University of Southampton

Faculty of Economic, Social and Political Sciences

Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology

'Different Strokes for Different Folks'- The Construction of Social Enterprise in India

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Abstract

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The discursive construction of the social enterprise phenomenon to an extent has dominantly been accomplished through the western academic literature and policy discourses by embracing a business-management school perspective. Literature also highlights social enterprises as a contextual phenomenon, however there is a dearth of qualitative and region-specific investigation and there is a considerable deficiency of literature critically examining the construction of social enterprises in India. Entrepreneurship research has highlighted the multiplicity and intersectionality of context and re-examines 'all-are-alike' approach which prevents from understanding diverse nature of entrepreneurship (Welter & Gartner, 2016), which involves moving away from compartmentalisation of 'context' and 'individual' to provide a more authentic understanding of entrepreneurial actions (Spedale & Watson, 2014).

Although scholars highlight multiplicity of context in theorising context in entrepreneurship research, however context has been dealt in a simplistic manner 'discrete contexts' (singular variable) having a functionalist role in promoting or constraining entrepreneurship. Thus, theorising context in entrepreneurship needs 'multi-context perspective' using diverse sampling (groups), across multiple sectors (sampling) and conducting contextual research in diverse settings from different disciplines (Welter, 2011). Taking this forward, in a special issue of six papers Chandra and Kerlin (2021) puts back theorising context in social entrepreneurship research and expanding the facets of social entrepreneurship. This special issue offers a typology of contexts in social entrepreneurship research that points out the extant of areas available for further research that can help in theory, practice and policy building.

This qualitative enquiry adopts a social constructivist lens and an inductive theory-building approach to examine social enterprise phenomenon in India. It will use semi-structured interviews involving thematic narrative analysis research design with two groups of participants: (a) paradigm building actors (i.e. Government, social impact investors, incubators and educational institutions) (b) practitioners from three generational cohorts (i.e. SG senior generation, generation X and generation Y).

This thesis adopts a sociological lens towards context operationalised throughout the thesis. This work presents the socio-political and economic background and welfare provision of the country locating the position of social enterprises in the mixed welfare system. By using generational identities of practitioners, it maps the discursive dis/identification with social enterprise discourse/s. Lastly, it draws attention towards the discursive strategies adopted by practitioners to navigate tensions between normative and operational discourses driven by their context.

The thesis contributes to the theory by examining Montgomery's (2016) 'two schools of social innovation paradigm' (technocratic and democratic) in the Indian context and how the paradigm-building actors discursively construct social enterprises against the backdrop of the socio-political, economic context of the subcontinent. Moreover, this research employs Dey and Teasdale's (2013) framework of 'dis/identification' of practitioners in England to map dis/association of Indian practitioners with social enterprise discourse/s, considering similar activities existed in the past coupled with the role of traditional non-profits which played an instrumental role in shaping the social sector. Additionally, it will investigate the discursive strategies of practitioners employing organisational impression management strategies (tactical mimicry) to navigate tensions between normative institutional and operational discourse/s.

By using a multiple theoretical approach this thesis contributes to the context theory, where context has been dominantly dealt with a functionalist/ management school perspective in the literature for instance socio-economic/institutional factors leading to the emergence of social enterprises in a region (Kerlin, 2010,13), therefore this thesis offers a more sociological angle of the role of context which operates in multiple layers in explaining the construction of social enterprises in India. Furthermore, in lines with the works of Parkinson and Howorth (2008), Cohen and Musson (2000) and Dey and Teasdale (2013) that practitioners do not simple absorb discourses rather appropriates, re-interprets and negotiates with them. This work indicates such types of action of practitioners were embedded in their context (generational identity) and their struggle with these discourses depends on their position within society (between the local community and the government).

The findings of this qualitative study suggest that despite the convergence of normative discourse/s between Indian paradigm building actors and the west, leaning to the technocratic paradigm, there was a divergence of discourse/s at regional normative level and at operational level based on generational identity. Additionally, the convergence and divergence indicates the affinity towards neoliberal ideology and this ideology cascades in a local context where political and non-political actors operationalise this normative ideology through their rationality. The findings imply that practitioners align with technocratic/democratic discourses based on their generational identity. Moreover, findings imply that the practitioners' generational identity plays a role in dis/associating with social enterprise discourse. Lastly, the findings offer a classification of discursive strategies (isolation, collaboration and adaptation) that are employed in combination by practitioners across generations to navigate tensions of normative and operational discourses to access organisational legitimacy.

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Definitions and Abbreviations

ASSEFA- Association of Sarva Seva Farms

BASIX- Brand name of Bhartiya Samruddhi Investments and Consulting Services Pvt. Limited.

BEPA- Bureau of European Policy Advisers (European Commission)

BJP- Bharatiya Janta Party

BOP- Bottom of the pyramid

CAPART- Council of Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology

CBOs- Community Based Organisations

CSR- Corporate Social Responsibility

CSWB- Central Social Welfare Board

DDS- Deccan Development Society

DIPP- The Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion

DTI- Department of Trade and Industry

FCRA- Foreign Contribution Regulation Act

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

GEM- Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

GIZ- The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (English: German Corporation for International Co-operation)

IAS Officer- Indian Administrative Service

IM- Impression Management

IIM- Indian Institute of Management

IIT- Indian Institute of Technology

IPA- Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

IRMA- Institute of Rural Management Anand

MSMEs- Medium Small and Micro Enterprises

MYRADA- Mysore Resettlement and Development Agency

NABARD- National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development

NDA- National Democratic Alliance

NITI Aayog- The National Institution for Transforming India, also called NITI Aayog, was formed via a resolution of the Union Cabinet on January 1, 2015.

NGOs-Non-Governmental Organisations

NPOs- Non-Profit Organisations

OBC- Other Backward Classes

OIM- Organisational impression management

OTS- The Office of the Third Sector

PPP- Public Private Partnership

PRADAN- Professional Assistance for Development Action

SCs & STs- Scheduled Caste & Scheduled Tribes

SELCO- Solar Electric Light Company

SEWA- Self-Employed Women's Association

SHG- Self Help Group

SIB- Social Impact Bonds

SKS- Swayam Krishi Sangham

SMEs - Small Medium Enterprises

SSI- Semi-structured Interviews

TAPF- The Akshaya Patra Foundation

TISS- Tata Institute of Social Sciences

PAT- Profit after tax

PRIA- Participatory Research in Asia

UK- United Kingdom

USA- United States of America

VC- Venture Capitalist

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Kasturi Bose

Title of thesis: 'Different Strokes for Different Folks': The Construction of Social Enterprise in India

I 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.

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. None of this work has been published before submission

Signature: Date: August 2021

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the scope of this thesis and its position in the social enterprise literature. This thesis premises on the contextual nature of social enterprises which has been discursively constructed in a region. Henceforth, this will be investigated using a constructivist and an inductive approach drawing from discourses of the social enterprise paradigm-building actors and practitioners in the Indian context.

1.2 Social Enterprises: A growing phenomenon around the globe

The evolution of the social economy in the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of social enterprises, which was distinct from co-operatives, mutual benefit societies, and associations, that comprised the social economy. Most industrialised nations today are experiencing the growth of the 'third sector' (i.e. socio-economic activities that are neither part of the traditional non-profit sector or the public sector). Most of these initiatives are emerging from the voluntary sector operating under different legal structures (Borzaga & Defourney, 2001).

Recent decades witnessed the growth of social entrepreneurship as a global phenomenon in the sphere of social and environmental demands (Nicholls & Opal, 2006; Mair & Martí, 2006). There has been an unexpected growth of social entrepreneurship in the past decade (Bornstein, 2004), as indicated in 2004 Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) report[1] that social 'start-ups' are growing at a faster rate than 'commercial ventures' (Harding & Cowling, 2006).

There are diverse reasons that led to the growth of social enterprises in different parts of the world. Social entrepreneurship in Europe grew due to the support extended by governments and policies of the European Union especially in the UK with the initiation of the Social Enterprise Unit within the Small Business Service in the Department of Trade and Industry (Department of Trade and Industry- DTI 2003). In the USA, private charities and foundations have driven such initiatives. Beyond the north, in Latin America, such organisations run as co-operatives which are closely tied to civil society rather than government or private sector

[1] GEM- Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), a survey report of social entrepreneurship activity in the UK

(Davis et al., 2003). In Eastern European countries, social entrepreneurship exists as hybrid models by merging economic and social values that resulted out of the political transformation from a robust centralised control of the state. On the contrary, in Asian countries, the social organisations remained alienated from the role of the market, and the social entrepreneurship emerged because of interaction with civil society and the state (Kerlin, 2006).

In the context of emerging economies, the growth of social enterprises was an outcome of essential and crucial issues set off by 'shared necessity' (Defourney & Kim, 2011), i.e. livelihood generation, poverty eradication, rural entrepreneurship and improved education. These problems were addressed through communitarian approaches by linking indigenous communities to micro-level institutions like self-help groups (Poon, Zhou, & Chan 2009; Chan, Kuan, & Wang 2011; Sloan, Legrand, & Simons-Kaufmann 2014; Kao & Huang 2015). In India, a country of wide socio-cultural diversity and high population, social entrepreneurship has been expected to generate social and economic value like other emerging economies (Sengupta et al., 2017).

Two-third social enterprises in India, work to create employment and more than half offer training and skill development for the vulnerable groups. The primary objective of social enterprises has been to generate direct employment by employing the disadvantaged groups. They function in different areas like skill development (53%), education (30%), non-farm and livelihood (17%), food and nutrition (16%), justice rehabilitation and human rights (3%) (British Council Report, 2015a).

The past two decades have witnessed burgeoning social enterprise scholarly literature along with ample 'grey literature' that has led to the revelation of the multi-dimensional nature of the phenomenon around the world subjected to ‘local/national/regional contexts’ (Peredo & McLean 2006; Dacin, Dacin, & Matear 2010; Doherty, Haugh, & Lyon 2014; Sengupta & Sahay 2017a). Thus, the phenomenon has remained a product of its interpretation based on its region predisposed to its historical and other contextual factors (Sengupta & Sahay 2017a).

Social entrepreneurship phenomenon has gained attention from policy-makers and the academic world; hence it has been a considerably well-researched area on both sides of the Atlantic than Asian countries in the context of emerging economies (Doherty et al. 2014;

Sengupta & Sahay 2017a; Sengupta et al., 2017). However, the 'converging concepts' surfacing from 'peer-reviewed scholarly literature' lends the phenomenon to be simplistically understood across regions where the hybrid nature of the social enterprises has been characterised by mere combining 'market' and 'social' seamlessly (Sengupta & Sahay 2017a). Therefore, this thesis provides a nuanced, contextual understanding of the phenomenon in terms of its construction through normative institutional discourses and operational grass-roots discourses of the social enterprise actors within a specific geographic region.

Social entrepreneurship in India continues to remain an 'understudied topic' despite the country possessing a growing number of social entrepreneurs working towards social change at the grass-roots level (Tiwari et al., 2017). British Council Report (2016) stated that India had almost 2 million social enterprises operating in the country. Although, there has been a lack of 'peer-reviewed research' that investigates how social enterprises are interpreted by paradigm-building actors and practitioners that can possibly lead to their dis/association with the phenomenon in the Indian context. Most scholarly work on social enterprises in India remains focussed on case studies, social impact studies, social innovation and social entrepreneurial drivers. Though there is a burgeoning eco-system, there is a lack of literature in this area. There is also much ambiguity in understanding 'the number of social enterprises, their contribution to India's GDP and workforce and characteristics of social enterprise leaders' (British Council, 2015a). Few organisations like Intellecap, Villgro, Dasra, UnLtd, Shujog, Germany's GIZ, the Asian Development Bank, the British Council and Okapi produced reports to understand social enterprise landscape in India (Intellecap, 2012a; GIZ, 2014; Villgro and Okapi, 2014). However, most of the social enterprise research in India continues to focus on the legal structure resting on its registration process (i.e. whether private limited companies, partnerships and sole ventures) (British Council, 2016).

These researches remain imperative, however, it is vital to understand how the actors at a local level have interpreted the meaning of the phenomenon rather than developing literature based on conceptual understanding created by the western literature (Sengupta & Sahay, 2018). This offers a well-founded ground for research in this area, consequently this thesis marks a starting point for investigating how discourses of the social enterprise paradigm-building actors and the practitioners lead to a construction of the social enterprise

in India. Hence, this will pave a way to critically examine this burgeoning phenomenon in the subcontinent shaped by its local context.

The multiple interpretations of the phenomenon will be explored through operational discourses of the practitioners and normative discourses generated by the institutional actors. By using the identity work of social- sector practitioners will provide insight into the discursive dis/association with the social enterprise discourse/s. Lastly, this thesis will also explore how the practitioners discursively adopt strategies of organisational impression management (tactical mimicry) to navigate tensions between normative intuitional discourses and operational grass-root discourses in order to acquire organisational legitimacy and resources. Therefore, this thesis unpacks the social enterprise phenomenon in the Indian context in terms of its position and the implications in the social sector, instead simplistically associating it with social and economic value discourse through the following research questions:

How normative discourse/s of institutional actors lead to the construction of social enterprise paradigm in India?

This research question will be addressed by examining Montgomery's (2016) 'two schools of social innovation paradigm' (technocratic and democratic) in the Indian context. The narrative analysis of paradigm building actors against the backdrop of socio-political and economic transitions of the subcontinent will provide a better understanding to locate the position and role of social enterprises in India's social economy. This thesis contributes to the theory by adopting an institutional approach to context (two way process), as in a product of the nature of interaction (conflict/coexist) of individuals and their social environment (Sawyer, 2005) by adopting different theoretical perspectives (Fligstein, 1997).

How practitioners dis/associate with normative social enterprise discourse/s?

