrelationship of the individuals (Grundisse, (1973); Collier, (1994)). This approach provides an epistemological caution in this research with regard scientific knowledge as opposed to a self-defeating relativism (Lopez, 2001) because science is not pure and can contain ideologically driven results through both methods employed and explanations, Potter & Lopez (2001). This view of society as a complicated set of relations means that knowledge is a social product created by the means of knowledge and is culturally and historically anchored, (Collier, 1994). This epistemological positioning aims to establish the basis of these possible refinements and examines power independently so one reality is observed, however put other causal powers into the examination, a different reality may be in evidence. It is through understanding these interrelationships of causal powers that can be observed and then by applying such knowledge that any alienating and restrictive practices can be transformed (Myers & Klein, 2011).

The strategic approach adopted in this research is an inductive approach. This strategy allows for any conclusions to be drawn from the data rather than being presupposed, thus enabling a better understanding of the interrelations within the phenomenon of social enterprise. In addition the inductive approach supports the researcher in constructing an open methodology and avoiding any rigid methodology. This opens up other possible and competing explanations of the phenomenon being studied. As this research has focused on a well-known but none the less small phenomenon of social enterprise the inductive methods by which data is collected and analysed would be more suitable to the contextual situation. This is because an inductive strategy encourages methods that gathers evidence that will develop understanding of a phenomenon as opposed to the deductive methods which tend to relate to the description of a phenomenon, (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002).

The research design builds on this strategy and CR paradigm and adopts an orientational qualitative inquiry methodology. The emphasis on qualitative inquiry is because of its nature to be small scale

and the need for an in depth examination of the phenomenon to gain a detailed understanding and interpretation, (Jupp, 2006). The additional orientational approach to qualitative inquiry is defined due to its implicit theoretical and ideological perspective, (Paton, 2002, p129.) In this research this orientational framework is "critical theory". Critical theory is orientated to question established social orders, dominating structures, institutions, ideologies and discourse, (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). This critical tradition combines with the interpretive methods of qualitative inquiry to create a research methodology that will challenge the existing hegemony.

3. SAMPLE AND SETTING

3.1 (M*) How are participants to be approached? Give details of what you will do if recruitment is insufficient. If participants will be accessed through a third party (e.g. children accessed via a school, employees accessed via a specific organization) state if you have permission to contact them and upload any letters of agreement to your submission in ERGO or provide the name and contact details of the person granting you permission to access the sample (to check that permission has been granted).

The aim of this research sampling is to identify social actors and agents who have been involved in creating social enterprises (SE) that can aid the process of learning about this phenomenon, illuminating the research questions. To recruit participants for this purpose the following procedure will be undertaken.

After providing a promotional campaign to foster interest from SE actors, those who wish to take part will be sent further information detailing the research. This will include detail on the exclusion and inclusion criteria, time-scales, commitment and how they will be contacted in the research process. In addition a clear documenting procedure will be outlined in particular how that data will be kept, analysed and how any final thesis will be structured. After acceptance by the SE actors and before any data gathering the SE actor taking part will be contacted directly to discuss any issues or concerns that may have been raised and they will have the option to withdraw.

3.2 (M*) Who are the proposed sample and where are they from (e.g. fellow students, club members)? How many participants do you intend to recruit? List inclusion/exclusion criteria if applicable. NB The University does not condone the use of 'blanket emails' for contacting potential participants (i.e. fellow staff and/or students).

It is usually advised to ensure groups of students/staff have given prior permission to be contacted in this way, or to use of a third party to pass on these requests. This is because there is a potential

to take advantage of the access to 'group emails' and the relationship with colleagues and subordinates; we therefore generally do not support this method of approach.

If this is the only way to access a chosen cohort, a reasonable compromise is to obtain explicit approval from the Faculty Ethics Committee (FEC) and also from a senior member of the Faculty in case of complaint.

The strategy of this purposeful sampling is to focus on a homogeneous group within the social enterprise phenomenon. The aim is to gather data that would have a higher probability of being comparable as the context is of similar circumstances. The criteria for such a group is that they must define themselves as a social enterprise or other associated term such as a Community Development Trust. Self defining themselves as a SE eliminates a pre-discussion on what constitutes a SE and thus avoids a sense of SE definition nihilism. The geographical area of the SE have been restricted to England. By restricting the sample to England the research limited the financial and logistical constraints imposed by a wider sampling group whilst strengthening the chances of comparable data.

Having focused the research onto a homogeneous group the research sample will then adopt a heterogeneous approach to that small sample. The aim is to obtain a variety of perspectives within the SE organization that reflects the social actors and agents involved. Data collection with such participants will then provide significant evidence in relation to the emergent and long term strategies of a SE, the development of a social purpose and its changing nature within the dynamic environment of a SE.

The combination of a homogeneous grouping and the outlined themes creates the inclusion and exclusion criteria of research participants. The first criteria that enables participation is the need to have been or still involved in a SE. The social enterprise must have been from the stated homogeneous group. They would have at least two years experience of working in or with the SE and thus developed a knowledge related to the themes of 'universalisation' and/or the 'united agencies'. If the participants have fulfilled this criteria and aged over 18 then the next inclusion criteria will be based on the role they have performed within the SE. Such roles needed to have involved management activity in some capacity. In addition to the role within a SE, this research was interested in the role of SE support agencies. So an extra criteria for some participants is that they must have been working or paid by an external agency to the social enterprise they have been involved with.

3.3 (M*) Describe the relationship between researcher and sample (*Describe any relationship e.g. teacher, friend, boss, clinician, etc.*)

The researcher may have come into contact with the sample through existing work and networks.

3.4 (M*) Describe how you will ensure that fully informed consent is being given. You must specify how participants will be told what to expect by participating in your research. For example, will participants be given a participant information sheet before being asked to provide their consent? Upload copies of the participant information sheet and consent form to your submission in ERGO.

After providing a promotional campaign to foster interest from SE actors, those who wish to take part will be sent further information detailing the research. This will include detail on the exclusion and inclusion criteria, time-scales, commitment and how they will be contacted in the research process. In addition a clear documenting procedure will be outlined in particular how that data will be kept, analysed and how any final thesis will be structured. After acceptance by the SE actors and before any data gathering the SE actor taking part will be contacted directly to discuss any issues or concerns that may have been raised and they will have the option to withdraw. After the SE actor has agreed then the next phase of interviews will begin. At the start of the interview a consent form will be provided for signature.

3.5 (M*) Describe the plans that you have for feeding back the findings of the study to participants. You must specify how participants will be informed of your research questions and/or hypotheses. For example, will participants be given a debriefing form at the end of your study? Upload a copy of the debriefing form to your submission in ERGO.

To address such problems of disseminating research material to enable both reflexive responses and emancipatory action this research provides data analysis using techniques from the method of research writing 'ethnography fiction science', (Watson, 2000, 2003). This method is being employed as a tool for dissemination and not as a co-construction activity as employed in ethnography studies. This feedback mechanism of data analysis will be a hybrid of academic and fictional writing. This allows for sensitive data that could not be directly reported to be analysed and included in subsequent writings. The coding and ethnography fiction science writings will then be used to allow for further exploration of the meaning and understanding developed through the research questions posed. The end result of this process was to show how the working and non working lives of SE mangers; employees; directors; support agents relate to the way a SE is shaped and how the SE has shaped the individuals, Watson, (2004). Significantly for participants any final writing will not be traceable back to any one individual. However, the intention of such 'ethnography fiction science' is to enable both a reflexive response in discussions whilst engendering an emancipatory response to future actions taken.

4. RESEARCH PROCEDURES, INTERVENTIONS AND MEASUREMENTS

4.1 (M*) Give a brief account of the procedure as experienced by the participant

Make clear who does what, how many times and in what order. Make clear the role of all assistants and collaborators. Make clear total demands made on participants, including time and travel. You

must also describe the content of your questionnaire/interview questions and EXPLICITLY state if you are using existing measures. If you are using existing measures, please provide the full academic reference as to where the measures can be found. **Upload any copies of questionnaires and interview schedules to your submission in ERGO**.

The participant will become involved due to a promotional campaign to foster interest from SE actors. They will have received further information detailing the research. This will include detail on the exclusion and inclusion criteria, time-scales, commitment and how they will be contacted in the research process. In addition a clear documenting procedure will be outlined in particular how that data will be kept, analysed and how any final thesis will be structured. They will then provide a verbal or email of acceptance and before any data gathering the SE actor would have been contacted directly to discuss any issues or concerns that may have been raised and they will have the option to withdraw.

The SE actor agrees to the interview and a convenient time and place is arranged. Before the begins they will have read and signed a consent form The interview will then take place in a confidential and safe space. At the end of the interview a debriefing form will be provided. In the future they may be contacted for a subsequent interview or they can contact the researcher if they feel they have something to add to their interview due to any major event or significant change, for up to a period of 12 months.

5. STUDY MANAGEMENT

5.1 (M*) State any potential for psychological or physical discomfort and/or distress?

It is not anticipated that any distress or physical discomfort will take place, however any interview process can effect the participants, they will be going through a reflective process that can raise awareness of issues they had not confronted or considered before. As Patton (2002, p. 405) states "spending two hours on thoughtfully reflecting on an experience, a program or one's life can be change inducing".

5.2 Explain how you intend to alleviate any psychological or physical discomfort and/or distress that may arise? (if applicable)

The interview purpose is designed to gather data and will remain focused on that purpose but in contrast to the interview the research aims to emancipate. This create an ethical dilemma does a researcher intervene if asked for advice. In this research process the researcher will solve such a dilemma by providing a directory of useful information, websites and books that can be referred to for further information and can be provided after the interview to all participants.

5.3 Explain how you will care for any participants in 'special groups' (i.e. those in a dependent relationship, vulnerable or lacking in mental capacity) (if applicable)?

n/a

5.4 Please give details of any payments or incentives being used to recruit participants (if applicable)?

There are no incentives provided to participants.

5.5 i) (M*) How will participant anonymity and/or data anonymity be maintained (if applicable)?

Two definitions of anonymity exist:

i) Unlinked anonymity - Complete anonymity can only be promised if questionnaires or other requests for information are not targeted to, or received from, individuals using their name or address or any other identifiable characteristics. For example if questionnaires are sent out with no possible identifiers when returned, or if they are picked up by respondents in a public place, then anonymity can be claimed. Research methods using interviews cannot usually claim anonymity – unless using telephone interviews when participants dial in.

ii) Linked anonymity - Using this method, complete anonymity cannot be promised because participants can be identified; their data may be coded so that participants are not identified by researchers, but the information provided to participants should indicate that they could be linked to their data.

Linked anonymity is provided and provision will also be provided for those who wish to own their story. If a participant wishes to waive their anonymity then their real name can be used in stories directly related to them, unless such information effects other persons. However, in this research the identification of any individual will not be required.

5.5 ii) (M*) How will participant confidentiality be maintained (if applicable)?

Confidentiality is defined as the non-disclosure of research information except to another authorised person. Confidential information can be shared with those who are already party to it, and may also be disclosed where the person providing the information provides explicit consent.

Data Confidentiality will be maintained except to another authorised person. It will not be shared with those who are not already party to it, however it may be disclosed if the person providing the information provides explicit consent. The researcher will make clear that they have no legal protection for confidentiality and if asked to disclose by a court I can be obliged to provide the data. The researcher can not provide confidential when Illegal activities have taken place.

5.6 (M*) How will personal data and study results be stored securely during and after the study?

Researchers should be aware of, and compliant with, the Data Protection policy of the University (for more information see www.southampton.ac.uk/inf/dppolicy.pdf). You must be able to demonstrate this in respect of handling, storage and retention of data (e.g. you must specify that personal identifiable data, such as consent forms, will be separate from other data and that the data will either be stored as an encrypted file and/or stored in a locked filing cabinet).

All consent and retention of data will have a password and be encrypted. Consent forms will locked away on University premises in a cabinet.

5.7 (M*) Who will have access to these data?

The researcher and supervisors

N.B. – Before you upload this document to your ERGO submission remember to:

- 1. Complete ALL mandatory sections in this form
- 2. Upload any letters of agreement referred to in question 3.1 to your ERGO submission
- 3. Upload copies of your participant information sheet, consent form and debriefing form referred to in questions 3.4 and 3.5 to your ERGO submission
- 4. Upload any interview schedules and copies of questionnaires referred to in question 4.1

Appendix D Interview Structure

Research Interview Structure

Interview 1

1. Explaining Interview Process

Confidential - Confidentiality is defined as the non-disclosure of research information except to another authorised person. It will not be shared with those who are not already party to it, however it may be disclosed if the person providing the information provides explicit consent. The researcher has no legal protection for confidentiality and if asked to disclose by a court I will be obliged to provide the data. The researcher cannot provide confidential when Illegal activities have taken place.

Linked anonymity - Complete anonymity cannot be promised because as a participant you could be identified even though your data will be coded alongside other answers to questions and stories provided by participants. If someone knows you, the story and the context they may infer where it came from despite no names of individuals or organizations related are provided. However, this will not enable persons to categorically trace the source of data.

Storage of data – Data will be stored electronically and encrypted and password protected and is owned by the university.

Semi Structured – Series of questions to illicit understanding and gather stories. The researcher will ask participants the same questions and this process provides a structure. However the process is not restricted to these questions and depending on how the interview develops other questions may be required.

Outcome – Your data will be transcribed and then analysed as part of the research study. Some direct quotes by yourself may be used in the final thesis. The thesis will presented as part of my doctorate and some papers maybe published based on the conclusions.

2. Establishing Research Theme

To understand how the discourse of SE actors and associated united agencies effect the emergent and long term strategies of a SE.

3. Clarifying SE Framework (Visual Stimuli)

Using SEF framework to establish parameters.

4. Interview Questions

Theme 1 - The Social Purpose

Theme - Understanding the decision making processes for establishing a SE.

When did you become involved in the SE?

How did you become involved in the SE?

What was the specific purpose of the venture?

How was the income to meet that purpose to be generated?.

Are there any special stories about the SE leaders or founders?

Theme 2 - Strategy Making

Theme - Understanding the decision making processes for establishing a SE strategy.

Who was involved in deciding the purpose of the SE?

Who is involved now in deciding the purpose?

"If you look back, when did you first encounter external advice and support? Would you tell me the story of such a situation?

What was your strategy when you became involved in the SE?

How do you make your strategic decisions?

What changes if any in your strategy has happened since you arrived at the SE?

If you can change your past strategy now what would you change?

Can you recall any incident that was widely discussed by you and your colleagues?

Is there any specific item that you associate with your SE strategies?

Can you recall any incident that raised strong emotions, such as laughing out loud, anger, proud, concern?

Theme 3 – Biographical Stories

Theme - Understanding the SE actors

Can you tell me how you would describe yourself?

Can you think of any incident that sums up the stresses and strains of your role?

Could you tell me about your self, where you are from, what school you went to in effect a short biographical story?

What is or has been most difficult in achieving your SE purpose?

End: Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions it has been most helpful.

If required could I contact you again to clarify any answers or ask some further questions.

Interview Structure 2

1. Explaining Interview Process

Confidential - Confidentiality is defined as the non-disclosure of research information except to another authorised person. It will not be shared with those who are not already party to it, however it may be disclosed if the person providing the information provides explicit consent. The researcher has no legal protection for confidentiality and if asked to disclose by a court I will be obliged to provide the data. The researcher cannot provide confidential when Illegal activities have taken place.

Linked anonymity - Complete anonymity cannot be promised because as a participant you could be identified even though your data will be coded alongside other answers to questions and stories provided by participants. If someone knows you, the story and the context they may infer where it came from despite no names of individuals or organizations related are provided. However, this will not enable persons to categorically trace the source of data.

Storage of data – Data will be stored electronically and encrypted and password protected and is owned by the researcher and university.

Semi Structured – Series of questions to illicit understanding and gather stories. The researcher will ask participants the same questions and this process provides a structure. However the process is not restricted to these questions and depending on how the interview develops other questions may be required.

Outcome – Your data will be transcribed and then analysed as part of the research study. Some direct quotes by yourself may be used in the final thesis. The thesis will presented as part of my doctorate and some papers maybe published based on the conclusions.

2. Establishing Research Theme

What is the impact of social actors and agency structures on the emergent strategies of a social enterprise?

3. Clarifying SE Framework (Visual Stimuli)

Using SEF framework to establish parameters.

4. Interview Questions

Part 1 - The Venture

Theme - Establishing the Venture.

(Values) - If you could recall when you first became involved in the SE what happened?

(Opinions/Future) At the beginning of the venture what did you believe was the aspiration of the organization?

Did the venture have a strategy when you became involved?

If not, why do you think that was?

What was it?

Has the strategy changed?

What is it now?

(Past) When being told by others or remembering previous incidents about establishing the venture which stories stood out for you?

Could you describe your professional networks before you became involved in the venture?

In what way have they changed?

Part 2 - Understanding the decision making in your venture

How is the strategy decided?

If you could change a previous strategy, what would you change?

Can you explain why you would make that change?

Whom has most influenced your strategy from outside the organization?

At what stage of your venture did you first encounter advice and support?

Can you please tell me a story related to the support received?

When working on a strategic decision would you recall any incident that raised strong emotions?

What is or has been the most difficult element of managing your venture?

Can you think of any incident that sums up the stresses and strains of your role?

Part 3 - Personal Identity

Theme - Understanding the participants

What could you tell me about your self, where you are from, what school you went to in effect a short biographical story?

When you became involved in the SE, how would you have described yourself?

Could you describe your social networks before you became involved in the venture?

In what way have they changed?

Was there an event in your life that motivated you to become involved in a social enterprise?

How have you changed since you became involved in this venture?

If you was in my position is there any question you would have asked that I have not?

End: Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions it has been most helpful.

If required could I contact you again to clarify any answers or ask some further questions.

Appendix E The Use of Visual Stimuli

Details on the Visual Stimuli

This appendix provides details of the other SE visual models used, and of the values associated with the SEF model that was utilised in this research. They are sustainable enterprise, inclusive governance and social investment. The visual model chosen adopts a multi dimension framework that provides a stratification approach to examining and explaining SE. This drill down approach was created by SEF (Lucas and Newton, 2013) to create a top level visual model that enables an entry level understanding of SE, by centralising the fundamental notion of SE as social action in the pursuit of social change. SEF have called the central notion of a SE 'Social Purpose'. This central tenant provides a central focus to a SE. Its aim is not designed to reinforce the goal-orientated mission-driven organization, but as a method that forces an acknowledgement that a social purpose is what forms the fundamental difference between social and private enterprise. This is because the social purpose lies at the centre of a social enterprise. It is the driver of the enterprise, its raison d'être, and makes the SE not just entrepreneurial but socially accountable (Ellerman, 1984).

Attempts in the past to provide a visual representation in research have used the spectrum approach, by placing social enterprise within a field that spans from philanthropic activities to purely commercial enterprise (Dees, 1998). This approach has been expanded by Dees and Anderson, (2006) and Alvord et al (2004), in which a more balanced and equilibrium approach to economic and social goals has been represented. Such visual representations have been countered by models of enterprise that describe types within a descriptive typology. Such methods label the approaches taken by the SE to meet their social aims, such as contracted service provider (Teasdale, 2008). Others have placed SE into the wider system of the economy, in the sphere of the social economy, from neighbourhood level to global player, (Pearce, 2003). This provides a macro context, but fails to capture the recurring micro themes within SE practice, themes that need to be understood for a SE to function. Models that have begun to address such themes have adopted a process typology, emphasising an entrepreneurial strategy as the way to obtain sustainability and achieve the social aim (Diochon and Anderson, 2000). These models and associated understandings have then been applied to SE to analyse their effectiveness. However, even though such models are able to capture the complexities of the entrepreneurial process, promote good practice and raise awareness of the need for an entrepreneurial culture, they result in the discourse favouring one element of SE, the enterprise, over another, the social purpose.

The bounded multi-dimensional model of Weerawardena and Mort (2006) in Figure 1 begins to capture the complexities in their constrained optimization model. Although this model is specifically about social entrepreneurship, it does begin to capture the multi-faceted aspects of

SE. In this model, a social value creation is set as the goal and the constrained forces of SE are stated as the environment, sustainability and social mission which are given equal weighting. With risk management, pro-activeness and innovation, being key components, needed to be displayed for the enterprise to be successful. This model is very much a reflection of the mission driven SE, where the key criticism is that organizational practice takes precedent over the very reason for the entity to exist. This can be seen by the method of equating sustainability and environment on an equal weighting to the social mission. This places the social issue on the same footing as the environment and sustainability, which enables any SE to justify an oppressive stance to the very beneficiaries of the SE. This has occurred in a SE based in London, Hackney Community Transport (London Daily News, 2010) as they battled with the unions over terms and conditions.



Figure 1 Weerawardena and Mort (2006) Multidimensional Model

Despite some models providing social value and entrepreneurship as themes, the research adopted the SEF model, due to its strength as a layering model with an ability to provide a platform to begin an ever-deepening discussion on SE. This method was key to developing a successful research interview on SE practice. This was because the most difficult aspect of SE is dealing with the numerous competing decisions, such as participants' motivations and their understanding of actions taken. As shown through research by Seanor *et al.*, (2011) motivations can move along a spectrum of social and economic priorities, where participants identified how they regularly moved from enterprise to social outcomes. Thus employing a stratification process can help the discourse with research participants, by congregating decision-making around certain themes which can then be explored further. This is because without these themes, the basis of any decision can become lost as the multi-faceted enterprise takes shape, and soon the purpose can become lost as competing themes begin to take precedence.

As shown by the research by Seanor *et al.* (2011), such changing priorities are very much part of everyday management of a SE. Participants in this research have described such a process as a changing hats scenario, wearing a market hat for one decision and a social one for another. In the SEF model the social purpose is a fixed position. This does not mean the social purpose does not change, as it may well diversify, very much like any social movement, but the fundamental raison d'être is still the same: it is socially accountable, it is not private. Therefore, the SEF model (see Figure 2) has placed all other themes and associated actions around the social purpose. This allows the SEF model to apply the other fundamental values that underpin the pursuit of the social *purpose* through enterprise to create a model for discourse.

The other themes concur with practice and combine the underpinning philosophies of the categories of SE from Chapter 2: non-profit SE, socialisation SE and the mission-driven SE. The first value revolves around governance, which is the major component of a socialisation SE. The second theme is sustainable enterprise and addresses the idea that a SE has to create added value and develop wealth creation strategies, and has been taken from the mission-driven SE. The last underpinning value is social investment and tackles the notion of how a SE meets its social purpose through the resources it generates, this notion has always been central to a non-profit SE.



Figure 2 - SEF Model

Sustainable Enterprise

Social purpose lies at the core of a social enterprise, but it could not function if it was not running a business with some form of trading. The problem is that what seems like trading or enterprise can sometimes be misleading, such as the common practice of voluntary organizations undertaking to deliver work for a local authority via a contract. While this may seem like a commercial arrangement, it is often more akin to a grant funding relationship, with the voluntary organization doing what it has always done (Lucas and Newton, 2013, p.225). Indeed, upon further inspection of such organizations, some were often just departments or sub-sections of local authorities (Dart *et al.*, 2010). So what is the definition of 'enterprise'? It can be described as an activity that needs to be selling an identifiable product or service to an identifiable market (not

just one contract with a council), and that product or service creates or aims to create value that can be expressed in monetary terms (Somerville and McElwee, 2011).

The term 'sustainable enterprise' is used within the SEF model. The rationale behind this term is about challenging the standard understanding of economic sustainability. The dominant strategy is about not decreasing your assets whilst generating added value. However, in SE this approach can create preoccupations in productivity, investment and profit (Reinhardt, 2000). Yet a SE has to balance this economic goal with sustaining added social value. Therefore, this term ensures that SE's have a heightened awareness of the competing goals, economic sustainability and sustaining social value. These competing goals have been a key component in previous definitions, and are regarded as two ends of a spectrum, such a balanced equilibrium, first developed by Alvord *et al* (2007).

Sustainability as a formal concept can have an even more demanding effect on a SE. The term was introduced onto the world stage in 1987 via a report by the World Commission on the Environment and Development, known as the Brundtland Report, WCED, (1987) Lucas and Newton (2013, p. 226). Although the term and associated metrics have been used previously and since by various organisations and research papers, Vos (2007), it is the 1987 report that set out to clearly define sustainable development as:

....development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

Lucas and Newton (2013 p226) go on to discuss sustainability:

"In analysing this statement some key components emerge. The first is that meeting the needs of the present raises the questions, how are our needs met? which is both an economic and societal issue. The second and most profound is how do we ensure that future generations can meet their own needs, again posing the question, how will they meet their needs? This fundamentally changes the first question from not just a societal and economic issue but one that has to consider what will the legacy of that action be? - Most notably how existing capital is used and exploited and what is left to bequeath the next generation".

The concept of capital is used to cover many topics, such as economic, social, natural, entrepreneurial and ethical. However, whatever one's understanding of capital, it requires a SE to consider its trading activity and impact upon both the current generation's uses of capital and upon the next. Such thinking is thus producing a recognition of the long-term nature of a social purpose. In other words, SEF have redefined the question to be not so much what sustainability is, but rather what it means to be an unsustainable enterprise (Vos,2007).

These tensions highlighted another issue within the SEF model. How to make a clear distinction between the social purpose of a SE and its business objectives? The relationship between an

organization's social purpose and its business model can vary widely. So, in order to make discourse more accessible and enhance practical related learning, SEF have clustered these types of relationships under three headings characterised by the motive for undertaking SE activity. They have called them the three P's (Lucas and Newton, 2013). The first headings for SE organizational types were:

Product

Process

Profit

Lucas and Newton (2013, p.223) go on to discuss:

"SEF have defined a Product-driven SE as being those that are seeking to create benefit through the delivery of the service or product that the enterprise operates. Such enterprises are not necessarily trying to grow income rapidly but instead often seek to simply sustain themselves and add value to beneficiaries where they can. Modern examples include community owned village pubs and shops, some forms of health and social care delivery in the voluntary sector, and the classic volunteer run community centre. Historically much of the co-operative and mutual sector stems from a desire to sustain affordable services such as low-cost healthy food.

Alternatively to the above, SEF have defined a Process-driven SE as those that created benefit not by what they did but how it was done. Examples would include Social Firms who seek to empower their workers and help them overcome disadvantage in the employment market; or The Big Issue who work with their vendors to help them create a personal income while improving their self-esteem. Again such a SE may not always be seeking to maximise margin and profitability. In the above types the business model is entwined in the social purpose and further complicated by factors such as in some instances the customer being also the beneficiary. It may also be the case that workers' benefits, conditions, and ways of working are an expensive way to do business but integral and effective means of advancing the social purpose.

The third and final organisational type was a Profit driven SE. This type of SE had effectively split its impact from its business and in many instances separate organisations would be responsible for each element of the wider aims. This is the approach that RISE Community undertook with their trading activity, RISE Computers Ltd, this model has been used by the Salvation Army in 1879, Teasdale (2008). Another classic example would be a registered charity with a wholly owned subsidiary, a trading company. There is an attractive simplicity to this model as the trading arm can focus on maximising profit and then this activity is financing the parent organisation's work to assist its beneficiary group. However no company operates in a vacuum and it is quite possible that the activities of a trading arm either reveal new opportunities to advance the social purpose or it becomes clear that its activities are having a detrimental impact on that very social purpose."

These organizational types should not be confused with the underlying philosophy that a SE agent gravitates to when creating a SE with others, or in a group. Someone with a closer affiliation with the non-profit SE may adopt a profit organizational type. Equally a SE agent with a socialisation SE preference may well develop a process-driven SE, or a mission- driven SE agent develop a purely break-even product organization. This is why, when dealing with a SE social purpose and business objectives, a clear understanding of underlying philosophies and organizational type will help avoid confusion between the sustainable enterprise and the social purpose. This approach allows for decisions to be made about the business objectives that avoid a purely philosophical drive and decisions about a social purpose from a purely business perspective. These different kinds of objectives can then be looked at and measured differently. This is because, as with any business, a strategy must be flexible to meet the market needs, even if it is market failure. Additionally, social objectives also have a similar life cycle, and again may change, and here is where the model is open enough to deal with this process of dynamic objectives. This is because if your SE business objectives need to change, and/or the SE social objectives need to change, but your method of measurement remains the same, then such inappropriately aligned processes will begin to exert more influence on your organization than its original purpose. So by adopting dynamic management practices to measure business objectives, and by separating the measurement of social purpose, the SEF model is able to begin developing a process to maximise beneficiaries' accountability and relevance over time. Using this understanding will ensure that the research will focus on decisions about philosophical drivers that have influenced an approach to solving a social purpose, especially the primary agency of the SE agent.

Inclusive governance

If a social enterprise is to maximise beneficiaries' accountability and relevance over time, be sustainable and run for a social purpose, then its activities will benefit a group of people – its beneficiaries Lucas and Newton (2013). One of the key values in the SE's work with those beneficiaries is to socialise that process and develop accountability. This is required because if resistance to hegemony is to be maintained, then the SE needs to be governed by the beneficiaries, so social action is not constrained by external institutional interests, values, culture and beliefs. This goal of enabling beneficiaries to move from passive participation to active involvement should be engaging beneficiaries in the whole organization, by providing a framework for discourse on trading activities and acknowledgement of the need for wealth generation, whilst developing a process to build empowerment rather than dependency. The platform to ensure such a process is undertaken is through governance, hence the SEF term, 'inclusive governance'.

Governance is also the arena by which a SE is markedly different from a private enterprise, and is the key process for the socialisation of the SE. This is one of the reasons why SEF highlights the governance role in their stratification model. The other is that governance needs to be a distinguishing theme, because it is a key decision platform for setting the objectives of the SE, together with the means of attaining those objectives, whilst being responsible for monitoring performance. Therefore the governors' main focus is overall strategy, direction and effectiveness, ensuring the SE is run properly, ensuring its stated objectives comply with the law and that it remains solvent.

One argument for not allowing beneficiaries full governance is that such activities require skills, knowledge and experience. This is most evident by the way that the majority of enterprises fail within their first 24 months, regardless of whether they are a SE. However, the success of Mondragon Cooperative Group, where out of 85 new start-ups only two have failed, should provide some indication as to the key to success (Ellerman, 1984). Paramount to the sustainability of the start-up businesses and growth of the Mondragon Cooperative Group has been their process of support provided by their Empresarial Division of the Caja Laboral Popular. This support provides technical expertise, business experience and financial capital, all from the Empresarial or entrepreneurial division (Ellerman, 1984). The support given was very clear from the beginning that their role is not to govern, but they purposefully allow the beneficiaries to gain experience alongside the support, and that is what makes the model at Mondragon a reality.

This approach is not available to everyone, and so at the start-up phase of a SE, the role of CEO, management committee, governors and managers will be distributed among very few people, possibly just the founder. Over time, as support is gathered, other people become involved and strengthen the governance. How this strengthening of governance occurs is a very difficult arena in which to enable a consensus. This is due to the different institutional philosophies associated with the different SE approaches, as shown in the previous chapter. In relation to the missiondriven SE, the governance is provided by the entrepreneur at the start-up phase, followed by an increase in the governing body with investors taking their position on the board. In the non-profit sector, where start-ups range from philanthropic acts to self-help, a mixture of governance appears, but the majority of governance activity becomes dominated by the funding institutions' interests. In the socialisation model, it is the multi stakeholder model with various forms of participation and co-operation occupying much of the middle ground. The key dangers of the socialisation model are the creation of another exclusive members only club. However, when it comes to beneficiary governance across the SE spectrum, it has been difficult to cement into any legal or management structures, and therefore continues to range from occasional consultation to full self-governance with a sliding scale of endeavour. In the Community Interest Company, the new UK legal structure introduced to support the development of SE, the beneficiaries are acknowledged, but the only governance involvement required is some form of consultation.