This thesis will address this research question by drawing from Dey and Teasdale's (2011) work of dis/identification of practitioners with the practice of social entrepreneurship. In lines with similar works of Parkinson and Howorth (2008), Cohen and Musson (2000), Dey and Teasdale (2011) put forth practitioners do not simple absorb discourses rather appropriates, re-interprets and negotiates with them. The narrative analysis of operational discourse/s of practitioners in India from three generational cohorts (senior generation, generation X and generation Y) indicates such action of practitioners were embedded in their context

(generational identity) and their struggle with these discourses depends on their position within society (between the local community and the government).

How practitioners use discursive strategies to navigate tensions between normative institutional discourse(s) and grassroots operational discourses?

This research question sets out to investigate how practitioners from three generational cohorts employs impression management techniques (IM) (tactical mimicry) (Teasdale, 2009) to navigate tensions between grass-roots operational discourses and normative discourse(s) to offer a typology of strategies. It will investigate how practitioners use these strategies to steer power relations, resource mobilisation and access legitimacy in the Indian social sector.

These empirical findings of the thesis contribute to the theory of context in social entrepreneurship research where context has operationalised top down and bottom up ways in understanding entrepreneurial processes.

1.3 Evolution of Indian social sector: Position of the social enterprise

This section will explain the evolution of Indian social sector, which was strongly influenced by elite politics, urban-rural divide and role of international funds invested in solving social issues with a pre-determined focus on certain social welfare activities within the nation. These multiple forces shaped the vibrant third sector that exists today.

The first milestone was the rise of the social reformers who belonged to the educated upper-middle class during 1850-1950. Later, they went on to set up institutions (like Bhramo Samaj and Arya Samaj) which pursued social causes. During the same time, caste associations formed (like the Kurmi Mahasabha and Nandar Mahajan Sangan) these caste elites promoted their interest demanding political representation. Around 1947-50 witnessed the rise of Gandhian NPOs (Non-Profit Organisations) which were different from caste associations. People who did not receive a position in the government post-independence (in 1947) formed these organisations; nonetheless, as a sign of tokenism, they received government contracts (Sen, 1992). Consequently, such organisations were utterly dependent on government funds (Seth & Sethi, 1991).

The second milestone was the rise of the NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations) against the backdrop of a significant economic and political transformation. Since the NPOs had

emerged out of political alliances, with the change in polity, they lost their space to apolitical NGOs. In the 1980s and '90s, NGOs were a result of coercive legal structure imposed on NPOs and such organisations received grants from corporate philanthropy. The government's impetus helped develop the social sector by setting up the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) (Chowdry and Nanavatty, 1987). The economic transitions during this time led to renewed interest in the agricultural sector leading to a co-operative movement which gained momentum and demonstrated its success through the Green Revolution and Operation Flood[2], which finally led to the development of the Co-operative Societies Act (Corbridge, 2009). There was also the emergence of NGOs formed by urban professional middle class, funded through international organisations. Furthermore, Community Based Organisations (CBOs) formed with the help of NGOs, NPOs, corporate and government funds (Sen, 1993).

The third milestone was the impact of the extremist movement, which constricted growth of the NGOs in the country in subsequent years. In 1980s witnessed rise of the Sikh separatist (in the state of Punjab), Kashmir separatist (state of Jammu & Kashmir) and Hindu fundamentalists. These separatist groups shared similar organisational features to that of religious, philanthropic organisations. Thus, the government introduced stricter rules that restricted the flow of funds to the NGO sector, implemented through the Kudal Commission and Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) in 1976 and Financial Act in 1983 a guide for the code of ethics for NPOs. Similarly, National and State Council was set-up for state and rural voluntary agencies (Sen, 1992). The Financial Act revoked tax exemption given to industries investing in rural development (Kothari, 1986) and all income-generating activities of NGOs. It was then in the 1990's India adopted the path of economic liberalisation, which opened up India to the global market. Liberalisation policies marked by pro-privatisation, pro-foreign investment and a market-oriented economy (Corbridge, 2009).

The fourth milestone marks the dominant control by the government of the NGOs in terms of their operations and funds. The investments in the third sector continued since 1991, which led off a sizeable growth of the third sector by the 2000s. Joshi (2003) pointed out that in the

[2] Aimed to increase the production of milk in India, which made India the largest exporter of dairy products in the world. Due to its huge success, it has been called 'The White Revolution' (Available at: https://www.mbarendezvous.com/the-white-revolution/)

1990s, the government focused on boosting the non-profit sector but under highly regulated condition due to the unethical practices revealed in 1996, which damaged the credibility of this sector. Murthy and Rao (1997) explained how further limitations were imposed on the current role of the NGOs post the audit conducted by Council of Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) in 1966. The audit revealed that 2000 NGOs that CAPART supported out of its 7500 NGOs mismanaged their funds worth Rupees 50 crore ($ 10 million) and 300 fake NGOs were operating. Bava (1997) mentioned about 26 NGOs engaging in criminal conspiracy and other fraudulent activities.

Another issue identified by Murthy and Rao (1997) was whether these NGOs were reaching out to the deprived sections of the society. Kilby (2011) refers to a study where barely one-third of the NGOs were working with socially and economically deprived sections of the society. Thus, the design of social projects was inadvertently discriminative. These transitions had a profound impact on the social sector, which continues to play an undercurrent force controlling the third sector, even in today's contemporary India.

Henceforth, India embodies a vibrant social sector and the evolution of social sector organisations were deeply interlinked with the socio-political and economic transitions within the subcontinent. The subsequent section will highlight how social enterprise-like organisations have evolved within the Indian social sector space and where does it locate itself in this sector.

Moreover, this thesis will create an understanding of how the social enterprises in India exists as a combination of cumulative contextual transitions in the Indian social sector in the light of current neoliberal political ideology.

1.4 Position of the Social Enterprises in the Indian social sector

In the past decade, there has been a meteoric rise of social enterprise activities in India, though such activities are not novel in the Indian context. As indicated in the earlier section and described by Shukla (2010), the 'socio-cultural milieu' and 'historical context' of India both premised on the value of social action for change. The cultural embeddedness of "Daan" (meaning 'giving') ensures fulfilment of one's duty towards society for 'collective wellbeing', formed an integral part of Indian social 'value and identity' (Chakraborty, 1987; McClelland,

1985). These ideals were reinforced during freedom movement (first half of 20th century) which also led to mobility of the grass-roots society to develop 'social leaders' for empowering community socially and economically. Some of Gandhi's followers (like Vinoba Bhave, Baba Amte & Jai Prakas Narain) emerged as the founder of the massive social venture (Sukla, 2020). Some other notable social ventures in India was Amul (or Gujarat Co-operation Milk Marketing Federation) started in 1946 by Tribhuvandas Patel and Dr Verghese Kurien which now has a turnover of Rs.230 billion and generating 3.37 million members. Lijjat (or Shri Mahila Griha Udyog Lijjat Papad) started in 1959 by Jaswantiben Jamnadas Popat with few semi-literate women currently has 43,000 women members with a turnover of Rs 6.5 billion. Few others were Sulabh International Social Service Organisation in 1970 and SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) founded in 1971 (Shukla, 2020).

In 1981, the term social entrepreneurship was officially introduced in India when Ashoka started its operations, which aimed at bringing together 'change-makers' who would innovate, 'launch' and 'scale-high impact ideas' for low-income target groups. In 1995, Harish Hande set up SELCO Solar, a social enterprise providing low-cost products, servicing and financing through Grameen (Village) banks and co-operative societies. In the following year, in 1996, Vijay Maharajan (President of Microfinance Institution Network of India) came up with BASIX aimed at creating livelihoods for the marginalised. During this time, there was limited access to financial and non-financial supports to social entrepreneurs; however, BASIX & SELCO introduced to the concept of 'sustainable business-models' in India. In 1997, Grassroots Innovations Augmentation Network, India's first non-for-profit social venture capital fund marked the beginning of the growing network of social enterprise enablers (British Council Report, 2016). Despite similar activities existing in the past, the newly introduced social enterprise discourses related to 'scale', 'impact', 'sustainable business-model' in the Indian social sector. This market-driven discourse of the social sector could have links with the market liberalisation of the '90s.

The buzz around social enterprise in India further grew after 2001 with emergence of the crucial eco-system players that initiated a discourse of social enterprises in the Indian social sector. Since then, there has been a growth of social enterprise activities in India with a growing number of eco-system building actors/ institutions operating since 2001. Shukla (2020) envisaged the supportive eco-system involves institutions providing 'financial' and

'advisory' support that resulted in improving the 'quality' of 'innovative business ideas and plans'.

The growth of impact investing organisations like Aavishkaar India, Villgro, Acumen Fund, and Lok Capital increased market-driven funding into the social sector. There are over 50 impact funders and investors in India mainly operation from key metropolitan cities (Intellcap, 2014) resulting in the skewed presence of social enterprises in mega-cities. Most (55%) of these social enterprises have head offices in merely nine cities (Mumbai, Bangalore, New Delhi, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Bhubaneshwar, Gurgaon, Chennai and Ahmedabad); and the remaining 45% sparsely spread over 72 smaller 'tier-II' and 'tier-III' cities Tier-II cities[3]. In terms of the reach of their operations, 32% of these social enterprises operate regionally, 46% operate at the national level, and 21% operate internationally (British Council Report, 2015).

Several accelerators/incubators like Dasra, UnLtd. India started operating along with other incubation programmes run by educational institutions like IIT- Madras and Villgro jointly launched Lemelson Recognition and Monitoring programme. IIM-Bangalore and Tata Institute of Social Sciences launched academic courses in social entrepreneurship in 2007. IIM- Ahmedabad launched the Centre for Innovation Incubation and Entrepreneurship in 2007. Moreover, private foundations launched fellowship programmes like Marico Innovation Foundation in 2003, and the Piramal Foundation launched Gandhi Fellowship in 2007 (Shukla, 2020).

Conferences, awards and media also played an essential role in bringing social enterprise discourse at the forefront of developmental discourse. In 2009, Sankalp Forum hosted its first meet focussed on social enterprises in Mumbai. Then eventually, this became a platform for multiple stakeholders of social entrepreneurship, which included social entrepreneurs, investors and funders. Since then, it became an annual event, which currently has a network of 400 stakeholders (British Council Report, 2016). Other similar activities include International Conference on Social Entrepreneurship organised by TISS, UnLtd Foundation at

[3] The Government of India has classified cities as tier I, II, III based on the size of the population. Tier-II cities inhabit a population of 1 million. It also refers to the level of development in terms of infrastructure, civic amenities and social welfare systems

(Available at: https://blogs.siliconindia.com/facilitymanagementservices/What_are_Tier_II_and_Tier_III_Cities-bid-52pLs73x43343767.html).

TISS supported by Skoll Centre, Oxford University in 2006 (Shukla, 2020). 'Jagtriti Yatra' an annual train journey for Indian youth allows them to embark on a 15-day, 8000 km long journey to meet social and business entrepreneurs around the country. Online platforms and media coverage like, YourStory, The Better India, and Think Change India covered profile and success stories of social entrepreneurs. Moreover, prominent newspapers and magazines like Outlook, India Today, Mint and the Economic Times have dedicated sections on social businesses (British Council Report, 2016).

However, in the Indian context, the country lacks a legal definition for the social enterprises. The key players in the social enterprise eco-system in India hail from different institutional forms, educational institutions 'advocating, promoting and supporting' growth of the social enterprises. These diverse stakeholders of social enterprises have derived their meaning of social enterprise aligned with their internal logic and interest. Such interpretations have been subjected to the socio-economic and cultural diversity ranging across regions and 'regulatory frameworks' from the centre to state governments (Sengupta & Sahay, 2018). As a result, it adds to the complexity of understanding, coupled with a lack of policy framework to develop a precise and neat understanding of how social enterprises have been constructed within this region.

Not much information exists to understand the role of government in promoting social enterprises in India. The report by British Council highlighted central government policies that directly/indirectly linked with social enterprises and entrepreneurship; 26% of these critical policies linked with the Ministry of Micro Small and Medium Enterprises and 16% with the Department of Financial Services of the Ministry of Finance (British Council, 2015). According to the same report before 2000, the legal structure that closely fitted the social enterprise model was Section 8 of the Company's Act. However, the majority of the social enterprises (58%) operated as private limited companies, followed by 23% operating as NGOs (Societies Registration Act, Trusts). By 2015 social enterprises started operating as section 8 companies, limited liabilities companies, public limited companies, partnerships and sole ventures.

Consequently, there has been a growth of the social enterprise sector along with multiple eco-system building actors operating within the country. At the same time, the government remains disengaged in the process where social enterprise finds a position in political

discourse related to entrepreneurship. This ambiguity has led social enterprises to occupy a fluid position in the Indian social sector.

The following section focuses on where the Indian social sector has located itself within the broader welfare mix of the nation and how state welfare has transformed in recent years with growing neoliberal ideology. Consequently, how these shifts have led to the growth of social enterprise and where does it sit in this broad welfare provision.

1.5 India's welfare-mix

Contemporary India has acquired the status of a transitional nation based on its economic development. With an 'overwhelming victory' in 2014 election of the NDA (National Democratic Alliance) led by Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) headed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi indicates the aspirations of young middle-class Indians who identified with 'the agenda for change' driven by 'private sector' and 'less regulated market' (Kumar, 2015). The government's primary focus has been on 'urbanisation and infrastructure', 'energy', 'trade and investment' and 'education and skill'. Based on these areas, the government has launched the Make in India, Clean India, Skill India, Digital India and Smart Cities Programme (British Council, 2015b).