This SEF aim of achieving an inclusive governance approach is about creating a SE phenomenon constructed by the people who benefit from the social purpose. In such an enterprise it is they who would dominate the dialogue and debates, laying down rules for their SE, rules that are aligned in their best interests. This process provides the platform through which the objectives of the social enterprise can now be set, together with the means of attaining those objectives. Such a governance will then monitor the performance of the organization against agreed objectives and means. This process should provide proper incentives for the management to pursue objectives that are in the interests of the social purpose. It should enable beneficiaries to monitor it effectively, so encouraging the social enterprise to use its resources effectively, making innovation, risk management and opportunity seeking viable. This method will provide resistance to corporate agency and create more opportunities to create added social value. Using a theatrical analogy by Augusto Boal (1974) the process of SE is about transforming the passive spectator (beneficiary) into the protagonist, so they no longer delegate power to the actor (dominate corporate agent) to think and act for them. Augusto Boal (1974) coined the phrase 'specactors' a term that is defined by the act of allowing the audience members to take over the action on stage and change the outcome. As stated in Chapter 3, the result is no longer the habits and rituals of the corporate agent dominating the SE, but the habits and rituals of the primary agency originating from the SE.

Social Investment

Lucas and Newton (2013, p. 228) go on to discuss social investment as follows:

"The resources generated by the social enterprise should be used to meet its social purpose then how those resources are employed to meet this purpose need to be known and SEF call these resources an organisation's social investment. This social investment is not necessarily a clearly identifiable lump sum, as many social enterprises invest in the running of the organisation as the vehicle for achieving their purpose. For example, an organisation that has been established to help the long-term unemployed in a certain area may spend a significant amount of time and money recruiting, training and supporting its beneficiaries as employees of the company. The costs associated with this (above the 'normal' costs of a commercial company) can be viewed as that organisation's social investment. Any identified social investment should be managed effectively, and in proportion to the costs of the core enterprise. In order to effectively manage a programme of investment an organisation should be able to demonstrate an understanding of the impact, be seeking to improve its effectiveness, and be continuing to invest appropriate resources in its furtherance".

However, in a SE it should be acknowledged that measuring performance is always going to be a lot harder than a standard enterprise if one is to remain accountable to multiple stakeholders, when what you are measuring is not always tangible, like financial indicators or market share, (Austin *et al.*, 2006). This makes a SE vulnerable to the temptation of investing precious resources

into the all-important quick outcome. This is because one key element required by corporate agents, city investors and funders is that SE must show the impact of their social investment. This results in a SE needing resources for the enterprise and resources to show social impact, creating a need for more resources and reliance on economic capital creating more causal powers. These powers enable those corporate agents that have provided resources to a SE agent to showcase their chosen vehicles, as they are able to show social outcomes from the start and gain further investment, but such causal power will constrain SEs without economic capital who are not able to deliver or measure impact immediately. This is despite the real impact of interventions taking a long time to materialise (Austin *et al.*, 2006).

Indeed others think it impossible to quantify socio-economic, environmental and social impact (Mair and Marti, 2006). If we take an intervention with a young person as an example, it would be very hard to measure if any act could be classed as a defining moment; it was more likely a cumulative process from different agencies over a number of years. Thus the danger of measuring impact is that it is used to reinforce hegemony instead of being a way of showing counter-hegemony action. One method that SE can adopt is taken from social movements, where instead of stating outcomes and showing impact, a SE can state the intent. This is seen in most social movements where the goals are contested by the beneficiaries and those who participate, with goals changing over time (Mair and Marti, 2006). The mechanism of intent signals that the social purpose of an organization can be about the beneficiaries having different practices and experiences that give opportunities to break free from oppressive situations. However, the danger with purely stating intent is that although a great driver at the start, as opposed to delivering impact, then the question arises of when should you stop with just intent and become judged on impact from your social investment? (Allan, 2005) Such timing could be dictated by available resources, but such resources might be better served building long-term sustainable growth and impact for beneficiaries. Therefore accountability of impact remains with intent, the social purpose, and it is the beneficiaries who will judge.

This approach will only work if the SE has adopted an inclusive governance model. Thus any SE requirement to demonstrate impact originates and remains a governance issue and is judged by the beneficiaries, and never the external stakeholders. The consequence of an intent to empower is that if beneficiaries demand any social investment be measured, this in itself becomes an indicator of social impact. Therefore SEF state that there is no requirement on any small and medium-sized SE to quantify its impact by using any particular measuring tool or systems. However an organization may find it useful to use such methods to communicate its impact to its beneficiaries, marketing its services or products, as long as such measures do not evolve into being the de-facto statement of success. Importantly, understanding social investment can help governance decisions about resource allocation and the desired effect of such investment.

Appendix F Data Analysis Process

Data Analysis Process

(Incorporates Example of Original Transcript; Free Association; Coding and Summarising)

F.1 Original Transcription - Participant 19

- So in terms of your venture overall, can you recall when you first became involved here at **********?

I learnt a lot through that process. My first task was to find a building and to develop a community centre on the site of our other building. There was a derelict warehouse, which everybody refers to as "The ******** warehouse" and that name stuck with it for the community association, delivered from the ********** Warehouse. ******** featured a lot in this area, and apparently it's to do with the canals, 'cos on water you can move ******** more easily.

And eventually, over the course of years, we got braver and we took over this site first and built this building in '88, and then took over the other site. The whole site itself was a bomb hit in the war, so they kind of tarmacked over the top of it, and the basements aren't properly backfilled or anything, so everything you build in here has significant piling to make sure it doesn't sink into an abandoned basement subterraneanly!

So it's been an interesting journey of reclaiming the tarmac and turning it green in the first place. Once it became green, our ambition there was to kind of pretty it up and make it more of a park then just a grassland area. So we are moving on that at the moment.

- When you think back to the beginning, what do you think the aspiration of the organization was?
- P19 I don't think it's changed that much to be honest. Very much a social engagement tool; it was the lobbying campaign *3.10 on the grounds there was nothing for older people and younger people to do, so our work was focused very much on services for pre-school and after-school hours. Pre-school age group, then after-school provision for children; evening provision for youth, and anything at all we could think of doing with older people; which started back in the '80's mostly around you know, bingo and knit and natter, and has evolved quite a lot since then. A huge amount of work done with older people now.

Funding from the Local Authority was cut 2 ½ years ago, so no after-school provision. Under 5's in the morning, youth in the evening, older people throughout the day is the

order, with a lot of work with older people, probably the most is the work we do. We work with about 700 older people and deliver this huge menu of activities.

The work we do with younger people more recently is starting to focus on employability, because youth unemployment is a huge issue in this area. So the target group are the same, but how we are delivering has changed quite significantly.

- When you began in the venture *4.49 took on at first, did it have a strategy do you think at all?
- P19 I don't think we had that form -. I think the most recent changes that have led to our focusing more on enterprise than social purpose -. First of all social purpose we do and do well. And to some degree it's about keeping the plates spinning, and it's about funding that is the issue. So whilst grants were free and full, we didn't have to worry about enterprise; we were very successful in terms of fundraising. Probably had a 70% 80% positive funding turnaround, so we didn't really have to worry about money.

From 2008 when the whole kind of austerity banking explosion occurred, we had to really start looking at how we were funding what we were delivering, and then started looking at our assets and how we might capitalise on those. Lots of tension at Board level mostly around how we ensured that any enterprise we developed wouldn't compromise our charitable purpose and our delivery model, because that's the purpose of doing so.

So I approached an organizations called [Pilot Light]. You've heard of [Pilot Light]?

11 *6.26

P19 It's a national charity and their primary purpose is to help smaller charities to become sustainable. And they then match the charities with businesses, mostly at middle and upper management level, to scrutinize the way they do what they do and consider whether they still need to be doing what they do. So their *7.04 model that lasts for a whole year, we had 4 middle managers; one from an investment (no, upper managers) one from an investment bank; one from [Prudential]; one from [BT] and an independent consultant. And the Chair and I met with them once a month for a morning or an afternoon, and went through this process that they have evolved that helped us look at our governance, our staff management, our delivery models, our finance, the whole kit and caboodle, and consider whether what we were doing was the right thing for us and what changes needed to be made.

As a consequence of that, we were really fortunate that our Chair was able to attend practically all (I think he missed 2), really bought into the whole strategy. And we looked then at how -.

The other thing that's key was looking at my succession planning, because I have been here 30 years, and I am going to go in the next couple, and it was about how [********] survives that transition, not because I'm going, but because whoever comes in will just do things differently; and there always is when somebody long serving leaves.

So we looked at how we got the Board to take more responsibility that it didn't turn up at the Board meeting with a 2 hour lecture from me to them, half way through which they have all fallen asleep anyway. So it was about them clearly understanding the dynamics and taking more responsibility.

We looked at staff, at staff management and the reality of me trying to directly manage 23 people, and not doing it very well, any of it. And our finances and how they were being presented, so that the Board could not ever say that they didn't understand what the financial implications of anything were.

So we created two triangles effectively. Instead of having just the Board, we created half a dozen sub-committees, and had a Board member chairing each one of those; so

we had Fianance, Policy, HR, Site, (It will come back to me in a minute). And the Board meet, has always met bi-monthly, but the sub-committee meets in the intervening month.

And the Board meetings these days tend to be the Chairs of the sub-committees reporting to the full Board, so that there's a much more democratically distributed decision making process. And it's much better these days. I will do my director's report and focus on stuff that is not happening in any one of those sub-committees, so that it's not a 2 hour lecture; if they can get away with it, depending on how verbose she's feeling in the 15-20 minutes.

The finances, we use lots of different models. We developed to try and ensure transparency, clarity and simplicity so that they have a complete picture of the finances, and each project they understand which within the organization are the vulnerable projects; which ones are propping up most of the *11.01 one year because they inevitably do. And we set ourselves up a reserve policy that means that in complete financial chaos we would have about a year to wind everything down and none of them would be *11.18. And I now have the confidence that they do understand the finances, which before that they never did.

And we restructured the staff in that we had each project had a member of staff lead, and each project manager for simplicity and *11.40 something slightly different from the project leads, were line managed by an Operations Manager. And I then line managed the Operations Manager, the Finance Manager, Fundraising Officer, and the environment officer, so that there is this kind of tiered approach.

And I do feel that as a consequence there was a huge learning curve. These things are never a smooth as we would like to think that they could be, but that people bought in to the remodelling and understand the rationale for it. And I think they feel more engaged in the democracy than they did before; before it was just they report to me and I report to them, and ne'er the twain shall meet. But now, because the project lead will sit on the sub committee, they've got a relationship with Board members as well, so it's about keeping the things all stirred up.

So it's been an interesting couple of years, getting to the point where I think that's working, and now it's time to look at enterprise and to set that up, because it's my time up to start developing that.

Initially we appointed a Business Development Manager, which was an appalling mistake. He was quite clearly and probably quite correctly, focusing just on generating an income and it didn't really matter if we had to relocate an older people's project, or inappropriate groups were mixing in the buildings at times. You've got the youth project in and a random bunch of people walking through there, just think *13.34. So he was let go, and I picked up the slack on that. So now we will purchase the time of a consultant to develop something in particular if we want to, and then explore it in minute detail and decide whether to develop it or not. The sports pitch being the first one, and that's coming together now; that's settling down.

We've got an enterprise opportunity to do with the development across the road which I am working on at the moment around catering for the construction workers, of which there's going to be about 300 a day, so that should be a really good opportunity.

And the next one that's coming over the hill is childcare package that I think we are going to start using this building for. So I think by the time we've got those 3 businesses settled down, it will probably take about 2-3 years, and I can go like that, 'cos I'll know that we will be generating enough income to fund the core of the organization. I don't think we are ever going to get to the point where we will be able to fully fund services that we deliver, but I think it will make our bidding process more competitive. Uni price *14.59 all of that stuff, you know, so yeah.

In terms of you saying that most of the change happening in 2008, the austerity kicked in; what was happening before then?

- P19 We were mostly getting grants, contracts, service level agreements, you know, and ...
- I1 ... What, Local Authority type?
- P19 From central Government, Local Authority, Trusts and Foundations, quite a lot of money from the Lottery actually; we have been very successful with the Lottery and that's got to come to an end soon, and they're going to say "Enough [*******] you've had every category of money we can give out! Go away!" But I think that, yeah, so very, very little in terms of generated income, if anything at all, but very minimal fundraising stuff; there's actually more PR than income generating.
- And what's been the biggest difference between those days and these days in terms of your decision making?
- P19 I don't think we are far enough along the enterprise line to have seen any of those significant changes yet. But my ambition is that rather than delivering services that a bureaucrat, either at national or local level decides is the right thing, that because we know our community, we can say "Actually what you guys really we really need to be doing here is and doing it as a result of local intelligence, rather than national guidance."

I mean particularly at the moment, we are more and more focusing on youth unemployment, because we know that that's the issue around here. But we don't really want to be delivering in the style of the ESF Fund for instance. It's not -. I don't want to start using young people in a sausage factory type way. They becoming a unit number rather than an individual, and so I think that the ambition is that we can do it the way that we think works, rather than some bureaucrat.

- Can you think of anything, or just remember a previous incident when you were establishing, when you first went out to establish the venture, like a story that stood out for you; something in your first years as it were.
- P19 What when we started ******** itself as an organization?
- 11 Yes, as an organization. *17.50 those kind of funding dominated *17.52...
- P19 Mmm, Mmm. Nothing huge. But I think the issue was much more around -. And its fine because it's becoming recognised these days, around loneliness and isolation. And although predominantly with older people, not necessarily only with older people, young mums are also a very isolated group. They have often been part of a social network that just disappears when they become parents, or they are too bloody tired to engage and keep up.

So I think the first roots we did were around organising opportunities for people to meet and mingle. And I remember really, really enjoying the first -. And it was very *de* <u>rigueur</u> in the '80's around reminiscence, and people just gathering to -. And it's coming back actually, there seems to be more fund – they are calling it different stuff, but it's ...

- I1 ... *19.04
- P19 Yeah, yeah. But some of those stories were real fun, and I really enjoyed listening to them. Because what they did was create the history of the site itself. We would sit with ****** and they'd remember when these were streets across here rather than a tarmac surface at the time.

So there's not anything huge that stands out at all; it's always been much more subtle than that. There's individual case studies it could bring out and name, but nothing huge, other than the sense of relief that there were something to do other than go to the pub, which is kind of almost entirely -. Pub or church around in ******* they pretended to think.

- If you think back to that, what were the professional networks that you *20.02 at the time?
- P19 Far too many! I think it's because of ********* policy at the time around decentralising stuff, there were 2 or 3 kinds of networks. There was the new organization's *20.21 path that were just starting, and there was this mutual support, and a lot of it.

So I did tend to spend most evenings -. Days delivering and evenings on networking of events and opportunities. No networking at all with businesses at all; now probably networking with businesses are more than norm, working with other communities *21.22 ...

- 11 ... Would you say that that's what's been the most changed now really?
- P19 Yeah, yeah, building credibility and certainly CSR stuff. There are some huge national companies right on our doorstep. We've got [Viacom], which are literally the next road along who run NTV and Nickelodeon TV, so they've got 800 staff; we've got the international press across the way there, which is I think they are second only (or they may even be equal) to Reuters. I understand we've got Getty Images who are just -.

There are some significant businesses, and I have spent a lot of time over the last year just knocking on doors and finding out the right people to be talking to in there, in order to develop partnerships with them on lots of levels. First of all, there are team building days that are delivered on our site which helps maintain the site, but also to get real opportunities for work placements and experience for the young people that we work with, and to get motivational speakers from there to come and talk to the kids. If you wanted to have a career in the music industry, there's a good living to be made without ever singing a song or making a record, you know. And to help them look at if that's where their interest lay.

We've got a couple of really big advertising companies (I still call them CBS) but they are media exterior -. No they're not. They're exterior - the ones that do the advertising all over the public transport systems and everything. So we've kind of got contacts in the music industry and the advertising industry; in the PR and marketing industry; events management, so we've got a lot of opportunities, most of which now are through businesses rather than through the funding bodies, which is a significant change.

- We are just going on to the second section, which is really decision making, (we've talked about a little bit already), and you talked about how your strategy *23.49. Do you want to add anything to that in terms of the way you structure things?
- P19 No. Except had I realised how much work it was going to be, I would have probably started a couple of years earlier and taken it more slowly. To try and do a complete organizational change in a year to 18 months was probably incredibly ambitious. It upset some people, but enthused and engaged more others, so yeah.
- So if you could change something previous in terms of strategy, that's one aspect *24.34 earlier, is there anything else that you would change from previous -?
- P19 I would probably select my Boards differently. I do feel that it has been ["******'s Board"] rather than going out and seeking people with the right skillsets. And it's always been local residents, which has been important, but rather than the only

qualification you need to be on the Board was a local resident; they give a shit about what goes on you know!

- 11 *25.02
- P19 Yeah. And now we are scrutinizing potential new Board members in a very different way. It's much more "This is the skills we need, and we will go find the people," rather than just a willing victim stepping forward.

And I suppose we are in the position to be able to achieve that now, because we've got a full contingency board. We've got 12 people that turn up pretty well every single time. And we've got the local politicians who turn up when they can. But I do think that we've got some people on the Board that probably should be retiring you know, and we need to encourage them to -time for them to go and put your feet up somewhere.

But I think that the changed management probably will help them come to their decision!

- 11 Yes. So what would you say who has most influenced your strategy from outside the organization?
- P19 Oooh! ... What an interesting question! I don't know. Because it changes anyway, it ebbs and flows, I can remember being somebody that I don't even like any more! being hugely influenced by Ken Livingstone back in the kind of GLC days.

And somebody that I never liked at the time either, very much, a South London politician called Bernie Grant. And I think ...

- I1 ... The Union man?
- P19 Yeah. And it's much more about -. I think people influence me in how not to do things rather than how to do them, 'cos if somebody like Maggie Thatcher, who brought back the death sentence! But you know, you say "Oh god, that's not the way you do it," and in fact then as a consequence of that kind of honing my own thinking in a positive way.

There was a group of other community centre organizers, a guy called ********, a guy called ******** and myself, we did a lot of tri-partite work. One was in [******] one was in [******] and we worked with some Council offices from the then Culture & Environment, and did some really good work. And being part of those conversations was really, really good for me, and [********].

But I think probably the thing that -. And it's not any individual within it, I don't think, but being part of the National Board for BASAC really influenced my work a lot. We had some really interesting conversations from a very diverse group of community centres across the country. So it gives you an opportunity to kind of look over the fence and see how things are happening elsewhere.

So I don't think I could tie any influences down uniquely to one person, so much as being part of interesting groups that helped me talk out ideas, you know, or listen to other people's ideas and hone the thinking as a consequence with that. But I am going to think on that guestion for a while.

- Maybe from the point of view, did you receive 'cos sometimes it's indirect like you say but did you receive any direct advice and support where you had someone come in and they're learning something directly *30.12. Did you encounter that at all? You mentioned some stuff recently.
- P19 Maybe the pilot light stuff is probably -. And they are from outside of our industry entirely; they are all -. And maybe that in itself has been a better learning curve for me, because I think when you've done a job for 30 years, you kind of not quite get a bit almost do things by rote or just carry on doing it the way but what makes thing in

that particular circle did, it made me look at the work in a slightly different facet; you know, you just saw things in a different way.

And there was one of the pilot lighters who just quietly used to sit at the meetings, and we've had this conversation, it would be the four of them, the two of us and the facilitator from Pilot Light. And he'd just sit there quite clearly absorbing everything, and kind of actively silent, and then would ask a very simple question and you think, 'Shit, why didn't I think of it like that' and your question will be more pertinent.

And as luck would have it now, he's about to take early retirement, and he wants to come and get more involved with [*********]. Because his specialism was HR and pensions, he's helping us take us through the process for auto enrolment in August, and he's already been really, really helpful, because I mean it's his specialism as well. And because of the engagement with ***** the Chair and I over a year, he kind of understands [*********] probably in a way that few other people (even on the Board) understand it, 'cos he's scrutinized it under a microscope with us, so yeah. So he's a real asset.

- When you were working on strategic *32.12 with the Board and others, can you think of anything that would raise some strong emotions?
- P19 Oh change itself! Absolutely, change itself is huge for some people, which is why I think we are probably, had I had the time going over it again, I would have started earlier and taken it more slowly. It's just not a matter of saying "We have to do this."

But then again, until the austerity kicked in, we weren't even aware that we had to do it, because we were very successful, gaining contracts, gaining funds and grants and we were able to carry on. But once that all goes, you really do have to -.

I remember one of our Board members who has been on the Board for probably 20 years, we were doing a session led by somebody from [Locality] around business development. And when the facilitator said "We need to start becoming more business like" Board member was apoplectic in that "But we are a charity! We are not a business!" and just couldn't get the word "Business" out of his head at all. And I remember at the time, we said business like, we need to be more business – he just couldn't get it. "We are a charity". And he has probably taken the longest to come to terms with the fact that by being business like does not mean that we're not losing sight of our charitable purpose. Several others struggled with it, but he was the most vociferous about it. So it's probably the biggest one of all.

I've forgotten your original question.

- 11 Well it's along those lines about raising emotions.
- P19 Yeah.
- But in many *34.26 this might reflect on the next question, what would you say was the most difficult element of managing [*********].
- P19 Recently it will be about managing the change. But interestingly enough, there was also a recession in the '80's and I had to keep holding on to the fact that we've been here before; it's not quite as bad, and it's not quite as deep, but we need to remember the lessons that we learnt in the '80's and those really were just tighten your belts and wait for it to pass. That was not an option this time round; I think you accepted that you can't just -. There is no point in just hunkering down and waiting for this storm to go, because even if it does, it's going to take a lot longer; we are talking about probably 15 year recovery from austerity. So at least back in the '80's the sense was we just wait, let's get over the next election and bring the Labour Party in! (laughs) But even if you do that now, that's not going to make a blind bit of difference; it can't be; it's fag paper between them these days as a policy.

- Can you think of anything, a story or incident, that would sum up the kind of stresses and strains of you *35.41.
- P19 No, not so much the stresses and strains, but I can about the rewards, interestingly. I mean the stresses and strains are you know, sleepless nights, but the rewards -.

And my favour story of recently is we are scattered across several buildings, so we don't always bump into people as much as I would like (and that's probably the biggest stress). I got involved in this *36.12 because I like working with people, and now I pay other people to do the part of the job that I like.

But I was going from this office through to the other office, and there was a little old lady looking at the leaflets and things on this side. And our policy always is to make people feel welcome from the point -. It takes a lot of courage to walk into a building that you don't know. But always say when you see anybody "Hi! Is somebody looking after you?" To this lady I said "Is somebody looking after you?" She went "No, I'm just having a look for something to do." I went "Oh, let's see what we can do to help." She was very obviously quite elderly, so taking her to the older people's project manager was not a question.

So I took her to meet [*******] who was running the older people's project at the time, and she spent some time with her, and came to see me afterwards. And apparently, the lady had been nursing her sick husband for seven years in my memory, but certainly a considerable time. And during that time she had lost contact with all of her peers and friends, her family moved right out of the area, and she knew nobody.

Her husband had died a couple of months before, and so now here she was; she knew nobody; she lived in one of the tower blocks across the way, and was just really feeling isolated and lonely. So we got her engaged in (it was called HELPS then which was an acronym for Help Elderly Local People; it's age activities 60+).

Anyway, fast forward about 2 maybe 3 months later, same thing again. Me going from this office to that office, and this little old lady was stood -. I went, "Oh hello! I haven't seen you for ages, how are you?" "Very well." I said "Did they find something for you to do?" She went "You've got no idea!" She put her handbag on the side and she said "Look what I've had to do, just look at this." Gone rummaging through her bag and she's got out a dear little diary (little card covered diary), and she went "I've had to buy myself a diary, 'cos I can't keep up to remember everything to do."

And that to me is kind of what we are all about; taking people that are hopeless and not just giving them hope, but giving them ambition and a desire to move forward. And she's in and out of this place nearly as often as I am now; she volunteers for the Under 5's; she helps run one of the history groups; you know, that whole bit of just having somewhere just to pop in for -. And it's a pain in the butt sometimes, and you just pop in for a cup of tea, 'cos they don't want to pay the money in cost! (laughs). But that's kind of what our older people's projects.

Still having those results and having those outcomes, that when you are stressed and when you do have those struggles either internally or locally or whatever, it's holding on to the reason that we are here in the first place, is for the cure all for all of that actually. So in the same way as being less bothered about how we generate an income, it's how we spend the profit that's the important bit to all of us here. It really *39.45 held on to a *39.47.

- The last section is on your own identity, personal identity really. Could you just tell us a little bit about yourself, where you are from, what school you went to, you know, like a short biograph of the school.
- P19 Yeah. Quite boring really I suppose. I am Irish born. I still carry my Irish passport, although I've lived here for 57 years; it's just -. Brought over from Ireland in the '50's as part of the whole recruitment to rebuild England after the war, I guess. And grew up in Shepherds Bush, and clearly remember the struggle that my family had, and

neighbours had around the whole finding accommodation, finding work and you often hear about no blacks, no Irish, no dogs, that kind of tension.

So grew up in that kind of enclave of recent immigration both from the Carribbean and from Ireland.

I went to secondary technical school (I think it was one of the last Technical schools around) and specialised in catering and my original career was doing catering and hotel management. And had my kids, and got involved in the voluntary sector through campaigning for the needs of children under 5; there was no under 5 play or anything like that.

So helped by a local and a *41.46 and as the kids went through school developed campaigning around after school club provisions and all that kind of stuff. And then saw this job at [**********] advertised -.

But I think I've stayed because there's always just one more *43.10 -. Most community centres are kind of building constrained and dictated by their structures. But we've got 4 acres of open space here, and 2 or 3 buildings now. There's always one more new something to do; so it feels a bit like a phoenix from the ashes occasionally. And I've got one more new *43.37 to do and then I can go. We've got a void railway arch across the way that I want to develop as a community centre and change this building into a nursery; and then we'll be generating enough income for me to be able to go.

And I think [*********] itself will be sustainable then. And I pity the poor bugger that takes over, but I will have done all I can to make it secure.

- So how would you describe yourself when you first became involved? You'd come from *44.10 .
- P19 Ambitious, adventurous and angry. God it's 3 A's isn't it? Yeah. I think I've always been angry, in a positive way if you understand what I mean. I would get angry with injustice; I'd get angry with lack of opportunity and lack of ambition; you know I just -. Somebody's got to do something about that, and *44.45 it will be me! (laughs)
- 11 Could you describe your social network before you became involved?
- P19 It just all feels like such a long time ago now. I mean 30 years is a lifetime for some people.
- I1 How would you say they've changed do you think?
- P19 I don't think they've changed that significantly actually. I keep my private and professional life separate; I always have. There are a couple of privileged few that are allowed to straddle both; but I hadn't thought of that before, but they are very separate. And for the most part I've still got the same friends as I had then. There are a couple of ex-members of staff that are no longer associated with here and have gone over to the other side, and become friends. But I still try to keep them as much apart as I can.

There is one issue that prevents me doing that at times, in that my daughter worked her and has worked here for 13 years now. She's our Operations Manager now (she's filled lots of roles). She's kind of worked her way up. And she can be the one that will

blur the boundaries sometimes at home. Over dinner she'll start -. Everybody goes "She's off" you know. So I think my boundaries are more solid than hers, and I will say "We'll do work stuff at work time if you don't mind."

So I don't think it's made that -. It's made (Obviously I think) this role inevitably does with everybody. I don't know whether it's made me more political or whether I was political anyway, and that's why I got into the field, it's not either which way. So I can do my ranting at times with great *46.46 my friends. Particularly these days when I think more people are angry with the powers that be, and will have a good rant about this politician or that one.

- Is there any kind of event in your life that you think motivated you to take this path?
- P19 There's one huge event actually. And I've got the CD of it here someplace. There was a programme on the TV back in -. God it must have been in the '60's or the '70's called *Brown* eyes *blue* eyes.
- I1 Yeah, yeah.
- P19 And I think if anything ever made me see -. That and a combination of that as being Irish immigrant, that the injustice of man's inhumanity to man on very superficial levels, I think is probably the thing that motivated me at the beginning; and I think probably still is to this day actually.

But now I've found myself, recently, and I think it's just about changed management, almost getting angry with the wrong people. You know, just saying "For gods sake, if you don't know by now that what we are doing is for the greater good, what else do we do? Where do we demonstrate actually that what we are trying to do is make sure that those that have less opportunities than others, often more than you.

- I1 Mmm.
- P19 So yeah, injustice I think and inequality.
- Ok, last one *48.38 is if you were in my position, is there a particular question you would have asked that I have not?
- P19 No. I can't -. You've asked a couple that I've not been able to answer, which is interesting, that I was thinking about.
- 11 You can always email me if you thought of
- P19 Yeah.
- 11 ... if you "I've just thought of something".
- P19 No I cant. Yeah. No I can't, I can't think of anything at all.
- I1 Ok, we'll hold it there then.

F.2 Participant 19 – Free Association

Code 1	
Label	Hegemony
Definition	Dominant practices of agency structures that are not in the interest of the social purpose of a SE.
Description	When a rational debate that fosters understanding, co-operation and strategic action is not pursued but instead an agency structures self interest takes precedent.

P19 1986! (laughs) Yes! 30 years ago next January 1st. And ******** effectively didn't exist. ******* Council had a decentralisation policy whereby they should at that time – they wanted to have a community centre within pram pushing distance of every resident that there was; quite a mini explosion of community centres. Local residents from this area lobbied the local authority for a community centre; got some officer support for a while, and they helped with the recruitment process, and for good or real they ended up with me. Delivering from a desk in another organization up the road called ********** but run by a quite famous in his day entrepreneur called **********

And the next one that's coming over the hill is childcare package that I think we are going to start using this building for. So I think by the time we've got those 3 businesses settled down, it will probably take about 2-3 years, and I can go like that, 'cos I'll know that we will be generating enough income to fund the core of the organization. I don't think we are ever going to get to the point where we will be able to fully fund services that we deliver, but I think it will make our bidding process more competitive. Uni price *14.59 all of that stuff, you know, so yeah.

Nothing huge. But I think the issue was much more around -. And its fine because it's becoming recognised these days, around loneliness and isolation. And although predominantly with older people, not necessarily only with older people, young mums are also a very isolated group. They have often been part of a social network that just disappears when they become parents, or they are too bloody tired to engage and keep up.

So I think the first roots we did were around organising opportunities for people to meet and mingle. And I remember really, really enjoying the first -. And it was very *de <u>rigueur</u>* in the '80's around reminiscence, and people just gathering to -. And it's coming back actually, there seems to be more fund – they are calling it different stuff, but it's ...

There was a group of other community centre organizers, a guy called ******, a guy called ****** and myself, we did a lot of tri-partite work. One was in [******] one was in [******] and we worked with some Council offices from the then Culture & Environment, and did some really good work. And being part of those conversations was really, really good for

me, and [*******].

But I think probably the thing that -. And it's not any individual within it, I don't think, but being part of the National Board for BASAC really influenced my work a lot. We had some really interesting conversations from a very diverse group of community centres across the country. So it gives you an opportunity to kind of look over the fence and see how things are happening elsewhere.

So I don't think I could tie any influences down uniquely to one person, so much as being part of interesting groups that helped me talk out ideas, you know, or listen to other people's ideas and hone the thinking as a consequence with that. But I am going to think on that question for a while.

But then again, until the austerity kicked in, we weren't even aware that we had to do it, because we were very successful, gaining contracts, gaining funds and grants and we were able to carry on. But once that all goes, you really do have to -.

I remember one of our Board members who has been on the Board for probably 20 years, we were doing a session led by somebody from [Locality] around business development. And when the facilitator said "We need to start becoming more business like" Board member was apoplectic in that "But we are a charity! We are not a business!" and just couldn't get the word "Business" out of his head at all. And I remember at the time, we said business like, we need to be more business – he just couldn't get it. "We are a charity". And he has probably taken the longest to come to terms with the fact that by being business like does not mean that we're not losing sight of our charitable purpose. Several others struggled with it, but he was the most vociferous about it. So it's probably the biggest one of all.