Since economic liberalisation in 1992, India has been moving away from socialist policies; the current government moves the nations further from the 'centrally planned approach' (Price, 2015). Within five years, between 2005 and 2010, India's share of global GDP increased from 1.8 % to 2.7% and 53 million people were uplifted from poverty (World Bank, 2013). India will soon be 'one of the biggest influences in the world' (O'Neil, 2011). Though the growth numbers put India on a promising path of economic development, however, India continues to face significant challenges in health, education, environmental issues, a growing socio-economic divide, social inequalities, terrorism, corruption and regional violence (British Council Education Intelligence, 2013). One-third of the world's poor live in India (The People's linguistic survey of India) also 69 per cent of the population lives on the US $ 2 per day. Although with an optimistic economic prediction for India's development for the next 30-40 years (British Council, 2015b) the nation faces a massive challenge of maintaining a GDP of 9-10 per cent for next 20-30 years in order to absorb the expanding workforce to alleviate them to a middle-class status (UK India Business Council, 2011).

The growing importance of states and tier-II cities remains another vital aspect of contemporary India. The country's 29 states and 7 Union territories are at a different level of 'economic and demographic evolution'. Economically wealthy and 'urbanised' states like Gujarat and Tamil Nadu demand different strategies and interventions compared to 'less developed' states like Madhya Pradesh and Bihar (McKinsey & Company, 2014). To counter this challenge, the Indian government will boost the untapped economic growth potentials of these emerging cities (UK India Business Council, 2011). At the same time, the regional parties will play a significant role in terms of decision-making powers, with devolution of budgets their role will further be accentuated from the centre to the state (British Council, 2015b). Since, such cities can immensely boost the economic growth in the country, which can account for 70 per cent of India's GDP in 2030; the number of such cities can grow to 68 with the population of more than 1 million (British Council, 2015b).

India's welfare-mix continues to remain unique in the subcontinent, due to the political and economic transitions which was significantly different from the countries of the global north. Since liberalisation (in the 1990s) India is marked by the open market, relaxed norms in terms of taxation and the nation is in a critical position of rapid economic growth but with inadequate social welfare provision. India's welfare regime that exists today resulted out of the institutional evolution since the time of its independence in 1947. With the independence came adoption of the 'Directive Principles' of State Policy - aimed at eradicating poverty, deliver social justice, 'self-reliance' and 'growth'. The Five Year Plans[4] designed the structure to achieve these developmental agenda. These provisions aimed towards free and compulsory education, create higher education system, robust public health care system, social and economic rights for women along with Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes (SCs and STs)[5] .

[4] Development plans and policies are implement through the Five Year devised through the Planning Commission Planning Commission- An institution which is part of Government of India, responsible for generating development plans and policies implement through the Five Year Plans. Present Prime Minister have substituted the Planning Commission with another institutional body called NITI Aayog which has a similar function.

[5] Designated groups by the Constitution of India. They are historically disadvantaged people in India. SCs, STs and Other Backward Classes Other Backward Classes- a social category referring to all those are socially, educationally, economically and politically backward groups, castes, and tribes.

Moreover, reforms in the industrial and agrarian sectors aimed to foster livelihood opportunities to citizens and ensure equal pay for equal work for both genders, safe work conditions and protection from exploitation. The framework of social security devised by the state intended to gain loyalty from the growing middle class. However, these provisions remained exclusive to 'white-collar' middle class in large private corporations, and the vast majority of citizens remained out of the purview of these benefits. This exclusivity continued to benefit the small section (10 per cent) (organised formal sector) and remained highly gendered (predominantly male). This disparity led to 'overshadowing' of the problem of large-scale unemployment and underemployment which transcended into high levels of overwork, child labour, poverty and rural indebtedness, low wages and productivity (Palriwala & Neetha, 2009). The state machinery consistently failed to address welfare to the masses and benefitting only a specific section of society that provided an opportunity and legitimate space for the traditional non-profit to occupy an important place in the social sector filling the welfare gaps of the state. Later, the traditional non-profits were further grown in size due to large international funds coming into this sector.

By 1980s the entrepreneurial upper middle class abstained from infrastructural support from the state and found 'labour relations' constraining to forward their interest. Thus, the urban upper class rendered support to neo-liberal policies, which focused on the market, and this trend continues. Therefore, social welfare has been merely perceived as 'safety net' against poverty rather than an idea of social transformation and development at large (Palriwala & Neetha, 2009). These aspirations of the urban upper class might have translated into the growth of growing entrepreneurship culture.

Another aspect, which plays a significant role in the Indian welfare regime, is the Indian federalism. The power divisions between the centre and the state remain in favour of the centre, particularly in financial areas. The political trend sifted in the late '70s when different political parties came in power at the state level, which was either part or in opposition of the ruling party resulting in a patchwork and disjointed social policy in different states because of the disparity of financial investments by the centre and varied political ideologies and agenda. Moreover, India’s large agrarian economy which based on 'family enterprises', witnessed a steady decline in investment in the agricultural and allied activities in the post-reform period. Therefore, this affected the size of landholdings, rural income and level of dependence on the

agricultural sector. The agricultural income among large landowners had drastically improved during the Green Revolution[6] in 1970-the 80s. This increase in incomes was limited to a specific agrarian class at the same time resulted in a lack of food/work, among others. The problems in the agricultural sector result in 'migration', 'pressure on urban employment' and a growing informal sector. A social policy like child welfare, education, and health have yet not percolated to rural and informal sectors (Palriwala & Neetha, 2009). The plummeting figures of poverty level post-liberalisation remain relative and a point of contestation. However, with an increased income of the urban middle class, there was a rise in per capita income and decline in wages of casual labourers at the same time heightened rural-urban divide, differences in the levels of education between male-female, and increased inequality between regions, castes and classes (Dev, 2008).

Few scholars highlight the minimal impetus laid on welfare in the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) though welfare rhetoric continued through the late sixties and seventies with a slogan like 'Garibi Hatao' ('Remove Poverty'). It was from the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) the welfare provision was further disintegrated across different programmes. The devised programmes targeted to respond to 'market' and entitlements designed to promote 'bureaucratic patronage' coupled with 'corruption'. The neo-liberal reforms in the late 1980s indicated a clear shift in interest to promote the private sector in the areas of health, education and other social welfare and withdrawal of the state responsibility especially in case of really marginalised sections of the society. This gradual roll-back of the state and its makeshift approach towards the social sector are visible in the levels of investments of the social sector (Palriwala & Neetha, 2009).

This diluted and ambiguous approach of policy engagement with welfare provision tends to be embedded in two factors. Firstly, as India managed economic transformation (liberalisation) and maintained its democratic order; consequently, there was constant friction between market interests and democratic values. These tensions projected in the design of state welfare provision, which remained fragmented. The dilemma for reformers in

[6] Great increase in food grains (especially in wheat and rice) due to introduction of high yielding variety seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides.

(Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2561997?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

India was to address the interest of 'elite-oriented' sectors in the short and medium-term at the same time address needs of the masses. In this situation, a complete market-oriented approach could jeopardise the electoral politics, and the path of privatisation could hinder mass welfare goals (Varshney, 2007). Secondly, in the general elections of 2004 the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government indicated a shift towards a rights-based paradigm that generated a sense of hope where 'India's underprivileged majority is not completely marginalised in this elitist political system' (Dreze, 2010). However, neoliberalism has recently emerged as a hegemonic political project predominantly from the beginning of the current National Democratic Alliance (NDA) tenure (Gopalakrishnan, 2006). Therefore, the roll-back of public welfare provisions coupled with the existing pitfalls of traditional non-profits in term of resource dependency and malpractices (as discussed earlier in 1.3) presents social enterprise as a viable solution addressing social good through market logic.

The cumulative effect of the welfare regime mentioned above in the subcontinent could have implications on impetus laid on social entrepreneurship in India today. The reports by the British Council on social entrepreneurship in India indicated the government had promoted different initiatives around commercial entrepreneurship, and there is an absence of policy framework around social entrepreneurship. This thesis will help understand where does social enterprise discourses in India position itself within the paradigm of neoliberal agenda or its opponents as consequence of the existence of a mix welfare provision and long history of traditional non-profit.

The discussion in the literature on India's welfare-mix is far more complicated than the current scope of this work. Therefore, relating to this complexity makes it challenging to position India in a welfare regime neatly. According to Sharkh and Gough's (2010) work on global welfare regimes, India could position in Esping- Andersen's (1990) 'Informal securities regimes' in the regime approach. At the same time, Sharkh and Gough (2010) rightly point out western welfare regime approach overlooks the crucial role played by 'transnational actors' in the welfare provision. In order to understand the welfare-mix of a transitional country like India, it needs to be extended beyond 'the welfare state', financial and other markets and family/household systems'. It is vital to recognise the role of community-based interactions, i.e. 'local community practices, NGOs and clientelist networks'. Additionally, the

function of international players in terms of grants, loans through international governments (Gough,2004; Wood and Gough,2006)

A quantitative approach of cluster analysis, using data from 1990-2000, Sharkh and Gough (2010) groups different countries based on their welfare provision and features India in clusters G marked by 'very poor welfare outcomes' the contributing factor being a high level of youth illiteracy. The complexity here is the contradiction posed by Panchamukhi's (2018) article on the impact of economic reforms on Indian social sector which highlighted the lack of data of public and private sector in terms of allocation in social sector while limited data was available for education sector from official publications. These documents indicate higher public funds allocation in education than private. Although The National Sample Survey generated some data on allocation in education and health, there was no data available pre and during the economic reform period (1990's).

1.6 Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 in the first part sets out to introduce the literature conceptualising social enterprises on both sides of the Atlantic and its position in the public/market sector. After that, it explains conceptualisation of social enterprises in the majority world with a focus on India; thereby identifying a gap in the literature and critically engaging in understanding the construction of social enterprises in Indian context as the phenomenon has been understood dominantly through western discourses. Furthermore, the chapter explains the conceptual relation between social entrepreneurship as practice, social enterprise the organisation and social entrepreneur, the individual, followed by introducing the unit of analysis, i.e. social enterprises discourses of institutional actors and practitioners in India. The second part of the chapter presents the theoretical framework by explaining the three dimensions that structure the empirical analysis chapters. It explains institutional discourses constructing social enterprises followed by practitioner discourses leading to dis/association with social enterprises and impression management (tactical mimicry) discursively employed by practitioners to navigate the tension of normative and operational discourses of social enterprises for legitimacy.

Chapter 3 presents the research design where the researcher provides the epistemological justification of adopting a social constructivist lens and adopting a qualitative inquiry for

investigating this phenomenon. Furthermore, the researcher explains the empirical focus on discourses of actors and practitioners in the social enterprise space hailing from three regions in Indian. In the second part of this chapter, the researcher explains the process of data collection and the analysis process.

Chapter 4 analysis I explains using quotes from semi-structured interviews with institutional actors i.e. governments (centre and state), incubators, social impact investors and educational institutions shaping the construction of social enterprises in India which reflects the dominant neo-liberal political agenda leading to technocratic social enterprise paradigm formation.

Chapter 5 Analysis II explains the practitioners in the field of social enterprises discursively dis/associating with dominant social enterprise discourses. Drawing from Dey and Teasdale's (2013) work on dis/identification of third sector practitioners in England revealed how practitioners resisted and 'appropriated' certain aspects of social enterprise discourse. This analysis chapter maps how Indian practitioners dis/associate from social enterprise discourse, such dis/association has been linked with how context plays out through generational identity of practitioners whereby younger generational cohort aligning with technocratic paradigm and senior generational cohort with the democratic paradigm of social enterprises.

Chapter 6 Analysis III investigates Indian practitioners discursively navigating tensions between normative discourse/s and grassroots operational discourses of social enterprises using impression management techniques (tactical mimicry) to access legitimacy. This analysis chapter offers a classification of techniques (i.e. isolation, collaboration and adaptability) used in combination to access organisational legitimacy and resource mobilisation.

Ch-7 concludes by presenting the core findings from each analysis chapter by explaining its larger implications on the Indian social sector. Additionally, it also explains how context has operationalised throughout this thesis, indicating the contextual aspect of social enterprises, thereby highlighting scope for further future research at local/regional level. Moreover, the chapter highlights some limitations of this research and shares some recommendations for policy-makers, institutional actors and practitioners associated with the social enterprise sector in India.

Chapter 2 Towards Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The 'enterprise culture' has been growing across the globe, and there is a significant amount of optimism associated with the burgeoning social enterprise sector (Leadbeater, 1997; Nicholls, 2008). Since the phenomenon of social enterprises has gained significant attention among practitioners, policy-makers and scholars (Mair and Marti, 2006), these different stakeholders have interpreted and constructed the phenomenon based on their rationale. Practitioners view the social enterprise as organisations aimed at solving local, national as well as international' issues. Corporations too, find the role of social enterprises significant as it as machinery to achieve their 'corporate social and environmental responsibilities'. The non-profit sector consisting of voluntary organisations, community-based organisations and charitable organisations are drawn towards social enterprises for their 'business-models' to achieve 'financial sustainability' (Haugh, 2012). Thus, the phenomenon has resulted in a Rashomon effect[7], where its purpose, structure and manifestation are perceived and described differently by its different stakeholders. Hence, social enterprises have remained a contested concept due to its different organisational forms along with some organisations claimed the label for itself. The present academic literature provides a wide range of definitions and reason for its emergence due to the fluid nature of social enterprises that lends itself to be constructed by different institutional actors, endorsing different organisational types, proposing different discourses and drawing from different academic theories (Teasdale, 2011).

The language of social enterprise is also gaining momentum among academics, practitioners and policy-makers (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008). Some propose it as a neoliberal element where 'the social' combined with 'the economic' in an 'unproblematic' fashion (Dey & Steyaert, 2010). This discourse undermines the role of practitioners in shaping social enterprise and ignores the discourse emphasising community 'self-help' (Parkinson and

[7] Rashomon effect- the term used to describe an event or phenomenon interpreted differently by different people involved. This effect named after Akira Kurosawa's movie Rashomon, where witnesses describe murder in mutually contradictory ways (Roth & Mehta, 2002).

Howorth, 2008). Others have tried to explain social enterprise as a middle ground between 'social democracy' and 'neoliberalism' (Haugh & Kitson, 2007).

The dominant global north discourses put forth social enterprise as a rational choice, individualistic and functionalist phenomenon cascading from business-management school perspective that appears to universalise the phenomenon. At the same time, the literature on social enterprise discussed its fluidity in terms of definition and manifestation in practice. The multiple conceptualisations of social enterprises were due to diverse socio-cultural contexts and the evolution of the economic sector where social entrepreneurship sector exists (Kerlin, 2013). Furthermore, within a specific geographical region, the definitional contradictions were heightened due to interventions of the public-private or government sector those having an interest in social enterprise sector (Kerlin, 2013; Sepluveda, 2015). The contextual factors influencing different organisational structure and practices contribute much to its 'hybridity' (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2012; Kerlin, 2013). Thus, the construction of social enterprise in a region is a product of its context and demands an interpretivist approach to investigate this phenomenon.

An inductive theory building approach adopted to investigate construction of social enterprises in India by Sengupta and Sahay (2018) provided a conceptual framework of social enterprises in Indian context. It was also recognised that India's regional contextual diversity need further research in this area. A paper on the concept of social entrepreneurship in Asia-Pacific countries provided three themes that demands future research namely: contextual, institution and individual factors surrounding social entrepreneurship (Sengupta and Sahay, 2017). The study by Sengupta, Sahay and Croce (2018) on the conceptualisation of social entrepreneurship in BRIICs nations indicated lack of legal definition and classified schools of thought was absent. Majumdar and Guha's (2021) 'In Search of Business Models in Social Entrepreneurship- Concepts and Cases' includes chapters from different scholars discussing the growing momentum of social enterprises in the 21st century due to 'neoliberal economic thoughts and practices'. Moreover, the growing importance of social enterprises in academia has been discussed in a case of developing teaching module by Tata Institute of Social Science, India by Kumithaa and Majumdar (2015). The work of Mujumdar and Saini (2016) presented social entrepreneurship in India acting as a bridge bet ween community and business interest,

giving rise to newer ‘paradigms of CSR’ marked by innovative models of ‘proactiveness’, ‘reasonable experimentation’ and giving businesses ‘competitive advantage’.

The work of Dutta (2016) in entrepreneurship research indicates the lack of focus on sociocultural factors leading the development of economic theories. It promotes the need to adopt, interdisciplinary, ethnographic and psychosocial perspectives to entrepreneurial activities to have a better understanding especially in Indian context. This work surfaces personal contextual factors like migrants, sense of achievement, entrepreneurial family background was responsible for business growth or hindrance. There have been limited number of investigations of social ventures mobilising resources. In a study by Desa and Basu (2015) presented two processes of mobilising resources- optimisation and bricolage and pre-existing conditions shaping decisions of venture founders in choosing a process. These and other works of social enterprise research in India have been further discussed in section 2.4.1.

This chapter introduces social enterprise as constructed through discourse/s in a specific context. Around the world, the concept of revenue generation through services by the charitable organisation is not novel. However, in the current world usage of the term 'social enterprise' is gaining momentum, which is creating an illusion of a 'newly discovered form of revenue for social benefit'. As the concept spreads, it gets linked with particular types of organisation and activities 'old and new' and which associate with particular regional context. With the growing popularity of the term, actors and institutions directly/indirectly linked with promoting social enterprise reflect the 'immediate socioeconomic environment in terms of social enterprise emphasis, structure and resources'. Hence, certain types of organisations and activities, which form a part of social enterprise discourse in one region, may not be part of social enterprise discourse in another part despite both activities being similar (Kerlin, 2010), though earlier research has established the contextual nature of social entrepreneurship phenomenon (Kerlin, 2009). Additionally, there is a vast lacuna in understanding social enterprises in the global south. The concept of social entrepreneurship is not novel in India; however, the meteoric rise of social entrepreneurs in the Indian subcontinent in the past fifteen years demand further interrogation.

Therefore, this thesis argues, the literature on social enterprise provides a global north perspective, which seems to universalise the phenomenon, which falls neatly ignoring that it is a nuanced and complex phenomenon influenced by its context. This literature has been

dominated by business-management school perspective, which understands the phenomenon from a rational choice, functionalist perspective leading to the construction of a technocratic paradigm of social enterprise. Therefore, this thesis embarks on to deconstruct social enterprise phenomenon using a sociological lens in a local context in the global south (i.e. India) using an interpretivist approach.

The diagrams below present the structure of this chapter, first part (Fig.1) & second part (Fig.2).

Fig.1

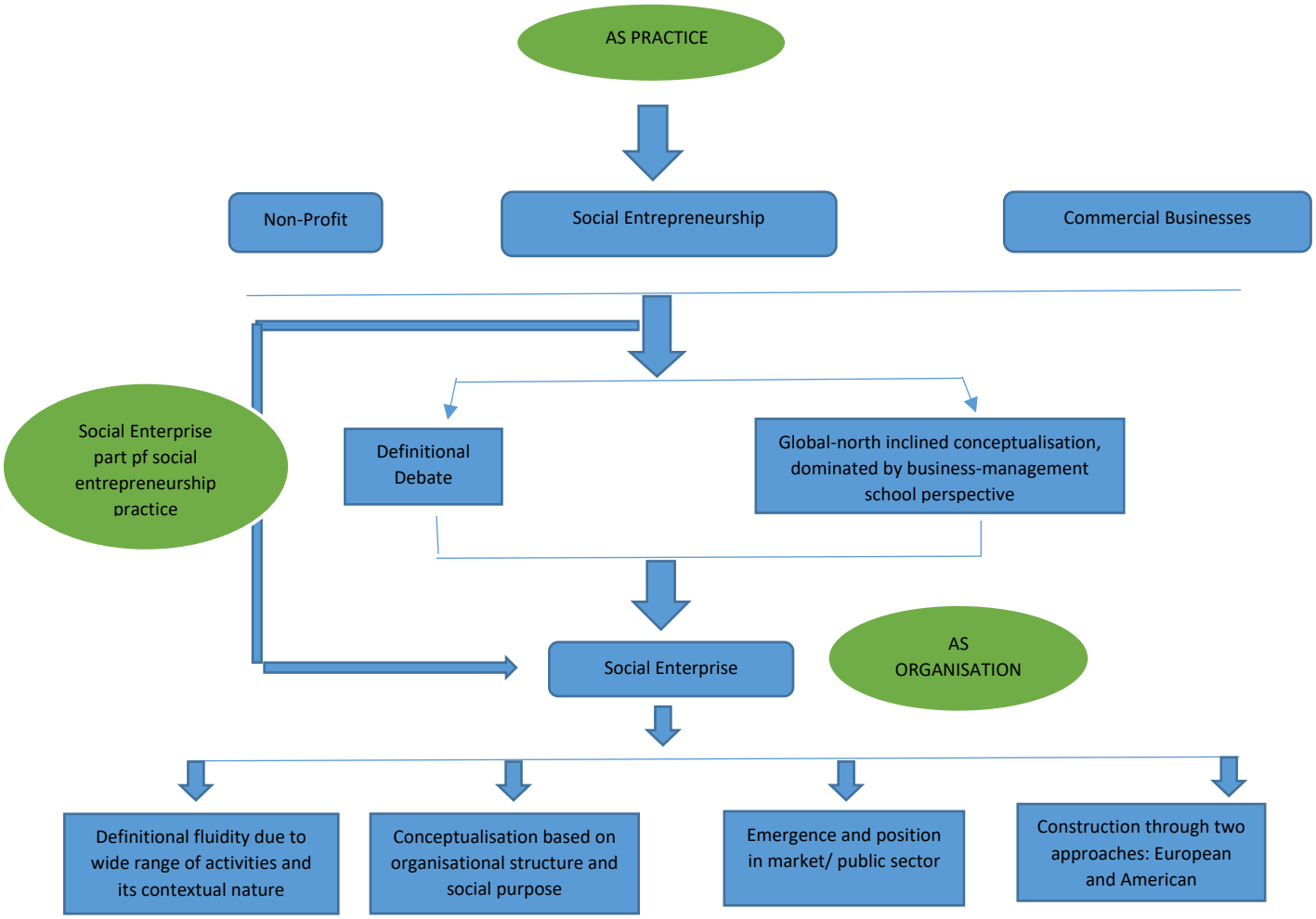
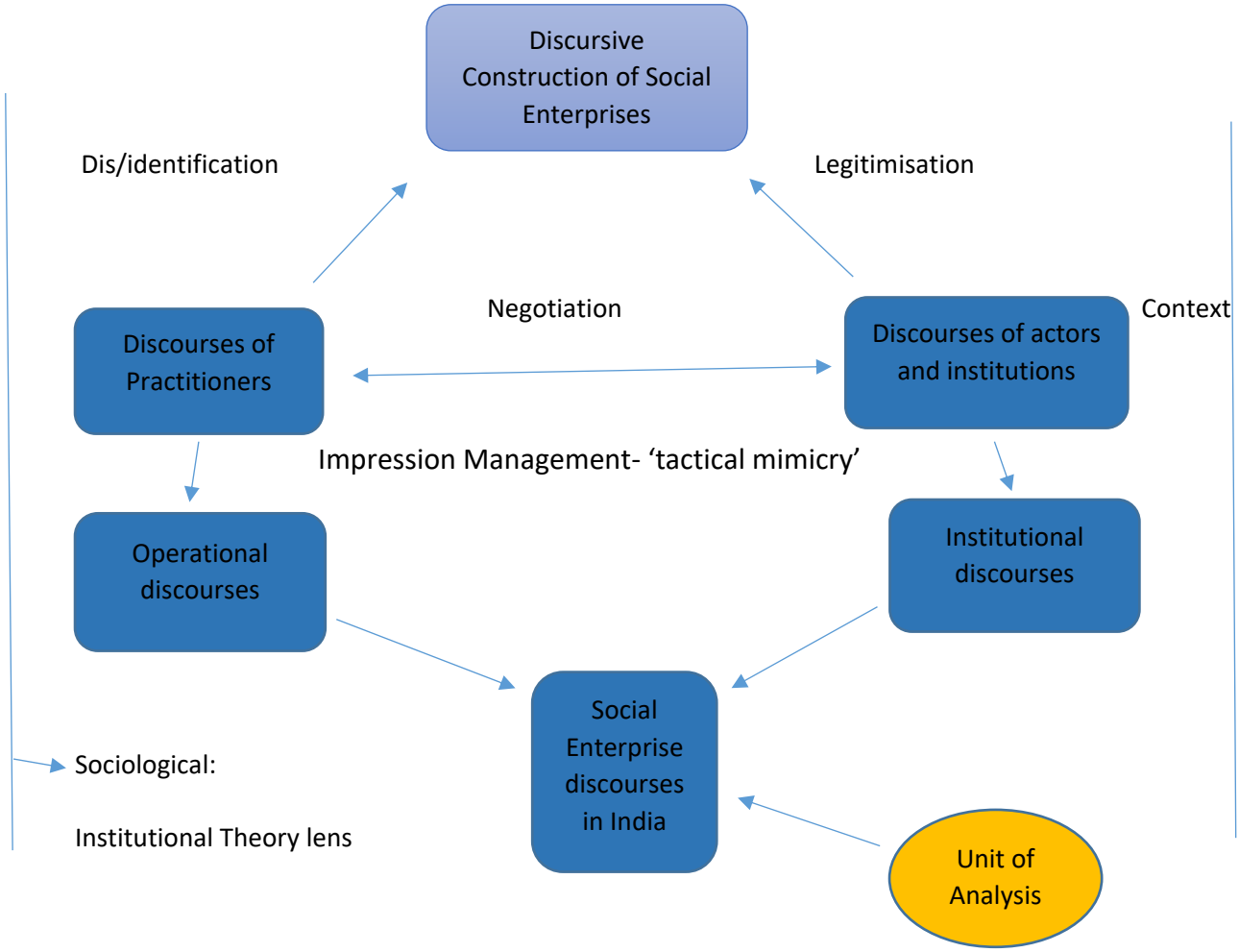


Fig.2



2.2 Describing Social Entrepreneurship, Social Enterprise & Social Entrepreneur

2.2.1 Social Entrepreneurship

This section will discuss the conceptualisation of social entrepreneurship in literature, which predominantly represented the global north perspective. Most often, such conceptualisation remains dominated by business and management school perspective (Ritchie, Lam, 2006; Westall, 2007) and hence demands a sociological understanding of the phenomenon. This section will explain universalising conceptualisation of social entrepreneurship through discourse/s generated from global north literature which to an extant ignores the phenomenon being a product of its context. Furthermore, this section will explain the

conceptual link between social entrepreneurship as practice, social enterprises as an organisation and the individual, social entrepreneur.

The literature on social entrepreneurship has grown significantly over the last two decades; however, it continued to be 'diffused' and 'fragmented' dominated by a universal global north focused and business-management school perspective.

From business-management school perspective social entrepreneurship described as activities applying business practices to non-profit organisations (Reis, 1999), its emergence is a result of growing 'innovative approaches' to tackle complex social issues (Johnson, 2000) in current times of reduced public welfare investment (Peredo & Mclean, 2006). Peredo & Mclean (2006) also suggested the term social entrepreneurship applicable to a wide range of 'activities' that can directly or indirectly be associated with the term social entrepreneurship, their further investigation suggests such activities lie on the broad spectrum on one end being the social element and on the other end is the entrepreneurial component.