Recently it will be about managing the change. But interestingly enough, there was also a recession in the '80's and I had to keep holding on to the fact that we've been here before; it's not quite as bad, and it's not quite as deep, but we need to remember the lessons that we learnt in the '80's and those really were just tighten your belts and wait for it to pass. That was not an option this time round; I think you accepted that you can't just -. There is no point in just hunkering down and waiting for this storm to go, because even if it does, it's going to take a lot longer; we are talking about probably 15 year recovery from austerity. So at least back in the '80's the sense was we just wait, let's get over the next election and bring the Labour Party in! (laughs) But even if you do that now, that's not going to make a blind bit of difference; it can't be; it's fag paper between them these days as a policy.

Code 2

Label	Agent Structures
Definition	Agent structures are sub systems that manage specific objectives in society such as economics, politics, science, culture.
Description	Any organized group that is specifically created to meet their own interests and are identified by the social action they take to meet their life needs, and can range from self help groups; community associations;

local government departments; social clubs to large scale social movements.

I learnt a lot through that process. My first task was to find a building and to develop a community centre on the site of our other building. There was a derelict warehouse, which everybody refers to as "The old ***** warehouse" and that name stuck with it for the community association, delivered from the Old **** Warehouse. ***** featured a lot in this area, and apparently it's to do with the canals, 'cos on water you can move ***** more easily.

And eventually, over the course of years, we got braver and we took over this site first and built this building in '88, and then took over the other site. The whole site itself was a bomb hit in the war, so they kind of tarmacked over the top of it, and the basements aren't properly backfilled or anything, so everything you build in here has significant piling to make sure it doesn't sink into an abandoned basement subterraneanly!

So it's been an interesting journey of reclaiming the tarmac and turning it green in the first place. Once it became green, our ambition there was to kind of pretty it up and make it more of a park then just a grassland area. So we are moving on that at the moment. 2.53

P19 I don't think it's changed that much to be honest. Very much a social engagement tool; it was the lobbying campaign *3.10 on the grounds there was nothing for older people and younger people to do, so our work was focused very much on services for pre-school and after-school hours. Pre-school age group, then after-school provision for children; evening provision for youth, and anything at all we could think of doing with older people; which started back in the '80's mostly around you know, bingo and knit and natter, and has evolved quite a lot since then. A huge amount of work done with older people now.

I1 *6.26

P19 It's a national charity and their primary purpose is to help smaller charities to become sustainable. And they then match the charities with businesses, mostly at middle and upper management level, to scrutinize the way they do what they do and consider whether they still need to be doing what they do. So their *7.04 model that lasts for a whole year, we had 4 middle managers; one from an investment (no, upper managers) one from an investment bank; one from [Prudential]; one from [BT] and an independent consultant. And the Chair and I met with them once a month for a morning or an afternoon, and went through this process that they have evolved that helped us look at our governance, our staff management, our delivery models, our finance, the whole kit and caboodle, and consider whether what we were doing was the right thing for us and what changes needed to be made.

We were mostly getting grants, contracts, service level agreements, you know, and ...

I1 ... What, Local Authority type?

P19 From central Government, Local Authority, Trusts and Foundations, quite a lot of money from the Lottery actually; we have been very successful with the Lottery and that's got to come to an end soon, and they're going to say "Enough [********] you've had every category of money we can give out! Go away!" But I think that, yeah, so very, very little in terms of generated income, if anything at all, but very minimal fundraising stuff; there's actually more PR than income generating.

- And what's been the biggest difference between those days and these days in terms of your decision making?
- P19 I don't think we are far enough along the enterprise line to have seen any of those significant changes yet. But my ambition is that rather than delivering services that a bureaucrat, either at national or local level decides is the right thing, that because we know our community, we can say "Actually what you guys really we really need to be doing here is and doing it as a result of local intelligence, rather than national guidance."

I mean particularly at the moment, we are more and more focusing on youth unemployment, because we know that that's the issue around here. But we don't really want to be delivering in the style of the ESF Fund for instance. It's not -. I don't want to start using young people in a sausage factory type way. They becoming a unit number rather than an individual, and so I think that the ambition is that we can do it the way that we think works, rather than some bureaucrat.

Far too many! I think it's because of ********* policy at the time around decentralising stuff, there were 2 or 3 kinds of networks. There was the new organization's *20.21 path that were just starting, and there was this mutual support, and a lot of it.

They were also developing neighbourhood forums at the time, so we had the ******** Neighbourhood Forum, all of whom had budgets and pocket money and because we were right on the borderline between ******** this side and ******* that side, with the ******* - and a point over that because that's were the meetings used to be - *20.48. And we had the ******* Neigbourhood Forum. So I was straddling both. I was attending both, so there was lots of -. Because they had money.

So I did tend to spend most evenings -. Days delivereing and evenings on networking of events and opportunities. No networking at all with businesses at all; now probably networking with businesses are more than norm, working with other communities *21.22 ...

- 11 ... Would you say that that's what's been the most changed now really?
- P19 Yeah, yeah, building credibility and certainly CSR stuff. There are some huge national companies right on our doorstep. We've got [Viacom], which are literally the next road along who run NTV and Nickelodeon TV, so they've got 800 staff; we've got the international press across the way there, which is I think they are second only (or they may even be equal) to Reuters. I understand we've got Getty Images who are just -.

There are some significant businesses, and I have spent a lot of time over the last year just knocking on doors and finding out the right people to be talking to in there, in order to develop partnerships with them on lots of levels. First of all, there are team building days that are delivered on our site which helps maintain the site, but also to get real opportunities for work placements and experience for the young people that we work with, and to get motivational speakers from there to come and talk to the kids. If you wanted to have a career in the music industry, there's a good living to be made without ever singing a song or making a record, you know. And to help them look at if that's where their interest lay.

We've got a couple of really big advertising companies (I still call them CBS) but they are media exterior -. No they're not. They're exterior – the ones that do the advertising all over the public transport systems and everything. So we've kind of got contacts in the music industry and the advertising industry; in the PR and marketing industry; events management, so we've got a lot

of opportunities, most of which now are through businesses rather than through the funding bodies, which is a significant change.

I would probably select my Boards differently. I do feel that it has been ["******'s Board"] rather than going out and seeking people with the right skillsets. And it's always been local residents, which has been important, but rather than the only qualification you need to be on the Board was a local resident; they give a shit about what goes on you know!

P19 Yeah. And now we are scrutinizing potential new Board members in a very different way. It's much more "This is the skills we need, and we will go find the people," rather than just a willing victim stepping forward.

And I suppose we are in the position to be able to achieve that now, because we've got a full contingency board. We've got 12 people that turn up pretty well every single time. And we've got the local politicians who turn up when they can. But I do think that we've got some people on the Board that probably should be retiring you know, and we need to encourage them to time for them to go and put your feet up somewhere.

But I think that the changed management probably will help them come to their decision!

Maybe the pilot light stuff is probably -. And they are from outside of our industry entirely; they are all -. And maybe that in itself has been a better learning curve for me, because I think when you've done a job for 30 years, you kind of not quite get a bit – almost do things by rote or just carry on doing it the way – but what makes thing in that particular circle did, it made me look at the work in a slightly different facet; you know, you just saw things in a different way.

And there was one of the pilot lighters who just quietly used to sit at the meetings, and we've had this conversation, it would be the four of them, the two of us and the facilitator from Pilot Light. And he'd just sit there quite clearly absorbing everything, and kind of actively silent, and then would ask a very simple question and you think, 'Shit, why didn't I think of it like that' and your question will be more pertinent.

And as luck would have it now, he's about to take early retirement, and he wants to come and get more involved with [*********]. Because his specialism was HR and pensions, he's helping us take us through the process for auto enrolment in August, and he's already been really, really helpful, because I mean it's his specialism as well. And because of the engagement with ***** the Chair and I over a year, he kind of understands [*********] probably in a way that few other people (even on the Board) understand it, 'cos he's scrutinized it under a microscope with us, so yeah. So he's a real asset.

Code 3

Label	Emergent Interplay
Definition	The emergent interplay between structures and agents that enable strategic decision to be determined.

Description

When a SE makes a strategic decision that is resisting or maintaining dominant practices of agency structures that are not in the interest of the social purpose.

Funding from the Local Authority was cut 2 ½ years ago, so no after-school provision. Under 5's in the morning, youth in the evening, older people throughout the day is the order, with a lot of work with older people, probably the most is the work we do. We work with about 700 older people and deliver this huge menu of activities.

The work we do with younger people more recently is starting to focus on employability, because youth unemployment is a huge issue in this area. So the target group are the same, but how we are delivering has changed quite significantly.

P19 I don't think we had that form -. I think the most recent changes that have led to our focusing more on enterprise than social purpose -. First of all social purpose we do and do well. And to some degree it's about keeping the plates spinning, and it's about funding that is the issue. So whilst grants were free and full, we didn't have to worry about enterprise; we were very successful in terms of fundraising. Probably had a 70% - 80% positive funding turnaround, so we didn't really have to worry about money.

From 2008 when the whole kind of austerity banking explosion occurred, we had to really start looking at how we were funding what we were delivering, and then started looking at our assets and how we might capitalise on those. Lots of tension at Board level mostly around how we ensured that any enterprise we developed wouldn't compromise our charitable purpose and our delivery model, because that's the purpose of doing so.

And I do feel that as a consequence there was a huge learning curve. These things are never a smooth as we would like to think that they could be, but that people bought in to the remodelling and understand the rationale for it. And I think they feel more engaged in the democracy than they did before; before it was just they report to me and I report to them, and ne'er the twain shall meet. But now, because the project lead will sit on the sub committee, they've got a relationship with Board members as well, so it's about keeping the things all stirred up.

So it's been an interesting couple of years, getting to the point where I think that's working, and now it's time to look at enterprise and to set that up, because it's my time up to start developing that.

Initially we appointed a Business Development Manager, which was an appalling mistake. He was quite clearly and probably quite correctly, focusing just on generating an income and it didn't really matter if we had to relocate an older people's project, or inappropriate groups were mixing in the buildings at times. You've got the youth project in and a random bunch of people walking through there, just think *13.34. So he was let go, and I picked up the slack on that. So now we will purchase the time of a consultant to develop something in particular if we want to, and then explore it in minute detail and decide whether to develop it or not. The sports pitch being the first one, and that's coming together now; that's settling down.

We've got an enterprise opportunity to do with the development across the road which I am working on at the moment around catering for the construction workers, of which there's going to be about 300 a day, so that should be a really good opportunity.

Code 4

Label	Primary Agent
Definition	The primary agent is the default position of a social agent, their social context and is predetermined by such factors as parentage and demographic factors, like age and gender and so happens without choice. They are then grouped through a perceived notion of a collective common interest and regrouped according to their contribution to reproducing or changing societies structures.
Description	Primary agent will be identified by a persons social context, where people were born, their childhood and who they have been placed collectively together with such as the school they attended.

Yeah. Quite boring really I suppose. I am Irish born. I still carry my Irish passport, although I've lived here for 57 years; it's just -. Brought over from Ireland in the '50's as part of the whole recruitment to rebuild England after the war, I guess. And grew up in Shepherds Bush, and clearly remember the struggle that my family had, and neighbours had around the whole finding accommodation, finding work and you often hear about no blacks, no Irish, no dogs, that kind of tension.

So grew up in that kind of enclave of recent immigration both from the Carribbean and from Ireland.

I went to secondary technical school (I think it was one of the last Technical schools around) and specialised in catering and my original career was doing catering and hotel management. And had my kids, and got involved in the voluntary sector through campaigning for the needs of children under 5; there was no under 5 play or anything like that.

So helped by a local and a *41.46 and as the kids went through school developed campaigning around after school club provisions and all that kind of stuff. And then saw this job at [********] advertised -.No, I went to work in the first community nursery in [******] and it was quite a new model called [Maxilla] that was just off the edges of [********* market, that area] a complete cultural hotch potch there as well. Moved from working with under 5's through to working in a settlement [*********] working with older people. And then saw this job advertised, applied for it and got this; and that straddled both my experience with children and young people and older people, so I could see why they appointment me. I know it was a pretty scary process – the interview itself was pretty scary basically. But settled down here with the intention of finding a premises to deliver the project from.

Code 5

Label	Social Actor

Definition The social actor is the person that one chooses to become. The choices made are highly influenced by the type of primary agent they originate from because this is a major factor in determining the role in society that is available to a person, their opportunities.

Description

The life of a social actor will be identified by; their understanding of their role in society; the opportunities and choices they have made; their social skills and their knowledge.

Oooh! ... What an interesting question! I don't know. Because it changes anyway, it ebbs and flows, I can remember being – somebody that I don't even like any more! – being hugely influenced by Ken Livingstone back in the kind of GLC days.

And somebody that I never liked at the time either, very much, a South London politician called Bernie Grant. And I think ...

I1 ... The Union man?

P19 Yeah. And it's much more about -. I think people influence me in how not to do things rather than how to do them, 'cos if somebody like Maggie Thatcher, who brought back the death sentence! But you know, you say "Oh god, that's not the way you do it," and in fact then as a consequence of that kind of honing my own thinking in a positive way.

But I think I've stayed because there's always just one more *43.10 -. Most community centres are kind of building constrained and dictated by their structures. But we've got 4 acres of open space here, and 2 or 3 buildings now. There's always one more new something to do; so it feels a bit like a phoenix from the ashes occasionally. And I've got one more new *43.37 to do and then I can go. We've got a void railway arch across the way that I want to develop as a community centre and change this building into a nursery; and then we'll be generating enough income for me to be able to go.

And I think [********] itself will be sustainable then. And I pity the poor bugger that takes over, but I will have done all I can to make it secure.

Ambitious, adventurous and angry. God it's 3 A's isn't it? Yeah. I think I've always been angry, in a positive way if you understand what I mean. I would get angry with injustice; I'd get angry with lack of opportunity and lack of ambition; you know I just -. Somebody's got to do something about that, and *44.45 it will be me! (laughs)

I don't think they've changed that significantly actually. I keep my private and professional life separate; I always have. There are a couple of privileged few that are allowed to straddle both; but I hadn't thought of that before, but they are very separate. And for the most part I've still got the same friends as I had then. There are a couple of ex-members of staff that are no longer associated with here and have gone over to the other side, and become friends. But I still try to keep them as much apart as I can.

There is one issue that prevents me doing that at times, in that my daughter worked her and has worked here for 13 years now. She's our Operations Manager now (she's filled lots of roles). She's kind of worked her way up. And she can be the one that will blur the boundaries sometimes at home. Over dinner she'll start -. Everybody goes "She's off" you know. So I think

my boundaries are more solid than hers, and I will say "We'll do work stuff at work time if you don't mind."

So I don't think it's made that -. It's made (Obviously I think) this role inevitably does with everybody. I don't know whether it's made me more political or whether I was political anyway, and that's why I got into the field, it's not either which way. So I can do my ranting at times with great *46.46 my friends. Particularly these days when I think more people are angry with the powers that be, and will have a good rant about this politician or that one.

- P19 There's one huge event actually. And I've got the CD of it here someplace. There was a programme on the TV back in -. God it must have been in the '60's or the '70's called *Brown eyes blue eyes*.
- I1 Yeah, yeah.
- P19 And I think if anything ever made me see -. That and a combination of that as being Irish immigrant, that the injustice of man's inhumanity to man on very superficial levels, I think is probably the thing that motivated me at the beginning; and I think probably still is to this day actually.

But now I've found myself, recently, and I think it's just about changed management, almost getting angry with the wrong people. You know, just saying "For gods sake, if you don't know by now that what we are doing is for the greater good, what else do we do? Where do we demonstrate actually that what we are trying to do is make sure that those that have less opportunities than others, often more than you.