Drawing from the activities in the non-profit sector and the fragmented literature on social entrepreneurship Sullivan Mort et al. (2002) conceptualised social entrepreneurship as a multi-dimensional concept. The justification of this multi-dimensionality sources from the dual mission, by which it needed to balance 'financial', 'operational objectives' and 'organisational purpose'. Researchers indicated this 'multi-dimensional' feature of social entrepreneurship through individual characteristic features of the social entrepreneur, i.e. 'business-entrepreneurial–behaviour' marked by 'risk-taking', 'proactiveness' and 'innovativeness' which formed the foundation for 'behavioural entrepreneurship' (Coven & Selvin, 1986). Law et al., (1998) latent model explained 'multi-dimensional' construct as overlapping commonality of varied dimensions of social entrepreneurship construct. As indicated in Fig. 3, social entrepreneurs being motivated to create superior 'social value' for their stakeholders and exhibit 'virtuous behaviour'. They too exhibit a 'balanced judgement', ‘a unity of purpose and action in the face of complexity'. Social entrepreneurs demonstrated 'proactiveness', 'innovativeness' and 'risk-taking' traits in their decision-making. Hence, the 'multi-dimensionality' of social entrepreneurship lies in the 'shared spaces' of 'overlapping commonality of all the dimensions' (Sullivan Mort et al., 2002).

Social entrepreneurship conceptualised in the public sector through leadership qualities of an individual (i.e. deriving credibility, create followers and decision making which are not purely guided by economic motives). Social entrepreneurship in the social action context emphasises on the characteristic feature of 'catalyst leadership', driven with the purpose of change in the social provision and within policy areas. In similar lines, Cornwell conceptualised social entrepreneurship in community models based on the collective ideology demonstrated by the social entrepreneur. Several researchers have conceptualised social entrepreneurship based on the dual mission (social and economic). Further, from funds point of view, the social entrepreneur employs novel strategies to access resources. However, Wallace argued social entrepreneurship is very similar to any commercial business organisation, which re-directs the profits to the social organisation; however, such conceptualisation remains in its early stages (Sullivan Mort et al., 2002).

The fragmented nature of conceptualising social entrepreneurship is a result of the fluidity in practice influenced by its context. However, the present conceptualisation of social entrepreneurship generated from business school remained individualistic dominated by the western discourse of hero-entrepreneur, thus making individual characteristics of a social entrepreneur an integral unit for understanding practice. Thus, by highlighting individual characteristics (social entrepreneur) as an integral unit and universalising it has led to further generalisation of the phenomenon across regions and lesser contextual investigation.

2.2.2 Social Enterprise

Similar to social entrepreneurship, there is a lack of definitional consensus of social enterprises. International literature indicated a lack of consistent use of the word 'social enterprise' (Dart, 2004), it presented social enterprises as something different from traditional business and non-profit activities, having a combination of 'social purpose' and 'market orientation' and 'financial performing standards of business' (Young, 2008). Scholars are yet to arrive at a 'distinctive' definition of social enterprise. This fluidity in the definition of social enterprise existed since the first decade of the twentieth century (Dacin et al., 2010) that social enterprise 'aim to achieve economic, social and environmental value by trading for a social purpose', this notion was further reinforced with time. The complexity of the concept heightened with contextual nature of social enterprises (Santos, 2010); which resulted in social enterprises to manifest and interpret differently in different countries demonstrated in

a quantitative investigation by Kerlin (2009). This line of work of lacking consensus of understanding social enterprise and its fluid nature implied that social enterprises were a product of its context and therefore, demands an interpretivist approach in a specific context.

These debates in the field of social enterprise has limited scholars to essentially understand social enterprises and has led to overlook the fact that social enterprises and the issues they address in a specific spatial-temporal and institutional context (Mair, 2020). Mair and Marti (2006) puts forth the need for social enterprises research that builds on its contextualisation and promote a deep 'contextualised studies of those enterprises' (Seelos et al., 2011). Social enterprise has been conceptualised as systematic efforts to solve social problems by adopting different 'institutional and organisational features' in innovative ways (Mair & Marti, 2009). A study by Mair (2020) makes a theoretical contribution to social enterprise research, where it was argued that there was a need to understand social enterprise processes in a deeply contextualised fashion, through which scholars can extract and develop midrange theories that can shape (refine, recast and adapt) already existing theories. The analysis of the surveys of social enterprises across nine countries implied that social enterprise organisations serve to provide goods and services in order to address social problems. However, it also brought to surface that social enterprises bring about institutional changes which was seldom addressed in previous studies. Thus, future research can further investigate the links between legal forms, problem domains and institutional context. A systematic contextualise study of social enterprises can create better understanding of problem domains. Moreover, the common features of social enterprises revealed across countries was the dual mission of public service and generation of revenues through commercial activities, therefore future research can further investigate 'features of social enterprises' in different contexts. This can further our understanding of how particular features transcend in other contexts or new features appear in certain contexts (Mair, 2020).

At present the label of social enterprise attributed to a wide range of activities based on organisational structure (individualistic/collective) and external social purpose (Teasdale, 2011). From this perspective, social enterprises range from earned income models of non-profits (Dees, 1998) to voluntary organisations involved in delivering public services (Di Domenico et al., 2009). Further, social enterprises range from inclusive and participative organisational forms with a balance of social-economic goals (Defourney & Nyssens, 2006) to

for-profit businesses involved in works of public welfare (Kanter & Purrington, 1998) or having 'social consciousness' (Harding, 2010) and community enterprises addressing social problems (William, 2007). Such varied forms of existence have led to conceptual debates around social enterprise and due to its different meaning in different parts of the world (Kerlin, 2009). The commonality between all these different forms is the emphasis on social aims and trading (Peattie & Morley, 2008).

Social enterprise organisations form a part of social entrepreneurship practice. Choi & Mujumdar (2013) proposed a conceptual understanding of social entrepreneurship as 'cluster concept'. Social entrepreneurship as a 'cluster concept' consists of 'sub-concepts' namely; 'social value creation', 'the social entrepreneur', 'the social entrepreneurship organisation', 'market orientation' and 'social innovation'. All five concepts operate in combination with each other. However, social value creation remains a pre-requisite concept for all the other four concepts. As enumerated in Fig. 4, social entrepreneurship consists of these five 'sub-concepts'. All the sub-concepts possesses the characteristic feature of social entrepreneurship and becomes 'dimensions' of social entrepreneurship (Nicholls & Cho, 2008).

2.2.3 Social Entrepreneur

The individual (social entrepreneur) is considered vital for social entrepreneurship (Bornstein, 2004; Dees, 1998; Leadbeater, 1997; Light, 2008; Roper & Cheney, 2005; Thompson, 2002; Thompson & Doherty, 2006; Waddock & Post, 1991). In many cases, the social entrepreneur has played a crucial role in bringing change through innovation and social process change (Swedber, 2009; Ziegler, 2010). Many authors put forth the primary goal of social entrepreneur as to 'create social value' by innovative means, taking the risk for the larger community (Peredo and McClean, 2006). Similarly, social entrepreneurs develop new ventures by seeking new opportunities in the existing setting to create 'social value' (Sullivan Mort et al. 2003). Other researchers have taken this idea further stating that social entrepreneurs bring about large-scale transitions in society (Chell, 2007; Light, 2006; Mair and Marti, 2006; Roberts and Woods, 2005). On the 'pragmatic' dimension, social entrepreneur considered to generate 'revenue' through delivering 'social results' (Boschee, 2001). Though

this notion remains limited to few on a larger-scale social entrepreneur are viewed as an agent of 'community welfare' (Austin *et al.* 2006; Defourney and Nyssens, 2010; Thompson, Alvy and Lees, 2000) or a mixture of both the elements (Haugh, 2007; Nicholls, 2006). As much as communitarian, social change-maker aspect of social entrepreneur appears dominant across social enterprise literature in India. Social entrepreneurs are characterised as those individuals with special leadership skills, who can employ an opportunity to create 'business model' under limited resources. They are driven to bring social change (particularly social change) through innovation. The area of operations for social entrepreneurs goes beyond non-profit ventures but also within for-profit and sometimes a combination of the two. They evaluate their success, not through wealth generation but the impact they have created in society (Vasakarla, 2008; Singh, 2012; Bulsara *et al.,* 2015). Such understanding of social entrepreneurs in the Indian context predominantly influenced by global north literature where authors emphasised on the existence of social entrepreneurs in the non-profit sector with increased awareness of the 'market forces' (Galera and Borgaza, 2009). Many scholars refer social entrepreneurs as a 'social-hero' (Seelos and Mair, 2005) or someone who plays a crucial role acting as a catalyst to bring about change (Waddock and Post, 1991). Dees (1998) describes social entrepreneurs as being directed by 'mission-related impact' rather than wealth generation. Furthermore, different scholars characterised social entrepreneurs by different characteristic; ranging from their objectives, methods, skills, individual personality traits, certain human value and morals, cognitive processes and their relation with the community, efficiency and effectiveness (Austin *et al.* 2006, Light and Wagner, 2005; Barendsen and Garderner, 2004; Mort, *et al.,* 2003; Ronstadt, 1988; Alvord *et al.,* 2002; Thompson, 2002; Dees, 2001; Johnson, 2000).

Although, different researchers have different approaches of describing social entrepreneur due to its existence in diverse areas and having different stakeholders with diverse perspectives (Dacin and Dacin, 2011; Harding 2004; Mair and Marti, 2006; Weerawardena and Sullivan, 2006). Although researchers adopt different approaches the literature from the global north and south indicate high level of convergence in describe the individual characteristic of a social entrepreneur hailing from two very different socio-cultural setting.

Thus, an interpretivist approach can help to expand understanding how practitioners discursively understand and interpret the meaning and consequently dis/associate from social entrepreneur identity in a specific context.

Considering context plays an important factor leading to the construction of social enterprises in a region (Chandra & Kerlin, 2020), therefore it leads to considerable differences in global conceptualisation of social enterprises was highlighted in Kerlin's (2010) work. Nonetheless, two approaches dominates the understanding of social enterprises in the literature, the following section provides an overview of the two approaches.

2.3 Emergence of Social Entrepreneurship and its position in market/public sector

The growth of third sector organisations, understood as 'renewed' civil society engagement due to the economic crisis and challenges of the welfare state led by rampant structural unemployment experienced in various western countries, austerity measures adopted by western governments and the inability of the traditional policies to transform into 'integrative policies'. Such challenges frequently raised questions to what extent the third sector can play a role in the shifting of responsibilities of the public authority in some areas. Some scholars view this transfer of responsibility would lead to cost reduction of the public sector. At the same time, this would improve the quality of service by being more effective, efficient and accountable similar to the notion held for private sector organisation. Nevertheless, others see these shifts as a transformation of the relationship between the state, intermediate structures and civil society. This new mixed welfare economy delegates responsibility not just to public authority but also for-profit organisations, third sector organisations on the premise of 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' (Borzaga & Defourney, 2001).

Literature provides two approaches to the construction of social enterprises in the global north (Galera and Borzaga, 2009). The first approach conceptualises social enterprise with 'recovery of non-profit' organisation and 'work integration association' together with bolstering 'co-operatives'. The EMES European Research Network played a crucial role in conceptually encapsulating social enterprises, as an amalgamation of institutions across sectors i) 'public sector' and 'for-profit sector' ii) 'non-profit' and 'social-sector'. This enhanced understanding of the 'social sector' by giving it an entrepreneurial angel along with social goals (Borzaga and Defourney, 2001). In this manner, social enterprise adopted an

'institutional' and 'collective entrepreneurship' (Spear, 2006) where social enterprises located itself within the practice of social entrepreneurship (Johnson, 2000) which includes a wide range of 'organisational forms' 'partnership' and 'network across organisations' (Austin et al., 2006) and continued to be shaped by the legal forms (Borzaga and Defourney, 2001). Another aspect of European social enterprise was the establishment of an institutional structure to achieve social goals and attain sustainability through the production of goods and services for 'general interest' (Nyssens, 2006).

The second approach of understanding social enterprises came from the US; where terms like social entrepreneurship, social enterprise and social entrepreneurs used 'interchangeably' (Seanor and Meaton, 2007). Similar to European countries, the emergence of social enterprises in the USA was a result rollback of government funding to non-profits forcing non-profit to adopt 'commercial activities' (Kerlin, 2006) as well as due to lack of effectiveness of the non-profit sector called for other initiatives (Barendsen and Gardener, 2004). The understanding of social enterprise in the US relates with the process and outcome; i.e. organisations running commercial activities (not necessarily for a social mission) but to raise income to support a social activity, thus the social activity has no links with entrepreneurship (Thomson, 2008). Moreover, in the US, an 'institutional arrangement' to deliver social goals is not a requirement for social enterprises. Thus, this indicates emphasis laid on the individual (social entrepreneur) who projected as 'extraordinary individuals' who are driven by 'value' and committed for a 'change' (Robert and Woods, 2005).

The above discussion indicated that the emergence of social enterprises in the global north as a result of political and economic transitions. This links to the role of context in constructing social enterprises in a region. The global north literature on social enterprise dominated the discourse of social enterprise, which overshadowed regional discourse/s about this phenomenon. This gap in the literature offers scope to develop an understanding of social enterprises in the global south. These regions are different not just in terms of socio-cultural contexts, also political and economic transitions that these regions witnessed. Consequently, this demands a critical interrogation to generate a better understanding of social enterprise as a phenomenon embedded in the context.

The following section will discuss literature that explored the contextual nature of social enterprises beyond the global north and indicates an existing vacuum in the understanding

of this phenomenon in the global south. Subsequently, it will provide an overall understanding of social entrepreneurship in the global south drawing special attention towards India.