F.3 Partcipant 19 Coding

P19 | << story | 1986! (laughs) Yes! 30 years ago next January 1st. And ******** effectively didn't exist. | story >> | << societies structures | << community | << collective | << Beneficaries | [Local] Council had a decentralisation policy whereby they should at that time – they wanted to have a community centre within pram pushing distance of every resident that there was; quite a mini explosion of community centres. Local residents from this area lobbied the local authority for a community centre; got some officer support for a while, and they helped with the recruitment process, and for good or real they ended up with me. Delivering from a desk in another called organization the road [Interchange] up societies structures >> | community >> | collective >> | Beneficaries >> | but run by a quite famous in his day entrepreneur called [Ed Bowman].

|<< learning|| learnt a lot through that process. My first task was to find a building and to develop a community centre on the site of our other building. There was a derelict warehouse, which everybody refers to as "********" and that name stuck with it for the community association, delivered from the ******** Warehouse. ******'s featured a lot in this area, and apparently it's to do with the canals, 'cos on water you can move ****** more easily. || learning >>|

|<< opportunity|<< resources|<< Consent|And eventually, over the course of years, we got braver and we took over this site first and built this building in '88, and then took over the other site. The whole site itself was a bomb hit in the war, so they kind of tarmacked over the top of it, and the basements aren't properly backfilled or anything, so everything you build in here has significant piling to make sure it doesn't sink into an abandoned basement subterraneanly!|opportunity >>|resources >>|Consent >>|

|<< deliberate strategy|So it's been an interesting journey of reclaiming the tarmac and turning it green in the first place. Once it became green, our ambition there was to kind of pretty it up and make it more of a park then just a grassland area. So we are moving on that at the moment.

2.53|deliberate strategy >>|

I1 When you think back to the beginning, what do you think the aspiration of the organization was?

P19 | << Services | I don't think it's changed that much to be honest. Very much a social engagement tool; it was the lobbying campaign *3.10 on the grounds there was nothing for older people and younger people to do, so our work was focused very much on services for pre-school and after-school hours. | Services >> | | << campaining | << Services | Pre-school age group, then after-school provision for children; evening provision for youth, and anything at all we could think of doing with older people; which started back in the '80's mostly around you know, bingo and knit and natter, and has evolved quite a lot since then. A huge amount of work done with older people now. | campaining >> | Services >> |

|<< funding | Funding from the Local Authority was cut 2 ½ years ago, so no after-school provision.

Under 5's in the morning, youth in the evening, older people throughout the day is the order, with a lot of work with older people, probably the most is the work we do. We work with about 700 older people and deliver this huge menu of activities. | funding >> |

|<< opportunity|<< funding|<< enterprise|<< campaining|The work we do with younger people more recently is starting to focus on employability, because youth unemployment is a huge issue in this area. So the target group are the same, but how we are delivering has changed quite significantly.

4.44|opportunity >>|funding >>|enterprise >>|campaining >>|

I1 When you began in the venture *4.49 took on at first, did it have a strategy do you think at all?

P19 | << funding | << enterprise | I don't think we had that form -. I think the most recent changes that have led to our focusing more on enterprise than social purpose -. First of all social purpose we do and do well. And to some degree it's about keeping the plates spinning, and it's about funding that is the issue. So whilst grants were free and full, we didn't have to worry about enterprise; we were very successful in terms of fundraising. Probably had a 70% - 80% positive funding turnaround, so we didn't really have to worry about money. | funding >> | enterprise >> |

|<< enterprise|<< consequence|<< coping mechansims|From 2008 when the whole kind of austerity banking explosion occurred, we had to really start looking at how we were funding what we were delivering, and then started looking at our assets and how we might capitalise on those.</p>
Lots of tension at Board level mostly around how we ensured that any enterprise we developed

wouldn't compromise our charitable purpose and our delivery model, because that's the purpose of doing so.|enterprise >>|consequence >>|coping mechansims >>|

So I approached an organizations called [*******]. You've heard of [********]?

P19 | << External Support | It's a national charity and their primary purpose is to help smaller charities to become sustainable. And they then match the charities with businesses, mostly at middle and upper management level, to scrutinize the way they do what they do and consider whether they still need to be doing what they do. So their *7.04 model that lasts for a whole year, we had 4 middle managers; one from an investment (no, upper managers) one from an investment bank; one from [Prudential]; one from [BT] and an independent consultant. And the Chair and I met with them once a month for a morning or an afternoon, and went through this process that they have evolved that helped us look at our governance, our staff management, our delivery models, our finance, the whole kit and caboodle, and consider whether what we were doing was the right thing for us and what changes needed to be made. | External Support >>> |

|<< consequence |<< education |<< capacity building |<< governance | As a consequence of that,</pre> we were really fortunate that our Chair was able to attend practically all (I think he missed 2), looked really bought into the whole strategy. And we then how building >> education >> capacity

The other thing that's key was looking at my succession planning, because I have been here 30 years, and I am going to go in the next couple, and it was about how [*********] survives that transition, not because I'm going, but because whoever comes in will just do things differently; and there always is when somebody long serving leaves.

|<< governance|<< professional|So we looked at how we got the Board to take more responsibility that it didn't turn up at the Board meeting with a 2 hour lecture from me to them, half way through which they have all fallen asleep anyway. So it was about them clearly understanding the dynamics and taking more responsibility. | governance >> | professional >> |

| << management | We looked at staff, at staff management and the reality of me trying to directly manage 23 people, and not doing it very well, any of it. And our finances and how they were being presented, so that the Board could not ever say that they didn't understand what the</p>

financial implications of anything were. management >>

|<< skills|<< leadership|So we created two triangles effectively. Instead of having just the Board, we created half a dozen sub-committees, and had a Board member chairing each one of those; so we had Finance, Policy, HR, Site, (It will come back to me in a minute). And the Board meet, has always met bi-monthly, but the sub-committee meets in the intervening month.|skills >>|leadership >>|

|<< democracy|<< deliberate strategy|And the Board meetings these days tend to be the Chairs of the sub-committees reporting to the full Board, so that there's a much more democratically distributed decision making process. And it's much better these days. I will do my director's report and focus on stuff that is not happening in any one of those sub-committees, so that it's not a 2 hour lecture; if they can get away with it, depending on how verbose she's feeling in the 15-20 minutes.</p>

|democracy >>|deliberate strategy >>|

And we restructured the staff in that we had each project had a member of staff lead, and each project manager for simplicity and *11.40 something slightly different from the project leads, were line managed by an Operations Manager. And I then line managed the Operations Manager, the Finance Manager, Fundraising Officer, and the environment officer, so that there is this kind of tiered approach.

And I do feel that as a consequence there was a huge learning curve. These things are never a smooth as we would like to think that they could be, but that people bought in to the remodelling and understand the rationale for it. And I think they feel more engaged in the democracy than they did before; before it was just they report to me and I report to them, and ne'er the twain shall meet. But now, because the project lead will sit on the sub committee, they've got a relationship with Board members as well, so it's about keeping the things all stirred up.

So it's been an interesting couple of years, getting to the point where I think that's working, and now it's time to look at enterprise and to set that up, because it's my time up to start developing that.

12.59

|<< External Support|Initially we appointed a Business Development Manager, which was an appalling mistake. He was quite clearly and probably quite correctly, focusing just on generating an income and it didn't really matter if we had to relocate an older people's project, or inappropriate groups were mixing in the buildings at times. You've got the youth project in and a random bunch of people walking through there, just think *13.34. So he was let go, and I picked up the slack on that. So now we will purchase the time of a consultant to develop something in particular if we want to, and then explore it in minute detail and decide whether to develop it or not. | External Support >> | The sports pitch being the first one, and that's coming together now; that's

| << enterprise | We've got an enterprise opportunity to do with the development across the road which I am working on at the moment around catering for the construction workers, of which there's going to be about 300 a day, so that should be a really good opportunity. 14.20 | enterprise | >> | | << deliberate strategy | << knowledge | And the next one that's coming over the hill is childcare

|<< deliberate strategy|<< knowledge|And the next one that's coming over the hill is childcare package that I think we are going to start using this building for. So I think by the time we've got those 3 businesses settled down, it will probably take about 2-3 years, and I can go like that, 'cos I'll know that we will be generating enough income to fund the core of the organization. I don't think we are ever going to get to the point where we will be able to fully fund services that we deliver, but I think it will make our bidding process more competitive. Uni price *14.59 all of that stuff, you know, so yeah.|deliberate strategy >>|knowledge >>|

I1 In terms of you saying that most of the change happening in 2008, the austerity kicked in; what was happening before then?

P19 We were mostly getting grants, contracts, service level agreements, you know, and ...

I1 ... What, Local Authority type?

P19 | << funding | << network | From central Government, Local Authority, Trusts and Foundations, quite a lot of money from the Lottery actually; we have been very successful with the Lottery and

that's got to come to an end soon, and they're going to say "Enough [******] you've had every category of money we can give out! Go away!" But I think that, yeah, so very, very little in terms of generated income, if anything at all, but very minimal fundraising stuff; there's actually more PR than income generating. | funding >> | network >> |

I1 And what's been the biggest difference between those days and these days in terms of your decision making?

P19 I don't think we are far enough along the enterprise line to have seen any of those significant changes yet. |<< funding|<< Decision|<< dominant|<< emancipation|<< evidence|But my ambition is that rather than delivering services that a bureaucrat, either at national or local level decides is the right thing, that because we know our community, we can say "Actually what you guys really – we really need to be doing here is – and doing it as a result of local intelligence, rather than national guidance." | funding >> | Decision >> | dominant >> | emancipation >> | evidence >> |

|<< Independence|<< Secondary Agency|I mean particularly at the moment, we are more and more focusing on youth unemployment, because we know that that's the issue around here. But we don't really want to be delivering in the style of the ESF Fund for instance. It's not -. I don't want to start using young people in a sausage factory type way. They becoming a unit number rather than an individual, and so I think that the ambition is that we can do it the way that we think works, rather than some bureaucrat. | Independence >> | Secondary Agency >> |

I1 Can you think of anything, or just remember a previous incident when you were establishing, when you first went out to establish the venture, like a story that stood out for you; something in your first years as it were.

P19 What when we started [********] itself as an organization?

I1 Yes, as an organization. *17.50 those kind of funding dominated *17.52...

P19 Mmm, Mmm. Nothing huge. But I think the issue was much more around -. And its fine because it's becoming recognised these days, around loneliness and isolation. And although predominantly with older people, not necessarily only with older people, young mums are also a very isolated group. They have often been part of a social network that just disappears when they become parents, or they are too bloody tired engage and keep up. to

|<< relationships|<< network|<< friendship|So I think the first roots we did were around organising opportunities for people to meet and mingle. And I remember really, really enjoying the first -. And it was very de rigueur in the '80's around reminiscence, and people just gathering to -. And it's coming back actually, there seems to be more fund – they are calling it different stuff, but it's ...|relationships >>|network >>|friendship >>|

11 ... *19.04

P19 Yeah, yeah. But some of those stories were real fun, and I really enjoyed listening to them. Because what they did was create the history of the site itself. We would sit with [Max] and they'd remember when these were streets across here rather than a tarmac surface at the time.

So there's not anything huge that stands out at all; it's always been much more subtle than that. There's individual case studies it could bring out and name, but nothing huge, other than the sense of relief that there were something to do other than go to the pub, which is kind of almost entirely -. Pub or church around in ******** they pretended to think.

I1 If you think back to that, what were the professional networks that you *20.02 at the time?

P19 | << investment | << resources | << network | Far too many! I think it's because of [********] policy at the time around decentralising stuff, there were 2 or 3 kinds of networks. There was the new organization's *20.21 path that were just starting, and there was this mutual support, and a lot of it.

They were also developing neighbourhood forums at the time, so we had the [*******] Neighbourhood Forum, all of whom had budgets and pocket money and because we were right on the borderline between [this side and that side, with the [********] - and a point over that because that's were the meetings used to be - *20.48. And we had the [*******] Neigbourhood Forum. So I was straddling both. I was attending both, so there was lots of -. Because they had money.|investment >>|resources >>|network >>|

|<< network |<< societies structures |So I did tend to spend most evenings -. Days delivereing and evenings on networking of events and opportunities. No networking at all with businesses at all; now probably networking with businesses are more than norm, working with other communities *21.22 ... |network >> |societies structures >> |

I1 ... Would you say that that's what's been the most changed now really?

P19|<< legitimacy| Yeah, yeah, building credibility and certainly CSR stuff. There are some huge national companies right on our doorstep. We've got [********], which are literally the next road along who run NTV and Nickelodeon TV, so they've got 800 staff; we've got the international press across the way there, which is I think they are second only (or they may even be equal) to Reuters. I understand we've got Getty Images who are just -. | legitimacy >> |

If We are just going on to the second section, which is really decision making, (we've talked about a little bit already), and you talked about how your strategy 23.49. Do you want to add anything to that in terms of the way you structure things?

I1 So if you could change something previous in terms of strategy, that's one aspect 24.34 earlier, is there anything else that you would change from previous -?

P19 < skills < knowledge < governance | I would probably select my Boards differently. I do feel that it has been [******* Board"] rather than going out and seeking people with the right skill sets. And it's always been local residents, which has been important, but rather than the only qualification you need to be on the Board was a local resident; they give a shit about what goes on you know! | skills >> | knowledge >> | governance >> |

l1 *25.02

P19 < skills < professional | Yeah. And now we are scrutinizing potential new Board members in a very different way. It's much more "This is the skills we need, and we will go find the people," rather than just a willing victim stepping forward. | skills >> | professional >> |

And I suppose we are in the position to be able to achieve that now, because we've got a full contingency board. We've got 12 people that turn up pretty well every single time. |<< politics|And we've got the local politicians who turn up when they can. But I do think that we've got some people on the Board that probably should be retiring you know, and we need to encourage them to -time for them to go and put your feet up somewhere. | politics

But I think that the changed management probably will help them come to their decision!

I1 Yes. So what would you say who has most influenced your strategy from outside the organization?

P19 Oooh! ... What an interesting question! I don't know. Because it changes anyway, it ebbs and flows, I can remember being – somebody that I don't even like any more! –| << politics | being hugely influenced by Ken Livingstone back in the kind of GLC days. | politics >> |

And somebody that I never liked at the time either, very much, | << politics | << collective | a South London called politician Bernie Grant. And think politics >> | collective >>| 11 The Union man? ...

P19 Yeah. And it's much more about -. I think people influence me in how not to do things rather than how to do them, 'cos if somebody like Maggie Thatcher, who brought back the death sentence! But you know, you say "Oh god, that's not the way you do it," and in fact then as a consequence of that kind of honing my own thinking in a positive way.

|<< network|<< relationships|There was a group of other community centre organizers, a guy
called *******, a guy called ******** and myself, we did a lot of tri-partite work. One was in
[*******] one was in [*******] and we worked with some Council offices from the then
Culture & Environment, and did some really good work. And being part of those conversations
was really, really good for me, and [*********]. |network >> |relationships >> |

| << network | << External Support | << debate | But I think probably the thing that -. And it's not any individual within it, I don't think, but being part of the National Board for BASAC really influenced my work a lot. We had some really interesting conversations from a very diverse group of community centres across the country. So it gives you an opportunity to kind of look over the fence and see how things are happening elsewhere.

I1 Maybe from the point of view, did you receive – 'cos sometimes it's indirect like you say – but did you receive any direct advice and support where you had someone come in and they're learning something directly *30.12. Did you encounter that at all? You mentioned some stuff recently.

P19 Maybe the pilot light stuff is probably -. And they are from outside of our industry entirely; they are all -. And maybe that in itself has been a better learning curve for me, because I think when you've done a job for 30 years, you kind of not quite get a bit – almost do things by rote or just carry on doing it the way – but what makes thing in that particular circle did, it made me look at the work in a slightly different facet; you know, you just saw things in a different way.