2.4 **Context**

As discussed earlier, in terms of conceptualising social enterprises from the point of business models there was a broad range from essential non-profit organisations, associated with innovation, having revenue-generating model to social business model for 'social and environmental impact' (Alter, 2007). The multiple conceptualisations of social enterprises resulted from diverse socio-cultural contexts and the evolution of the economic sector where social entrepreneurship sector exists (Kerlin, 2013). The contextual factors influenced different organisational structure and practices which contributes much to its 'hybridity' (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2012; Kerlin, 2013). Furthermore, within a specific geographical region, the definitional contradictions heightened due to interventions of the public-private or government sector those having an interest in the social enterprise sector (Kerlin, 2013; Sepluveda, 2015). Moreover, definitional fluidity effect attracting right talent pool, policy making (Peredo & McLean, 2006) and firm level maneuvers (Dey & Teasdale, 2016). Largely, scholars emphasised on the 'institutional causes' of definitional ambiguity rather than organisational practice in a specific context. Although, few scholars have studied how does such a pattern of investigation have impacted social entrepreneurs, social enterprises, social impact investors and policy makers, which continues to remain a gap in the literature (Collavo, 2018).

By realising this gap and the role of context in understanding social enterprise phenomenon; there were seldom work in this area. In recent times some studies have focused on social, cultural and historical factors shaping entrepreneurship (Jones & Spicer, 2005) leading to the emergence of approaches based on economic sociology and the sociology of enterprise (Zafirovski, 1999). Fletcher (2006) puts forth entrepreneurial processes being socially embedded and constructed and shaped by the 'the complex products of its milieu,' i.e. a constant interaction between individuals and situations, and social variables of class, ethnicity and morals (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982, Zafirovski, 1999), institutions, language and ideologies (Fletcher, 2006) and networks and rules (Anderson & Jack, 2002). About this, many papers have connected entrepreneurship with society/context. The mutual benefits derived by organisations due to its interaction with its local environment has been an important area

of study (Tolbert *et al.* 1998, Kilkenny *et al.*, 1999, Laukkanen, 2000; Johannisson *et al.,* 2002). Another body of work about entrepreneurship and context explored the complicated relationship between entrepreneurship and deprivation (Lloyd & Mason, 1984; Nolan, 2003; Haywood & Nicholls, 2004; Southern, 2006) in regeneration and economic development policy. Among other studies that presented contextually influencing social enterprise related to the informal economy (Portes, 1994; Evans et al., 2004; Williams, 2005), ethnic minority enterprise (Ram & Smallbone, 2003; Deakins *et al.,* 2007) and combating social exclusion (Blackburn & Ram, 2006).

Furthermore, Kerlin's (2010) quantitative paper used socio-economic context as the first to account social enterprise as a global phenomenon, which differentiated social enterprises in different regions, indicating region-specific socio-economic factors shaping social enterprises. These factors influenced the conceptualisation of social enterprise as organisational forms and legal structure and conducive environment for it to grow. For instance, although co-operatives were existing both in the United States and Western Europe, however, social co-operatives were part of social enterprise discourse in Western Europe (Nyssens 2006; Borzaga and Defourny 2001; Dacanay 2004; Young 2003; Les and Jeliazkova 2005; Mulgan 2006). This work drew on Salamon et al.'s (2000) social origins theory which identified 'civil society' and 'government' as factors influencing the non-profit sector. Social enterprise researchers added two more factors, namely; market (Nyssens, 2006; Nicholls, 2006) and international aid (Kerlin, 2009).

Drawing from these work Kerlin (2010) provided a framework of socio-economic context consisting of four elements i) civil society ii) state capacity iii) market functioning iv) international aid that determines the growth of social enterprise in a region. This work further provided seven models of social enterprise for each of the seven regions of the world, by mapping six variables (i.e. outcome emphasis, programme focus, common organisational type, legal framework, societal sector and strategic development base) against the four factors determining the growth of the social enterprises. Kerlin's (2013) work extended from socio-economic factors to macro-institutional guiding social enterprise models across the globe. Kerlin (2013) drew on historical institutionalism to develop models of social enterprise existing in diverse regions. The classification based on three variable civil society, stage of economic development of the country and type of government that determined the size of the social enterprise sector in a region. The results of this quantitative work largely supported

the proposed framework, although countries included in the study did not represent the global landscape. Hence, this leaves scope for qualitative empirical work to enhance understanding of other countries, especially in the global south (White, Kerlin & Zook, 2015). Thus, Kerlin's work (2010, 2013) provided considerable evidence of the role of socio-economic and macro-institutional factors determining the size of social enterprise in a region. The regional and national level examples indicated how the concept of social enterprise was realised in one part of the world and re-adjusted in another part by creating a new identity of the already existing organisation into a match within the concept. It further indicated that international actors/bodies were keen to develop indigenous social enterprises by initiating replication of grass-roots social enterprise initiatives to expand the growth of social enterprises in varied geographical context (Kerlin, 2010). However, this has not led to the growth of indigenous social enterprise discourses instead led to the application of global north lens to understand the phenomenon and emergence of converging social enterprise discourse/s overlooking indigenous discourse/s embedded in the socio-cultural context.

In the Indian context, there is a dearth of literature that provides an understanding of social enterprise as a contextual phenomenon. Kerlin's work being a quantitative inquiry; this work had some inherent drawbacks as the countries included in the studies did represent the global landscape. The data used to identify social enterprise inherently lacked direct statistical data, considering social enterprise is a fluid concept. The quantitative approach used to develop a framework gives an impression where social enterprise models across the globe can fall neatly along with the contextual factors, ignoring the nuanced and complex manifestation of the phenomenon. This oversimplification of context has been re-examined in works of Welter & Gartner (2016) and Welter (2011) which proposed the multiplicity and intersectionality of context and discarded the ‘all-are-alike’ approach, hence emphasising on the role of ‘context’ will add diversity to social entrepreneurship reseach. Moreover, they put forth the need to develop context theory in entrepreneurship research by not treating context as a singular variable but by adopting diverse sampling across sectors, undertaking contextual research in different settings and from different disciplinary lens. In lines with this work, Chandra and Kerlin (2021) in a special issue of six papers brings context at the forefront of social entrepreneurship research indicating multi-level modelling, incorporating top-down effects of context and bottom-up processes influencing context. This work provided a typology of context in the field of social entrepreneurship by identifying facets of context that can be

further investigated in future social entrepreneurship research that could lead to theory building and impact practice and framing of policies.

Therefore, a sociological contextual lens with an interpretivist approach can aid in understanding the phenomenon in the local context can generate greater regional understanding of the social enterprise phenomenon.

The following section provides an overview of social enterprise literature in the global south with a focus on India.

2.4.1 Social Entrepreneurship in Global South: South Asia

Much of the literature on social entrepreneurship relates to the phenomenon on both sides of the Atlantic (Doherty et al*.,* 2014, Sengupta and Sahay, 2017). Entrepreneurship research remained lesser-explored territory as compared to the global north (Bruton et al., 2008; Bruton et al., 2010; Kiss et al., 2012; Ratten et al., 2016). Emerging economies have a diverse context across culture and demography such as India and China. These countries differ from each other and more so from developed Western countries, leading to a limited understanding of entrepreneurship in these contexts (Anderson and Obeng, 2017; Anderson and Ronteau, 2017). Hence, it remained unclear whether western definitional approaches formulated in developed countries primarily both sides of the Atlantic can capture the contextual essences to describe the phenomenon in the global south (Sengupta and Sahay, 2017). The study by Sengupta, Sahay and Croce (2018) on the conceptualisation of social entrepreneurship in BRIICs nations indicated lack of legal definition and classified schools of thought was absent. Moreover, this study provided a conceptual framework of social entrepreneurship, which is a multi-dimensional concept, with five added dimensions, i.e. social welfare, social capital, social entrepreneur, economic value creation and collective endurance applicable to BRIICs countries.

The emergence of social entrepreneurship on both sides of the Atlantic was attributed to government/market failure or both. In these countries, the development of social enterprise marked declining state welfare provision and accentuating competition among non-profits. In developing/ transitional nations, the emergence of social enterprise was due to ambiguous economic goals (Yujuico, 2008). In the Indian context, social enterprise has situated itself in the developmental discourse which relates to developing social capital of bottom of the

pyramid population, social justice (Singh, 2015) and bring about inclusive development by infusing innovation with social entrepreneurship (National Innovation Council, 2013). However, the term social enterprise has seldom appeared in Indian policy discourse. Social enterprise promotion by the government appears an indirect, cascading effect through initiatives in Micro, Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (MSME's) and support generated to venture capitalist and policy formulation (ADB, 2012) catered towards entrepreneurship and innovation. Thus, locating social enterprise paradigm in the India context becomes far more challenging due to fragmented policies and a transitional political paradigm.

The dominant western discourses put forth social entrepreneurship as an unrefuted 'positive economic activity' (Calas et al., 2009). These discourses revolve around 'functionalist ideals (Grant and Parren, 2002), economics (Sarasvathy and Venkataraman, 2011), individual heroism (Williams and Nadin, 2013), masculinities (Calas *et al.* 2009) and instrumental reason (Gibson-Graham, 2006)'. Issac Lyne's myth-busting investigation of social entrepreneurship phenomenon is a political event preceded by a set of socio-cultural events (Dey and Marti, 2016) having adverse effects (Scott and Teasdale, 2012) as opposed to a 'straight forward, uncontested and ideology-free activity' proposed through 'western common-sense' (Essers et al., 2017).

On the other hand, global south social enterprise discourse/s presents social enterprise as a tool to counter the nation's social challenges. India's large-scale socio-political and demographic challenges have not met optimistic outcomes as compared to economic progress in the recent past; as a result, social enterprise is presented as having a massive opportunity of tapping into this area (Singh, 2012). A paper on the concept of social entrepreneurship in Asia-Pacific countries provided three themes that demands future research namely: contextual, institution and individual factors surrounding social entrepreneurship (Sengupta and Sahay, 2017). The study by Sengupta, Sahay and Croce (2018) on the conceptualisation of social entrepreneurship in BRIICs nations indicated lack of legal definition and classified schools of thought was absent. Moreover, this study provided a conceptual framework of social entrepreneurship, which is a multi-dimensional concept, with five added dimensions, i.e. social welfare, social capital, social entrepreneur, economic value creation and collective endurance applicable to BRIICs countries. Further, an inductive theory building approach adopted to investigate construction of social enterprises in India also provided a conceptual framework of social enterprises in Indian context. It was also

recognised that India's regional contextual diversity need further research in this area (Sengupta and Sahay, 2018).

Majumdar and Guha's (2021) book, 'In Search of Business Models in Social Entrepreneurship-Concepts and Cases' includes chapters from different scholars discussing the growing momentum of social enterprises in the 21st century due to 'neoliberal economic thoughts and practices'. Moreover, the growing importance of social enterprises in academia has been discussed in a case of developing teaching module by Tata Institute of Social Sciences, India (Kummitha and Majumdar, 2015). The work of Mujumdar and Saini (2016) presented social entrepreneurship in India acting as a bridge between community and business interest, giving rise to newer 'paradigms of CSR' marked by innovative models of 'proactiveness','reasonable experimentation' and giving businesses 'competitive advantage'.

The work of Dutta (2016) in entrepreneurship research indicates the lack of focus on sociocultural factors in development of economic theories. It promotes the need to adopt, interdisciplinary, ethnographic and psychosocial perspectives to entrepreneurial activities to have a better understanding especially in Indian context. This work surfaces personal contextual factors like migrants, sense of achievement, entrepreneurial family background were responsible for business growth or hindrance. Other works of Dutta (2019a, 2019b) focussed on rural entrepreneurship development and a comparative study of West Bengal and Gujarat and other on restructuring of state finances to promote entrepreneurship.

There have been limited number of investigations of social ventures mobilising resources. In a study by Desa and Basu (2015) presented two processes of mobilising resources-optimisation and bricolage and the pre-existing conditions shaping decisions of venture founders in choosing a process. The findings indicated the degree of 'prominence' gained by organisation had a U shape relation with bricolage and a positive relation with optimisation. Study by Agarwal et.al (2020) established 'juggad approach' was distinct from bricolage by adopting a multi-method study of social enterprises in Indian health sector, indicated its relevance in social enterprises resource mobilisation process.

Other works, like Singh (2015) presented a sociological perspective of social enterprises in India, highlighting its structural features resembles traditional non-profits, thus future research needs to focus more on 'qualitative features' like mission, social innovation and inclusiveness. Some exploratory studies of social enterprises in India presented a positive

image of social enterprises catering to social issues better than traditional non-profits thus gaining importance in the social sector where the government is actively promoting it (Bulsara et. al, 2015; Singh, 2012) indicating further empirical research in this area.

Such literature, views social enterprises as an emerging entity with great potential to solve social issues plaguing the nation while overlooking factors that might have led social enterprise as the most viable solution. These factors include evolution of a mixed-welfare system, the financial frauds revealed in the NGO sector that maligned its credibility, degeneration of co-operative movements, the role played by international development funds in the recent years seldom taken into account in the literature to understand emergence of social enterprises in India. Moreover, reports on social enterprise activities in India put forth, strong government inclination to drive social entrepreneurship (British Council Report, 2015, 2016) around some focus areas, i.e. education, health, agriculture, affordable housing to mention a few. However, from these reports it was evident there was absence of clarity as to how the government is involved (policy, programmes, and budget) in overall development of social enterprise sector in India.

Thus, there has been a dearth of literature providing a critical understanding of the construction of social enterprises in India. Since, 2001 in India social enterprise eco-system builders which included educational institutions, corporate fellowships programmes and foundations, impact investors, incubators, conferences/awards and media have played a pivotal role (Shukla, 2020), in constructing social enterprise paradigm in the subcontinent.

The subcontinent witnessed social entrepreneurial activities and demonstrated social entrepreneurial success like Sulabh Toilet Project, Seva Café, SEWA and several self-help groups. However, in the recent times, social enterprises, for example, TAPF, CRY and Arvind Eye Care has been struggling to keep up with innovative models and solve social issues which questions the 'positive economic activity' discourse. The growing number of social enterprises indicate not just its mere acceptance as a solution to social problems but also seen as a non-questioned viable option from leading educational institutions (i.e. IRMA, TISS, IIT Chennai, IIM Bangalore, IIM Calcutta) (Agarwal and Kumar, 2018), which have promoted the west led social enterprise discourse in the country. A book on social entrepreneurship in India named 'The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid' by C.K Prahalad (2004) proposed how the marginalised section offers a vast market opportunity innovative business models

could leverage this vast opportunity financially. Hence, social enterprise research then looked at social enterprises as business models providing goods and services to the marginalised sections (Linna, 2012; Olsen & Boxenbaum, 2009; Seelos and Mair, 2007). Consequently, many organisations started offering inconsequential products to the marginalised (Garrate and Karnani, 2010; Karnani, 2009). Social enterprise research came into light with SKS micro finances (Gunjan, Soumyadeep and Srijit, 2010) which propogated the bottom of the pyramid (BOP) business models (Karnani, 2009; Seelos and Mair, 2007). Henceforth, as long a product and services suited to marginalised were being created and sold as part of social entrepreneurship.

Sonne's (2012) work presented a burgeoning class of social entrepreneurs, impact investors funding market-driven solutions based on neoliberal agenda, on the other hand, Sonne and Jamal (2014) also put forth the existence of diverse entrepreneurial initiatives existing in the country opposed to such market oriented models.

The severe inequalities in India has contributed to another social enterprise models to exist. These venture models aim to overcome the 'rich-poor, urban-rural, class, gender and caste based' disparities. They are empowerment-led, community mobilisation-led driven to create self-sustainable communities for the marginalised; such ventures are termed as "collective entrepreneurship"/ "community-based entrepreneurship" (Agarwal and Kumar, 2018). Prasad and Manimala (2018) work titled 'Circular Social Innovation: A New Paradigm for India's Sustainable Development' presented the link between collective entrepreneurship, social innovation and circular economy embedded in the sustainable development discourse. Another, important Indian model of social innovation is Self-Help Groups (SHGs). This model leverages 'social capital' of small groups of marginalised people (especially women) to offer financial empowerment. These groups emerged during 1970s–1980s initiated by organizations like Mysore Resettlement and Development Agency (MYRADA), Deccan Development Society (DDS), Association of Sarva Seva Farms (ASSEFA), Professional Assistance for Development Action (PRADAN). Subsequently, in 1990's SHGs were institutionalised through a government body (NABARD)[8].In the present day it still continues to function as a robust yet inconspicuously with a mission of social change (Shukla, 2010b)

[8] National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development

The practice of social entrepreneurship is not a new phenomenon in India, as there are traces of social enterprise activities in the 1950s. However, the contemporary understanding of the phenomenon promoted through social entrepreneurship eco-system builders resonates significantly with the global north perspective. The reason for such converging perspective is a result of an investment of international development funds into the social sector, technical knowledge transfer from the global north and neoliberal agenda of the present political regime.

Although there are striking similarities with the global north perspective, international literature on social entrepreneurship also acknowledges the contextual nature of the phenomenon (Kerlin, 2010) which makes India an exciting setting for this study, which will create an understanding of the conflict/coexisting discourses between paradigm builders of social entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurs/practitioners in constructing social enterprises in India.

The following section of this chapter will explain the multiple theories this thesis will draw on. The literature discussed in the following section, overarching employed interpretivist approach that draws on empirical qualitative data; as this thesis will draw on a similar approach, offering a critical contextual understanding of the phenomenon which have remained eclipsed by dominant western led discourses by institutional actors rather than discourses led by practitioners.

2.5 Social Enterprise Paradigms

Nicholls and Teasdale's (2016) work drawing from Kuhn introduced the concept of social enterprise as micro-paradigm, 'nested' in meso-paradigm of public policy and macro neoliberal paradigm, where the cascading neoliberal ideologies are reflected in the discourses of paradigm-building actors.

Apart from growing academic interest from business-management school perspective to investigate social enterprise and its various hybrid forms (Doherty, Haugh & Lyon, 2014) a burgeoning line of research has focussed on social enterprise as a neoliberal policy construct; that contributes to 'marketisation of civil society' (Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004), 'privatisation of public services' and shifting welfare responsibilities from 'state to communities' (Dey &

Teasdale, 2016). For instance, in England, the institutionalisation of social enterprise policies have been one of the fastest compared to any other country (Nicholls, 2010b).

International institutions have promoted neoliberal ideas and policies, which have transcended and 'mutated' itself differently in the local context (Peck and Theodore, 2010). As a result, it can be argued based on context different political parties driven by certain 'normative ideologies' will infer differently from such ideas even within a country and paradigm. Hence, policy paradigms are not constant and unable to manage 'normative ideological differences' or persistent friction arising from conflicting/competing ideas (Nicholls & Teasdale, 2016).

Montgomery's (2016) paper, based on Kuhn's work, analysed the paradigmatic status of social innovation and proposed two schools of thought, namely technocratic and democratic and the friction between the two paradigms. The paper reveals the broader conflict between neoliberalism and its opponents. This article highlighted the need to identify 'forces pursuing radical social innovation-oriented to social emancipation and those seeking to maintain an asymmetrical organised social order biased towards agencies of profit making, efficient markets and business friendly social relations'(Jossep et al., 2013). These initiate questions around how these forces operate and interact. Hence, the operationalisation of these forces remains a product of political-ideological paradigm influencing institutional norms in a specific context.

The discursive construction of technocratic (neoliberal) paradigm locates itself within the discourse of free-market revealed by the language of few policy-makers in the European Commission (2013) while promoting social innovation. The technocratic paradigm is closely linked with neoliberalism, as the economic crisis had put neoliberal ideology under severe scrutiny (Brenner and Theodore, 2002), this led to emerging discourses aimed towards civil society to preserve neoliberal hegemony when faced with contestation and resistance (Nicholls & Teasdale, 2016). The technocratic paradigm repositions 'social' within a 'commodified frame' with an emphasis on 'supply and demand' along with a heightened emphasis on 'efficiency and savings' that can be made available for public work financing (Murray *et al.,* 2010; Mulgan, 2006b; Leadbeater & Meadway, 2008). As a result, this paradigm complements the neoliberal political project of "roll back" policies with "roll out" initiatives (Peck & Tickell, 2002) bolstering neoliberal ideology and fading boundaries

between state and market and suppressing resistance towards this hegemonic project (Nicholls & Teasdale, 2016). The advocates of the technocratic paradigm advance neoliberal ideology by instilling new institutional "hardware" (Peck & Tickell, 2002). Thus, social innovation servers as another space for neoliberalism and acts as a part of 'political project to reengineer the state' (Bockman, 2012). It was interesting to note that technocratic discourse shifted from 'anti-hierarchical rhetoric' attacking welfare state to revering social entrepreneur when it came to discussing the importance of social entrepreneurship. Here, the hero-entrepreneur discourse remains pertinent, implicating the neoliberal ideology (Nicholls & Teasdale, 2016).

On the other hand, other scholars have constructed other paradigm, which has allowed other approaches to address 'human needs' rather than prioritising 'free market thinking'. However, the tensions between these two paradigms based on power distribution results in neoliberalism dominate the opponent paradigms (Nicholls & Teasdale, 2016). The democratic paradigm acts as a counter to forces that reinforces and maintains 'social exclusion' (Moulaert et al., 2013). Moulaert and Ailenei (2005) suggested agents of democratic paradigm in an economy acts as a broader strategy to reinstall 'social justice into production and allocation of systems' Gibson-Graham (2003) sees community economies act to dismantle capitalism and expanding 'multiple axes of economic diversity is an emancipatory project of repoliticising the economy'. Hence, instead of backing the hero-entrepreneur (discourse of technocratic paradigm), democratic paradigm rejects hierarchical 'figureheads or elites'.

Further research in other local socio-political contexts can reveal how these two paradigms operationalise through discourses of paradigm building actors and practitioners and how the tensions between the two pans out in theory and practice.

Drawing from Kuhn, Nicholl's (2010) work took on approaches from neo-institutional theory, to explain 'microstructures of legitimation' for development of social entrepreneurship as a field through 'key actors, discourses and narrative logic'. This work also highlighted the reproduction of dominant discourses acts as a legitimisation tool for 'resource-rich actors in the process of reflexive isomorphism'. As social entrepreneurship sector has become a playground for different actors, there have been few crucial actors engaged in paradigm building. These groups identified in Nicholls (2010) work due to the prominent space they acquired in literature and debate around social entrepreneurship and based on resources

invested in developing this field. The paradigm building motives overtly communicated through their websites/other public platforms or indirectly implied through their operations by acting as a supporting pillar for social entrepreneurship development. These four groups consisted of government, which has played very strong in the UK (OTS, 2006; Social Enterprise Unit, 2002). Second, foundations like the Skoll Foundation (Lounsbury & Stang, 2009), third were fellowship organisations such as Ashoka (Bornstein, 2004) and lastly, network organisations (Grenier, 2006). These clusters of paradigm building actors act as an imperative component in shaping discourses, narrative logic and archetype organisational model (Nicholls, 2010). Hence, a content analysis of public statements of these paradigm-building actors revealed three dominant social entrepreneurship discourses: narrative logic based on hero-entrepreneur examples, ideal-type organisational models based on business and logic based on communitarian values and social justice (Nicholls, 2010).

The following section discusses the role of institutional discourses acting as isomorphic pressure by resources rich actors in the process of legitimising social enterprises.

2.6 Institutional narratives as isomorphic pressure

According to this narrative logic, the hero entrepreneur narrative promoted through foundations and fellowship organisations catalyse social change based on 'return' on capital and focuses on success stories (Lundsbury and Stang, 2009). It also promotes successful action as an outcome of heroic personality traits (Dart, 2004) in contrast to traditional philanthropic grantmakers that derive legitimacy through grant-giving. On the contrary, social entrepreneurship in a community setting resonates co-operative, communitarian traditions and have a bottom-up approach. It prioritises 'grass-roots' group action and dissociates enterprise narrative with commercial activity. This discourse locates itself within the long-standing narratives and rationales of third sector action (Clotfelter, 1992; Evers & Laville, 2004; Salamon & Anheier, 1999). Hence, the former narratives were embedded within the technocratic paradigm and the later within the democratic paradigm.

Moreover, these opposing narratives endorse the ideal-type organisational model for social entrepreneurship. Firstly, those who promote the commercial business model central idea of social entrepreneurship. They use words like "sustainability", "scale", "professional" and believes that a business model driven social action creates an impact that is more social for

their beneficiaries (Blair, 2006). Second, are those that set social entrepreneurship within the framework of advocacy and social change. In this category, they use words like "social value", "social justice" and work towards giving voice to the beneficiaries. This discourse banks on the institutional logics of the third sector and social movements (Davis et al., 2005; Salamon et al., 2003).

The pure network builders have limited capital, does little grantmaking, and lack the dissemination, reach of government or marketing power of foundations. Therefore, they cannot quickly propagate their discourses of social entrepreneurship in opposition to hero entrepreneur narratives and business model ideal types. Resource-constrained actors have two strategies with which to achieve impact. First, they can align their interests with those of more powerful, resource-rich, actors; second, they can adopt resistance strategies to counter other trends in the development of the field (Nicholls, 2010). Edwards (2008, 2010) has highlighted the struggle of traditional not-for-profit logics against a new wave of business-driven and business-supported discourses characterised as "philanthrocapitalism" (Nicholls, 2010).

The following section will highlight the role of discourses in social entrepreneurship studies as unit of analysis and surfacing contextual aspect of social enterprises.

2.7 The role of social entrepreneurship discourses

'Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constitution and constructing the world meaning' (Fairclough, 1992). Discourse has become a key term associated with social enterprise literature. In this work, discourse is understood as the language of the individual, which is not random, but reproduction of what institutions and social groups 'articulate' in a systematic fashion (Cohen & Musson, 2000). Several studies have indicated that people explicitly demonstrate ideals and claims embodied by social enterprise while challenging and 're-writing' the enterprise discourse (Cohen & Musson, 2000; Fletcher, 2006).

Cohen & Muson's (2000) qualitative study of medical general practitioners and women making the transition from employment to self-employment delved into how individuals use enterprise discourse, how it was imbibed internally and reproduced using Fairlough's theories of the dialectical relationship of discourse and social structure (Fairlough, 1992). This study

presented how individuals were able to distinguish between discourses and modify them based on their rationality.

Similarly, Parkinson and Howorth's (2008) work indicated how entrepreneurship discourses were applied to social entrepreneurship in the UK and to what extent practitioners in the UK adopted the values and claims of this political rhetoric to articulate their realities. This work drew from on Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995) and Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) work which put forth that discourses extended beyond 'social power situations' to the language used to influence in turn be influenced by practice indicating discourses embedded within context (Fairclough & Woodak, 1997).

Teasdale's (2011) article presented, in the UK context, how the language of social enterprise emerged to promote co-operatives and 'mutual models of public-private enterprise'. Later, its meaning broadened, leading to many actors claiming the language for policy and resource acquisition. Thus, with a growing number of social enterprises increasing in England indicated how the language of social enterprise was gaining attention from academics, policy-makers and practitioners (Parkinson & Howorth, 2008), which has led to the emergence of 'language of social enterprise as a unit of analysis' (Teasdale, 2011). Hence, drawing from a similar line of qualitative inquiry, this thesis will use the language of social enterprise in a specific geographical context as the unit of analysis. This work will draw on how institutional actors, as well as practitioners discursively, understand and relate to the phenomenon leading to its construction in a specific context.