And there was one of the pilot lighters who just quietly used to sit at the meetings, and we've had this conversation, it would be the four of them, the two of us and the facilitator from *******t. And he'd just sit there quite clearly absorbing everything, and kind of actively silent, and then

would ask a very simple question and you think, 'Shit, why didn't I think of it like that' and your will be more pertinent. question |<< skills | << social HR << skills And as luck would have it now, he's about to take early retirement, and he wants to come and get more involved with [*********]. Because his specialism was HR and pensions, he's helping us take us through the process for auto enrolment in August, and he's already been really, really helpful, because I mean it's his specialism as well. And because of the engagement with ***** the Chair and I over a year, he kind of understands [*********] probably in a way that few other people (even on the Board) understand it, 'cos he's scrutinized it under a microscope with us, so yeah. So he's а real asset. social skills >> <u>HR</u> >> skills >> I1 When you were working on strategic *32.12 with the Board and others, can you think of anything that would raise some emotions? strong P19 Oh change itself! Absolutely, change itself is huge for some people, which is why I think we are probably, had I had the time going over it again, I would have started earlier and taken it more slowly. It's just not matter of saying "We have to do this." But then again, until the austerity kicked in, we weren't even aware that we had to do it, because we were very successful, gaining contracts, gaining funds and grants and we were able to carry on. But once that all really do have goes, you to |<< Letting Go | << culture | << power | << politics | I remember one of our Board members who has</pre> been on the Board for probably 20 years, we were doing a session led by somebody from [Locality] around business development. And when the facilitator said "We need to start becoming more business like" Board member was apoplectic in that "But we are a charity! We are not a business!" and just couldn't get the word "Business" out of his head at all. And I remember at the time, we said business like, we need to be more business - he just couldn't get it. "We are a charity". And he has probably taken the longest to come to terms with the fact that by being business like does not mean that we're not losing sight of our charitable purpose. Several others struggled with it, but he was the most vociferous about it. So it's probably the biggest one of Go >> culture >> power >> politics ľve forgotten original question. your 11 Well it's along those lines about raising emotions.

P19 Yeah.

I1 But in many *34.26 this might reflect on the next question, what would you say was the most difficult element of managing [*********].

P19 | << resources | << politics | << Society management | Recently it will be about managing the change. But interestingly enough, there was also a recession in the '80's and I had to keep holding on to the fact that we've been here before; it's not quite as bad, and it's not quite as deep, but we need to remember the lessons that we learnt in the '80's and those really were just tighten your belts and wait for it to pass. That was not an option this time round; I think you accepted that you can't just -. There is no point in just hunkering down and waiting for this storm to go, because even if it does, it's going to take a lot longer; we are talking about probably 15 year recovery from austerity. So at least back in the '80's the sense was we just wait, let's get over the next election and bring the Labour Party in! (laughs) But even if you do that now, that's not going to make a blind bit of difference; it can't be; it's fag paper between them these days as a policy. resources >> politics >> Society management I1 Can you think of anything, a story or incident, that would sum up the kind of stresses and strains of *35.41. you

P19 No, not so much the stresses and strains, but I can about the rewards, interestingly. I mean the stresses and strains are you know, sleepless nights, but the rewards -.

|<< social role|<< social justice|<< social context|<< Beneficaries|And my favour story of recently is we are scattered across several buildings, so we don't always bump into people as much as I would like (and that's probably the biggest stress). I got involved in this *36.12 because I like working with people, and now I pay other people to do the part of the job that I like.

But I was going from this office through to the other office, and there was a little old lady looking at the leaflets and things on this side. And our policy always is to make people feel welcome from the point -. It takes a lot of courage to walk into a building that you don't know. But always say when you see anybody "Hi! Is somebody looking after you?" To this lady I said "Is somebody looking after you?" She went "No, I'm just having a look for something to do." I went "Oh, let's see what we can do to help." She was very obviously quite elderly, so taking her to the older people's project manager was not a question.

So I took her to meet [********] who was running the older people's project at the time, and she spent some time with her, and came to see me afterwards. And apparently, the lady had been nursing her sick husband for seven years in my memory, but certainly a considerable time. And during that time she had lost contact with all of her peers and friends, her family moved right out of the area, and she knew nobody.

Her husband had died a couple of months before, and so now here she was; she knew nobody; she lived in one of the tower blocks across the way, and was just really feeling isolated and lonely. So we got her engaged in (it was called HELPS then which was an acronym for Help Elderly Local People; it's age activities 60+).

Anyway, fast forward about 2 maybe 3 months later, same thing again. Me going from this office to that office, and this little old lady was stood -. I went, "Oh hello! I haven't seen you for ages, how are you?" "Very well." I said "Did they find something for you to do?" She went "You've got no idea!" She put her handbag on the side and she said "Look what I've had to do, just look at this." Gone rummaging through her bag and she's got out a dear little diary (little card covered diary), and she went "I've had to buy myself a diary, 'cos I can't keep up to remember everything to

And that to me is kind of what we are all about; taking people that are hopeless and not just giving them hope, but giving them ambition and a desire to move forward. And she's in and out of this place nearly as often as I am now; she volunteers for the Under 5's; she helps run one of the history groups; you know, that whole bit of just having somewhere just to pop in for -. And it's a pain in the butt sometimes, and you just pop in for a cup of tea, 'cos they don't want to pay the money in cost! (laughs). But that's kind of what our older people's projects. | social role >> | social justice >> | social context >> | Beneficaries >> |

I1 The last section is on your own identity, personal identity really. Could you just tell us a little bit about yourself, where you are from, what school you went to, you know, like a short biograph of

the school.

P19 Yeah. Q|<< social agent|<< social context|uite boring really I suppose. I am Irish born. I still carry my Irish passport, although I've lived here for 57 years; it's just -. Brought over from Ireland in the '50's as part of the whole recruitment to rebuild England after the war, I guess. And grew up in Shepherds Bush, and clearly remember the struggle that my family had, and neighbours had around the whole finding accommodation, finding work and you often hear about no blacks, no Irish, no dogs, that kind of tension.

So grew up in that kind of enclave of recent immigration both from the Carribbean and from Ireland.

|social agent >>|social context >>|
|<< social justice|<< campaining|I went to secondary technical school (I think it was one of the last Technical schools around) and specialised in catering and my original career was doing catering and hotel management. And had my kids, and got involved in the voluntary sector through campaigning for the needs of children under 5; there was no under 5 play or anything like that.|social justice >>|campaining >>|

|<< empowerment|<< family|So helped by a local and a *41.46 and as the kids went through
school developed campaigning around after school club provisions and all that kind of stuff. And
then saw this job at [*********] advertised -.|empowerment >>|family >>|

|<< social agent|<< social status|<< socially mixed|No, I went to work in the first community nursery in [Notting Hill] and it was quite a new model called [Maxilla] that was just off the edges of [Ladbrook Road/Portabello market, that area] a complete cultural hotch potch there as well. Moved from working with under 5's through to working in a settlement [Bishop Crighton *42.30 House] working with older people. And then saw this job advertised, applied for it and got this; and that straddled both my experience with children and young people and older people, so I could see why they appointment me. I know it was a pretty scary process – the interview itself was pretty scary basically. But settled down here with the intention of finding a premises to deliver the project from.|social agent >>|social status >>|socially mixed >>|

|<< social role|<< resources|<< Letting Go|But I think I've stayed because there's always just one more *43.10 -. Most community centres are kind of building constrained and dictated by their structures. But we've got 4 acres of open space here, and 2 or 3 buildings now. There's always one more new something to do; so it feels a bit like a phoenix from the ashes occasionally. And

I've got one more new *43.37 to do and then I can go. We've got a void railway arch across the way that I want to develop as a community centre and change this building into a nursery; and then we'll be generating enough income for me to be able to go.

And I think [**********] itself will be sustainable then. And I pity the poor bugger that takes ١ over, but will have done all can to make it secure. >> resources >> Letting I1 So how would you describe yourself when you first became involved? You'd come from *44.10

P19 | << social justice | << social skills | << social status | << values | Ambitious, adventurous and angry. God it's 3 A's isn't it? Yeah. I think I've always been angry, in a positive way if you understand what I mean. I would get angry with injustice; I'd get angry with lack of opportunity and lack of ambition; you know I just -. Somebody's got to do something about that, and *44.45 it will be me! (laughs) | social justice >> | social skills >> | social status >> | values >> |

I1 Could you describe your social network before you became involved?

P19 It just all feels like such a long time ago now. I mean 30 years is a lifetime for some people.

I1 How would you say they've changed do you think?

P19 I don't think they've changed that significantly actually. | << professional | << network | I keep my private and professional life separate; I always have. There are a couple of privileged few that are allowed to straddle both; but I hadn't thought of that before, but they are very separate. And for the most part I've still got the same friends as I had then. There are a couple of ex-members of staff that are no longer associated with here and have gone over to the other side, and become friends. But I still try to keep them as much apart as I can. | professional >> | network >> |

|<< family|<< Biography|There is one issue that prevents me doing that at times, in that my daughter worked her and has worked here for 13 years now. She's our Operations Manager now (she's filled lots of roles). She's kind of worked her way up. And she can be the one that will blur the boundaries sometimes at home. Over dinner she'll start -. Everybody goes "She's off" you know. So I think my boundaries are more solid than hers, and I will say "We'll do work stuff at work time if you don't mind." | family >> | Biography >> |

I1 Is there any kind of event in your life that you think motivated you to take this path?

P19 There's one huge event actually. And I've got the CD of it here someplace. There was a programme on the TV back in -. God it must have been in the '60's or the '70's called Brown eyes blue

I1 Yeah, yeah.

P19 | << social justice | << social change | And I think if anything ever made me see -. That and a combination of that as being Irish immigrant, that the injustice of man's inhumanity to man on very superficial levels, I think is probably the thing that motivated me at the beginning; and I think probably still is to this day actually. | << social agent | << opportunity |

But now I've found myself, recently, and I think it's just about changed management, almost getting angry with the wrong people. You know just saving "For gods sake, if you don't know by

getting angry with the wrong people. You know, just saying "For gods sake, if you don't know by now that what we are doing is for the greater good, what else do we do? Where do we demonstrate actually that what we are trying to do is make sure that those that have less opportunities than others, often more than you.|social justice >>|social change >>|social agent >>|opportunity >>|

I1 Mmm.

P19 < social justice | So yeah, injustice | think and inequality. | social justice >> |

I1 Ok, last one *48.38 is if you were in my position, is there a particular question you would have asked that I have not?

P19 No. I can't -. You've asked a couple that I've not been able to answer, which is interesting, that I was thinking about.

11 You email if thought can always me vou of P19 Yeah. "I've something". 11 if you just thought of P19 No cant. Yeah. Nο can't, can't think of anything at all. I1 Ok, we'll hold it there then.

F.4 Summarising - Participant 19 - - The CEO and Social Enterprise 19

Theme 1 - The Venture

30 years ago this organization effectively didn't exist. The Council had a decentralisation policy whereby they wanted to have a community centre within pram pushing distance of every resident in the borough. This created a mini explosion of community centres and local residents from this area lobbied the local authority for one of their own. They received some council support and this helped them create a recruitment process and this is how Sarah became employed. She begun by delivering from a desk in another organization down the road.

Sarah recalls that at first they organized opportunities for people to meet and mingle. Then with a group of other community centre organizers they did a lot of tri-partite work. She learnt a lot through that process. One major task was to find a building and develop the community centre and this was a derelict warehouse. Over the course of years, they got braver and took over other sites and built this building in '88. They are still a social engagement tool; working for older people and younger people and focused very much on services for pre-school and after-school hours. They have been existing via grants, contracts, service level agreements, for a number of years. Sarah thinks that very little has been the generation of their own income.

Theme 2 - Understanding the decision making in your venture

Sarah would probably select her board differently and not create a Sarah's board but go out and seek people with the right skill sets. It has always been local residents on the board but Sarah feels that can't be the only qualification. Now the organization is scrutinizing potential new

Board members in a very different way. It has been more about the skills we need and finding the right people. Sarah thinks the austerity changes have led to our focusing more on enterprise than social purpose. They do the social purpose well and whilst grants were free and full, they didn't have to worry about enterprise. From 2008 they had to really start looking at how they were funded. This created a lot of tension at Board level which was mostly around how they ensured that any enterprise wouldn't compromise their charitable purpose. She thinks the organization is now more engaged in the democracy of the community with project leads reporting to sub committees. This has created a relationship with Board members. However, these tensions of business and charitable purpose are never far away. Sarah remembers one of her Board members for probably 20 years. They had a facilitator doing a workshop and she said "We need to start becoming more business like". This Board member was apoplectic in that "But we are a charity! We are not a business!". He just couldn't get the word "Business" out of his head at all.

Theme 3 - Understanding the Social Actors

Sarah was Irish born and still holds her Irish passport, although she has lived in England for over 50 years. She grew up in London and clearly remembers the struggle that her family had. Especially around finding accommodation where you would often hear about no blacks, no Irish, no dogs. Therefore she grew up in an enclave of recent immigration both from the Caribbean and from Ireland. She went to secondary technical school and specialised in catering and her original career was doing catering and hotel management. Then she had children and got involved in the voluntary sector through campaigning for the needs of children under 5; there was no under 5 play or anything like that locally.

As her children went through school she developed a campaign around after school club provision. When she saw this job advertised to work in a community nursery in a part of London she went for that job. Then she began working with older people and her current job combined both aspects. Sarah is ambitious, adventurous and angry but she has always been angry in a positive way. She would get angry with injustice; she would get angry with lack of opportunity and lack of ambition; she just had to do something about that. Sarah keeps her private and professional life separate. There is one issue that prevents her doing that at times, which is her daughter worked here for 13 years and is her Operations Manager and had worked her way up.

There's one huge event she remembers clearly in the '60's or the '70's called *Brown eyes blue eyes*. Sarah thinks that if anything ever made her see injustice this was the programme and it was probably the combination of being an Irish immigrant, the injustice of man's inhumanity to man on very superficial levels. This is what Sarah probably thinks motivated her at the beginning; and still to this day. But lately she has found herself getting angry with the wrong people. Just saying

Appendix G Biographical Account

Researcher's Reflexive Biographical Account.

The researcher's objective to discover if SE is able to foster social change is complex. Like the research participants interviewed, motivations, networks, opportunity and skills have all played a part. To provide this deeper understanding of how the thesis has been developed, a story will be presented that provides a reflective account, a snapshot, of the researchers' life history and how he sees himself within his current and past roles. The reason for providing this account is to both provide the context of this work, but also as a means of maintaining quality qualitative work.

To support this aim of quality, the reader can become acquainted with the researcher's identity and voice, which can further enhance the authenticity of the research. In effect the aim is for me, as the researcher and social enterprise practitioner, to raise issues through my story, whilst questioning my own intuitive understandings. This will result in reflective conversations with my situation (Schon, 1983), and provides an understanding for the reader as to why this research has been pursued.

The following section begins this story by providing reflexive screens of my background and who I am. I explore my social context and the social actor I became. This required an account of my life history which has mirrored the data collection process with research participants. This progressed to providing a short account of my own experiences as a social entrepreneur and the incidents that have shaped my perspective and created the desire to pursue this research.

G.1 The Understanding of the Researcher as a Social entrepreneur - the Early Years

I am a white, English male aged 46, was born in South London and grew up in a working class family. My father fixed cars in a lock-up in Surrey Docks, and my mother kept the books. I lived with my parents and two brothers, one younger and one older. For some reason, I went to school in a different area to where I lived. I travelled from the age of five on a Routemaster bus to get to school. My older brother was always in trouble with school and the police, and I followed suit. I don't know how, but I passed my 11 plus which meant I would be able to go to the local grammar school. Looking back, I felt out of my depth, as it was not a culture that I was accustomed to, and to compound the situation my parents were going through a divorce. On reflection, this time gave me the confidence to be outside of my own cultural norms. One year later, I found myself in Sevenoaks in Kent, living with my dad and my older brother. For some reason, I did not go to

school for a year. For that year I was hanging about with my brother getting involved with drugs and glue sniffing whilst still travelling back to South London.

After a year, I found myself in a different grammar school in Tunbridge Wells. By then I had lost any interest in school, but I did get to meet some new friends and gradually drifted away from my brother. I then had another year of not attending school, due to illness. During this time, my brother had become a substance addict and this became a focal point in our now all-male dysfunctional house. I rarely saw my father, the house remaining empty of most furniture, and gradually life was becoming intolerable as possessions were stolen and sold by my brother, leaving me to live a day-to-day existence. I would wash cars to earn money and had various jobs working in pub kitchens. I left school at 15, having taken a job in Central London, but we moved again and my brother's erratic life prompted me to find somewhere else to live.

This partly motivated me to join the Army at 16, where I served for four years until I was medically discharged. The experiences I gained as a boy soldier, and later in Arctic warfare and other extreme environments provided an inner strength that has remained with me ever since. As you might expect, the skills of self-discipline and survival, and experiencing nature and one's own vulnerability remain to this day. However, the real inner strength I gained from my time in the services was an ability to be who I am. Despite 12 months' basic training as junior leader and then moving on to specialist mobile forces, I never succumbed to the army way. This was clearly both a blessing and a burden. I never really fitted in with the culture, and so would be on a charge regularly, but equally I was able to turn the situation to my advantage. I learnt how the system worked and gained personally by using such a rigid system. This did put me in a good position when eventually my regiment moved me to another - not a usual occurrence. This ability and inner confidence helped me as I adjusted to life outside the services, and later as I progressed into developing social enterprises.

G.1.1 On the Streets of South London

At the age of 20, I found myself back in South London, with no work and living in various digs. By chance, I met a woman from the Women's Royal Voluntary Service, and as I was born in the borough of Greenwich, and possibly due to her connections, she was able to secure a council flat through the Council in Thamesmead. After trying different jobs, and undergoing times of unemployment, I found myself drifting, with no direction. It was at this stage that my life was heading the same way as my brother, who was now living on the streets in central London. I then decided that I wanted something different from life, and that I would become an actor.

This change of direction was not a predicable route, but one I felt I could make work, and, importantly, enjoy. I enrolled on a performing skills class at Goldsmiths College, the reason I gave being that I have managed to talk my way out of so many situations, I was sure I would make a good actor. At the same time, a new course was being developed in East London, and they were looking for people to join. It was funded by the Inner London Education Authority and they had a new theatre school at East London College. I auditioned and was accepted. The course had a mix of people from all over London with different backgrounds, which gave me my first real experience of working with different cultures. Whilst on the course, I did some work experience at the Albany Empire in Deptford. After the work experience, they employed me as a part-time youth arts outreach worker on various South London council estates. My life began to take a new direction.

G.1.2 Arrested

This mixing with community art workers and the courses I was attending began to raise my consciousness about who I was and the world I lived in. I started to see the injustices. This was the time that, like Chloe, I became aware of social injustice. Along with her, I was witnessing social inequality, and just hating it with an absolute passion. The pinnacle of this was on the Poll Tax march when myself and a friend were arrested. He was sentenced to 21 days in HMP Prison Pentonville. I was able to elect for Crown Court as they had accused and charged me as a riot ringleader. This gave me time for an appeal to the High Court to force the release of news footage taken at the time of my arrest. My case never went to court, the footage showed me and my friend dancing with a marching band, when we were attacked by police and dragged away being hit. I remember thinking there must be a better way of changing how society works than just protesting and going to jail. Shortly after this incident, I left the course at Goldsmiths. This was partly prompted when they cast me as a racist and my friend as a criminal, including a swag bag and stripes (he was black). At the end of my course in East London, I was hoping to go on to drama school but was not sure how to pay for it. I then found out that if you did a degree at the same time, your course fees were then paid for.

G.2 What's an Undergraduate?

The course that accepted me was Dartington Art College, and it had been promoted as a community theatre course. I auditioned and got offered a place. This environment was like going to the grammar school - I remember thinking at the time, "what's an undergraduate?" However, I was confident in who I was, and in my own abilities and managed the transition reasonably well. The course changed in the first year and became a combination of live arts and experimental

theatre, not much community. Despite this change, I became more intent in working in communities using the arts and theatre techniques as a means for social action. This desire led me to become involved in 'Theatre of The Oppressed' (Boal, 1974), an approach to theatre that challenged hegemony. This was where I first started to see the world differently through the concept of hegemony. I worked with one of the founders, Augusto Boal, adapting techniques for wider community use. This understanding of theatre was influenced by Friere's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (1972b).

My final performance for my degree involved a large forum theatre event, part of the repertoire of 'Theatre of the Oppressed' with live music and a bar. Unusually, this final piece only involved a few students, the main actors being people from the local community who I had recruited and trained. The performance was well received by the local community and my examiners. I was approached by some of the local people used in the performance and other practitioners to do more of this theatre work. It was at this stage that my first SE was created. I did not know it was a SE at the time. The first contract was with Gingerbread, and we worked with a small group of single parents. Headbangers Theatre Company still exists today, and the current director told me recently that they are still using some scripts and techniques I developed 20 years ago - chuffed!

G.2.1 Moving On

After three years as artistic director of the theatre company, I began to seek new opportunities. Prompted by a combination of financial constraints and an opportunity to be trained as a Careers Guidance Advisor, I sadly resigned from the company and started to work for the now privatised careers service. This was a unique job, as they offered to pay for both my postgraduate and vocational training, whilst providing me a salary. Through my training I became skilled in using one-to-one therapeutic techniques, and expanded my ability to work in groups. Within a short while, I was working with the disenfranchised groups in the community. I was involved in special schools, excluded pupils and was eventually seconded to the youth justice team. The experience of trying to support these individuals, and the failure of structures and social actors to change outcomes prompted me to find new solutions. I then left the careers service and studied for a Master's in Business Administration at the University of Plymouth. At the time, I believed this course would provide the mixture of topics that would help me improve my understanding of society and how to run organizations better. After studying for the MBA, I moved to Southampton and found a new job in a deprived community.

G.3 Reflecting back on my Social Enterprise

G.3.1 The Next Ten Years

My role was economic development for an SRB programme, and I would spend the next ten years working in this community. The most striking element of my role when I first started was that the community on the SRB board had no knowledge of employment, enterprise or the barriers that stopped local people improving their lives. The focus of SRB projects at the time was, as Stephen found, council-led projects for the council: "One or two little things, but actually very corrupt. It was basically run by the council for the council" (Stephen). The first set of projects I put forward to the SRB Board ended with every one of them being rejected. I felt very deflated at the time, and thought maybe I was wrong, and that employment or skills were not in the community interest. However, rather than give up, I set about delivering a series of workshops about enterprise and employment, and brought examples of the social impact that a secure job can have. These workshops progressed, and the board started to provide their own ideas about how to solve some of these problems. Projects started to be accepted by the board but, notably, opposition to projects by agency representatives started to increase.

G.3.2 The Exit Strategy

The SRB programme was nearing its end, and the council were seeking an exit strategy - in effect a legacy body. Time was tight to persuade the council and RDA that the community could have their own vehicle for regeneration, and this led me to write a business plan for the successor to SRB. This plan included creating a SE which involved investment into enterprise units that would not only provide employment in the area, but at the same time deliver an income for the SE. With the short time-scales involved, I was appointed as an interim CEO until a recruitment process took place. The business plan for the initial start-up phase was agreed firstly by the local SRB board, and then by the RDA. This amounted to a start-up sum of £250,000 which was to establish the SE. This budget included a sum to develop the plans for enterprise units that would secure a capital investment of £1 million already designated for economic development in the SRB plans.

The initial sum was a lot of money, however a large percentage was ring-fenced to be spent on feasibility studies and had to be spent within set time limits. The SE was registered as a company with a unique shareholder structure. This was before the new Community Interest Company was available. The legal structure allowed for residents within the geographical area of where the SE would serve to become shareholders: one share, one vote; ten shares, and one vote. To protect beneficiaries who did not have a share, a private trust was created that held a golden share, which, if enacted, was always worth one more than the total of ordinary shares. This share could

only be used if shareholders had voted in their own interests and for not the well-being of all beneficiaries. The company was established, the majority of the board being residents with coopted professionals to support. Then, through an open recruitment process, I was appointed as the CEO, later to become managing director due to legal reasons.

G.3.3 Trouble Ahead

As the SE started to progress, it became clear that the political climate was not in favour of this community-led SE. The building that we tried to purchase for enterprise units and a possible mini conference centre was now not available to the SE. Instead the site had been re-designated by the local authority through planning from a D1 Non-residential institution, currently occupied by Adult Social Services, to A1 Shops, B1 Business and B2 General Industrial, without our knowledge, and sold to a developer for a capital receipt. This created a problem for a SE situated in a large housing estate that had limited industrial or community space. This still left £1 million designated for economic development through an exit strategy. Creating a SE now provided our next approach, and this consisted of an environmental business. This plan had the backing and support of accomplished business partners already successful in this market, and the RDA's environmental team.

The decision was no longer allowed to be made by the SRB board, as some members were now directors of the new SE. The decision would be made by a vote held at the council member's chamber by the City Regeneration Body. This was made up of agencies from the voluntary and community sector, council members and statutory agencies, such as the NHS. The vote would be taken on three new projects, an education business partnership, and a youth group, both of these being from outside the city. Their proposals amounted to the combined sum of our one project. One proposal required the refurbishment of a council designated property, and the other a young enterprise project for a much wider area, not just the SRB geographic area. These projects had no local involvement, provided very few jobs or outcomes for local people, and had no sustainability beyond the funding offered. I presented our proposals in the council chamber, as did the other projects. They took a vote on the projects, and the local councillors voted for us, as did a few of the statutory agencies, but we lost because the voluntary and community groups represented on the regeneration board, which outnumbered the others, all voted against our project. Six months later, the plan we had developed with partners was enacted in another part of the UK, and still exists today.

G.3.4 Back to Square One

This left the SE with our original start-up money. However, the majority had been spent on various professionals that surrounded the original enterprise units. What remained of this resource was used to try and sustain local projects inherited from SRB, and create an income generating business. It did require that those remaining in the SE had to have their wages reduced, and I was going to work for no pay. It was at this stage that we separated the only profit-making activity, selling our own branded computers, from the community development projects. The company was created as a shareholder company, with the majority of shares owned by the community company and the remaining shares bought by enthusiastic local investors who believed in our social aims. We raised £7000 and this, combined with existing customers and knowledge gathered previously, launched our new company. The profit activity began with selling computers, but over the years changed, entering different markets with new products, including software development. It was this enterprise that kept the SE alive.

G.3.5 Our Way Forward

The computer SE had developed and was now turning a profit, and before the recession really began to bite, I was able to put limited resources back into the community. By then, the board of directors had become solely those committed to community development, with six out of the seven directors living in the geographical area. Due to lack of resources and a determination to be independent and self-sufficient, our strategy began to change. This was partly driven by the SE's previous experiences with statutory agencies and trying to obtain resources. However, it was also driven by the desire to focus on empowering the community through building residents capacity.

The concept of our capacity work was never to set an agenda, create campaigns or follow any perceived need. The aim was to just listen and support local individuals and groups, so they could achieve their goals, and was not an advocacy role as defined by London (2008, p.313). The role was to empower people so they could have their own voice and learn the skills required for that voice to be heard. This required using our networks and skills to ensure a process of knowledge transfer activities for local residents could be pursued. This transfer was directed by the social changes residents believed were needed. This was not without its challenges - it required our volunteers and directors to engage in a non-outcome based approach, and for some, this was counter-intuitive. Resources would always be limited, and direct funding would not be available for our approach to community development. For funders, there was no guarantee of achieving any outcome, let alone the outcome desired by them. The issues that local residents wanted to

tackle were not glamorous either. There was a major issue with drugs and crime, but all they wanted was a notice board to provide information to others in the community.

G.3.6 Armoured Plating

This, for me, was the most telling part of our strategic success. It revolved around the installation of an armoured plated notice board. It began when local residents approached the SE and asked if we could put a notice board near the shopping parade, so they could notify others of events, and a possible newsletter was proposed. This was not an expensive item and so we obtained a notice board, but for some extra money, we could obtain an armoured plated notice board. We opted for this notice board, as the previous wooden one had been destroyed. The residents suspected that the drug dealers who occupied the adjacent tower block had set it on fire. It had contained numbers to call and report illegal activity to the police. The notice board went up, and we gave the keys to the chair of the residents group. Several months passed and the residents noticed more people stopping to read the posters, and the local PCSO had said that calls to 101 had increased. This increase in activity had not gone unnoticed by the local authority, and they asked if they could put some notices in the armoured plated notice board. The SE informed them that all decisions regarding what was placed in the notice board were decided by the residents group and they held the key. This upset the local authority, and ironically what residents wanted in the first place started to appear elsewhere. Within a few months, new notice boards on all the other tower blocks started appearing.

G.3.7 Spartacus

At the time, the Chair of the residents group, organized by the local authority, needed to step down from their post due to ill health. This required a general meeting to appoint a new chair, but not many people had come forward to the local authority to take on the new role. This provided an opportunity for the local authority to disband the residents group, as they didn't have any Chair. The SE was informed about this situation, and so we approached residents and encouraged them to put themselves forward. They could perform the role, but just needed some encouragement and initial support to gain their confidence. The SE Chair attended the meeting, and he then described what happened. "At the general meeting more people had turned out than ever before. The agency representative from the council announced that the residents group would be disbanded as there was not a Chair available. At that moment one of the residents stood up and said they would be Chair. This in itself felt like a great moment but it did upset the representative from the local authority. She duly noted that a treasurer was still needed for the residents group to function. This was my favourite moment, residents just started standing up

and saying they would be treasurer and one stood up and said they would take the minutes, another Vice Chair, it was like Spartacus".

The residents group has gone from strength to strength, and started a campaign to set speed limits on their roads that were used as rat runs. Through our support, they got in touch with national campaigns and learnt about the issues of slowing down traffic and the arguments for and against. They surveyed local residents and constructed their arguments for and against, acknowledging the downside of slowing traffic. They then lobbied the local councillors and started to make in-roads, (pardon the pun), and they now have a 20mph status in their neighbourhood. Several of those involved in this residents group have now become directors of the SE. The computer enterprise is still providing IT services, and the community have now taken over a building from the local authority and are in the process of developing a youth and community programme.

G.4 Iain the Social Entrepreneur

Having set up and managed a social enterprise I have been referred to, and sometimes called myself a social entrepreneur. This section reflects on this perception of me as a social entrepreneur. According to Dees (1998, p.3) a social entrepreneur's central criterion is to create social impact based on their social mission, and is not wealth creation. Dees conceptualises them as a 'special breed of leaders' (Dees, 1998). They aim to enact change at the community level and distant themselves from power structures (Alvord *et al.*, 2004). However, their leadership requires a reconciliation of creating social value whilst ensuring economic sustainability. This involves a vision that sees a positive social and financial outcome as simultaneously possible (Smith *et al.*, 2012). Their leadership can be characterised as servant, steward, change agent, citizen and visionary (Maak and Stoetter, 2012; Germak and Robinson, 2014), in which they have ambitions for their beneficiaries despite the difficult circumstances. They are a social change agent, transformational leader, show passion, inspire others and build relationships to gain resources from like-minded individuals and groups (London, 2008). Over time, they would need to develop advocacy and communication skills to ensure they gain resources.

This picture of the social entrepreneur reflects both the participants I have met and hopefully some of my approach to the work I do. However, in my reflexive mode I wish to challenge this interpretation: is there another side to the social entrepreneur? I believe that alongside the social entrepreneur qualities outlined, there is the motivation to be an agent provocateur, to manipulate and create desire for social action. This is not as a social change agent who wants to create harmony or resolve an issue, but I believe they want disharmony, they want to break the status quo in communities, which is to challenge both the community and the dominant agency

structures. For me as a social entrepreneur, the social enterprise model gave me an opportunity to undertake this social actor's role. If I reflect back to when I first created Headbangers Theatre Company, the subjects and the mode of delivery had been about standing up and challenging societal structures. Subsequent work was about working with disenfranchised groups so they could become empowered and challenge their and society's role for them.

SE was not about finding an enterprise solution. Is was about providing the resources to enable the real social action to take place without external resources being used to divert the counter-hegemony action. Crucially, what I found is that SE can provide an independent living wage. This was because creating an enterprise whose customers were diverse and outside of the community I served provided a reliable income source. This enabled me to create problems for power, without being beholden. Undertaking this research, developing greater understanding and asking questions of SE has been driven by the desire to understand whether I am alone in this thinking, or if I am something that is unique.

Alternatively, have I been developing SE which has always been a part of the hegemony equation? Critical to this process is that if I had been different or I was replaced, would the community I served have more enterprise units, more employment, and would life have been better for the community? If I had been the responsible leader that is required (Maak and Stoetter, 2012), would life be better for the beneficiaries? I know I have the skills and knowledge to follow a perceived model of the social entrepreneur, but equally I get angry and frustrated. I note often to myself how the work I do fulfils a personal motivation, and I know what I do is unusual. However, I also know that with the right support and training, and a desire to understand the world, many more people can do what I do, given the opportunity.

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