Social enterprise discourse presented as fragment neoliberal meta-narrative of social entrepreneurship where 'social' and 'economic' are merged in a seamless fashion (Dey & Steyaert, 2010). Such a narrative undermined the 'agency of practitioners of constructing the meaning of social enterprise, thus underplaying the role of other competing discourses which premises on 'collective self-help' (Parkinson & Howorth, 2008). Some other authors have linked the language of social enterprise to 'a third way/communitarian rhetoric that attempts to plot a middle ground beyond traditional statist social democracy and neo-liberalism' (Haugh & Kitson, 2007). Grenier (2009) indicated the construction of social enterprise out of policy rhetoric during New Labour government in England; it was a competing space of 'collective' social enterprise and 'individualistic' social entrepreneurship discourses.

In the following table 1. Teasdale (2011) proposed a classification social enterprise discourses.

Discourse	**Description**
Earned income	Sale of goods and services, which have been carried out by voluntary organisations.
Delivering public	The state should retreat from delivering services (but remain as funder). The third sector should expand to fill the gap.
Social business	Social enterprises are business that apply market based strategies to achieve social or environmental mission.
Community enterprise	Development trusts are community enterprises working to create wealth in communities. They trade for 'not for personal profit' and reinvest surplus back into the community.
Co-operatives	Jointly and democratically controlled co-operative members who actively oversees policy and decision making. Members are elected by beneficiaries of the activities.

Adapted from: Social enterprise discourses, theoretical assumptions and organisational forms, Teasdale (2011)

Hence, from the above discussion in literature, there is a scope to firstly understand how 'a single discourse is constructed within a particular account, or by diverse people or group (Casey, 1993; Cohen, 1997). Secondly, the complex relationships between discourses (Musson,1994). Lastly, how discourses collide 'collide/compete/overlap' instilled within individuals' leads to how they derive meaning out of it (Cohen & Musson, 2000) in different contextual settings.

Nicholls (2010a) drew from the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1984; Nicholls & Cho, 2006) and extended neo-institutional theory in his article and explained legitimisation of

microstructures in a field indicating 'a reflexive relationship between field and organisation-level legitimation strategies in social entrepreneurship'. This article implied how legitimisation strategies used by key paradigm building actors results in the construction of social entrepreneurship. Such patterns tend to be expected in a field which is in its pre-paradigmatic state (yet to achieve legitimacy), compared to paradigm building actors operating within it. The article indicated different 'clusters of discourses' linked to the various paradigm building actors shaping the normative idea of social entrepreneurship as a field. Each paradigm-building actor was characterised by its discourses, narrative logic and ideal-type organisational model and each contesting to legitimise their discourses, which finally led to constructing social entrepreneurial paradigm.

Moreover, in the pre-paradigmatic status of a field, resource-rich actors use their power in the legitimisation process leading to institutionalisation, by a process where actors align 'key discourses and norms of the field' with their internal rationality of action leading to 'a process of reflexive self-legitimation'. As a result, this process has an immense effect on 'field actors' lacking resource and power.

2.8 Sociological perspective on legitimacy: Institutional Theory

Most theorising of non-profits (Weisbrod, 1988; Salamon, 1995; Hansman, 1987) was associated with rational and economic justification for its emergence. Similarly, social enterprise explained through such 'rational and functional' explanation as a response to public-sector funding and limited resources of the philanthropic sector (Dees, Emerson & Economy, 2001). However, moving away from such rational-choice based explanation, and adopting an institutional theory lens for social enterprise offers a 'wide sociological understanding' which takes into account a wider 'sociopolitical context' in explaining the emergence of social enterprises. Rational economic-based theories offer a 'narrow economic and strategic reasons' based explanation for emergence and structure of the organisation, whereas the emergence of such organisation is responsible for much 'wider and complex' dynamics operating in its context. Institutional theory has played an essential role in organisational research in the present day; however, seldom used to analyse social enterprise (Dart, 2004). Notable works in institutional theory (by Selznick, 1949; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Di Maggio & Powell 1983; Scott, 1992 and Zucker, 1987) have gained momentum due to its 'emphasis on nonchoice and nonrational' stance of explaining the organisational structure

and broader sector, and societal structure at large (Dart, 2004). Drawing from upcoming research on legitimacy and legitimisation (Suchman, 1995; Aldrich and Fiol, 1994), Dart (2004) adopted institutional theory lens while explaining the emergence of social enterprise indicating institutional theory premised on the concept of legitimacy rather than 'efficiency and effectiveness' through which organisations acquire and maintain resources (Oliver, 1991). In order to achieve this organisational goal, it demands 'conformance and isomorphism' with logics of critical stakeholders in its immediate environment (Di Maggio & Powell, 1983; Mayer & Rowan 1977; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). From a sociological perspective, the institutional theory based on the idea that organisational systems are exposed to its social and cultural environments (Scott, 1922) along with its norms, myths and symbols found within (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Hence, organisations are embedded within their context and reflect key social ideas (Dart, 2004). Therefore, institutional theory indicates that legitimacy and legitimisation process is a contextual phenomenon and would need more local empirical work to develop further understanding in this area.

Hence, this connects the above discussion on institutional legitimacy with the next section of impression management (tactical mimicry) a tool for acquiring organisational legitimacy.

2.9 Impression Management – 'tactical mimicry'

Erving Goffman used the existential metaphor of dramaturgical interaction between actor and audiences where overt expressions represent 'front stage' while keeping 'backstage persona' of the actor covert from the audience. Through 'audience segregation', the projected impressions are re-adjusted delineating different faces to different audiences (Goffman, 1956). From a sociological perspective, Tseelson (1992) puts forth that IM is acquired subconsciously and exhibits in 'semi-conscious behaviours' rather than strategically devised affirmed in Teasdale's (2009) empirical work with practitioners in the non-profit sector in London. Furthermore, Xin (2004) proposed the ethnic angle IM work, which continued; remain under-investigated (Teasdale, 2009).

Organisational impression management (OIM) has attempted to investigate IM as a strategy of internal organisational members to influence external stakeholders (Bolino *et al.* 2008). Rational choice behaviour guided by the logic of well-developed strategies to maximise utility and efficiency has guided OIM strategies (Teasdale, 2009). Thus, OIM described through

rational choice behaviour neglects the role of audiences on actors. Bolino *et al.* (2008) identified three studies in OIM literature that investigated the role of audiences in OIM. Authors highlighted the role of power in audiences affecting OIM; however, it has remained under-explored. Bansal and Kistruck (2006) had shown the degree of power associated with an audience related to the extent actors conformed to scripts of the concerned audience. However, the understanding of 'power differentials' have remained underexplored in OIM research (Teasdale, 2009).

There were some studies, which focused on IM in the non-profits but minimal in social enterprises. These studies indirectly implied the hybrid nature of social enterprises with socio-economic, environmental goals led these organisation face multiple stakeholders and resort to OIM strategies to counter these challenges (Elsbach and Sutton, 1992; O'Keefe and Conway, 2008; Bansal and Kistuck, 2006). Although OIM research emphasised on implementation of IM techniques was to counter challenges of organisational legitimacy; however, IM strategies in relation with social enterprise predominantly understood as a technique of resources acquisition (Teasdale, 2009). Hence, most studies of social enterprises explained IM through the rational choice of resource dependency theory. As social enterprise operation span over private-public and non-profit sector (Dart, 2004; Di Demencio, Tracey and Haugh, 2009; Peredo and Mclean, 2006) with the dual mission, as a result, it draws resources from a wide range of stakeholders (Campi *et al.* 2006) which demands social enterprise to adopt IM techniques.

Academic work on impression management and social enterprises whereby organisations adopt different identities to access resources (Teasdale, 2010) suggested that external bodies were not 'passive recipient of these managed impressions'. As each external body had a stake in social enterprises from a specific perspective, hence exerted pressure to conform to their normative logic. Such pressures were managed/resisted by social enterprises by using organisational impression management strategies (Teasdale, 2010). Thus, through empirical work on third sector practitioners in the UK created a better understanding of these strategies being discursively employed by social enterprise practitioners which led them to navigate tensions between normative and operational discourses.

However, in relation to these empirical work, Thanem (2012) highlighted an instrumental aspect called 'tactical mimicry' that had gone unnoticed. This work indicated how 'resistance'

could take shape by dominant alignment with power in a specific setting to steer an independent space for 'alternative modes' of co-existence. Therefore, allowing actors to strategically circumlocute from the 'dream of the strategist' (Teasdale, 2010). Thus, there is an extensive scope to investigate how practitioners employ IM-'tactical mimicry' through an institutional theory lens of legitimacy in different spatial and temporal context.

2.9.1 Tactical Mimicry

Dey and Teasdale's (2016) longitudinal qualitative study established 'tactical mimicry' as a tactic employed by the UK practitioners where the practitioner's 'productive resistance' exhibited through histrionic association with government strategies. This work demonstrated how 'tactical mimicry' employed by third sector practitioners' led to overt identification with normative discourse/s of social enterprises to appropriate government funds but at the same time enhancing/gathering 'collective agency' in alternative space distant from the influence power (Dey and Teasdale, 2016).

This work drew on de Certeau's work (de Certeau, 1984; de Certeau *et al.,* 1998) which focussed on resistance and differentiating between strategies and tactics, which continued to be a highly disputable concept (Buchanna, 2000). According to de Certeau *et al.* (1994) conceptualised strategies as 'calculus of force relationships' present in hegemonic projects of 'political, economic and scientific rationality' (de Certeau, 1984). Thus strategies demonstrate 'perspective of the dominant order which prescribes what is adequate or desirable and so forms the institutionalised framework, scripts or patterns of action that serves as general guides to behaviour' (Carlson, 1996). Therefore, policies and initiatives related to social enterprise attributed as strategies as it serves as a hegemonic norm guiding 'social production' (Dey & Steyaert, 2014). On the other hand, tactics are creative manoeuvring in everyday life employed by individuals. According to de Certeau (1984), tactics are creations arising out of 'strategic circumstances'. However, tactics do not operate in 'opposition' to strategies but circumvent through a strategic situation (Dey & Teasdale, 2016).

Social enterprise literature indicated a lack of adequate work around practitioner resisting social enterprise, which has a business-like approach as a dominant discourse within the third sector. In Parkinson and Howorth's (2008) seminal work indicated that practitioner despite shaped by normative discourses retains the power to resist social enterprise discourses by

'displacing, appropriating or negotiating their meaning and identity within the political context in which they work'. Baines *et al.* (2010) study indicated that the growing market-driven approaches guiding public service delivery made public service officers and third-sector workers not relate with this logic.

Seanor and Meaton's (2007) findings indicated practitioner's dissociated from the hero-entrepreneur discourse of social enterprise to the extent of not acknowledging themselves as social entrepreneurs. Froggett and Chamberlayne (2004) through their work added, practitioners, denounce 'individualistic and consumerist' discourses of social enterprises. These studies together put forth an 'antagonistic paradigm' which operates as 'constant process of adaptive, subversion and reinscription of dominant discourses (Thomas & Davies, 2005).

Interpretivist research reclaimed agency at the centre for sense-making of social enterprise discourse to highlight individuals might not identify with 'prescribed' norms (Jones and Spicer, 2009). Individuals as entrepreneurs 'discursively' resist the normative idea of social entrepreneurship and align with 'competing meanings' (Sanders and McClellan, 2014) and make sense of it through their logic embedded in their world reality (Cohen and Musson, 2000). Hence, people were not non-reflexive beings imbibing social enterprise discourse; on the contrary, they act as 'agents' combating social enterprise discourse through constant inducement (Foucault, 1982). Most studies associated with 'enterprising self discursively resisting' social enterprise discourse highlighted 'antagonistic practices' (i.e. opposition, appropriation or transgression). However, Dey and Teasdale's (2016) work produced empirical evidence where overt antagonism was replaced by 'counterfeit mimicry' or 'tactical mimicry', which combined explicit demonstration of alignment with normative social enterprise discourse for access to essential resources and implicit resistance to give into similar discourses. Thus, tactical mimicry could not be reduced to mere 'non-antagonistic, informal form of resistance' to move away from such notion and rethink of it as a form of 'productive resistance' (Courpasson et al., 2012).

These discussions in literature generate an understanding where practitioners were externally pushed to adopt tactical mimicry with a motive to access financial resources. However, it overlooks these strategies originate internally to act as a push factor for

practitioners to cater organisational interest, therefore indicating such motivations were not a mere rational choice as a consequence of resource dependency but to facilitate legitimacy.

Drawing from the similar body of work this thesis will investigate how the tensions between normative institutional discourse(s) and operational discourses of social enterprises are discursively managed using impression management and 'tactical mimicry' techniques (Teasdale, 2010) in the Indian context. Such strategies employed by practitioners in earlier work (Dey and Teasdale, 2016; Steiner and Teasdale, 2016) attributed this to resource mobilisation; as a result, rational choice explanation tends to ignore a much detailed and nuanced understanding of the strategic implementation of practitioner motivations through IM and tactical mimicry techniques.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the contextual nature of social enterprises phenomenon has led practitioners interpret it differently in different contexts. This following section discusses identity work of social entrepreneurs which relates with this thesis in terms of how practitioners from three generational cohorts dis/identify with social enterprise discourses.

2.10 Identity work of social entrepreneurs:

The term social entrepreneur has become very frequently used in academia and business. However, authors (Dacin & Dacin, 2011; Harding, 2004; Mair & Marti, 2006; Weerawardena & Sullivan, 2006) accept there is no clear definition for a social entrepreneur due to its contextual nature and being perceived differently by a different actor. Although social entrepreneurs have gained prominence in the public domain, they do not represent a uniform collective (Sastre-Castillo et al., 2015).

Identity work in this thesis refers to 'the ongoing mental activity that an individual undertakes in constructing and understanding of self' (Alvesson et al.,2008) expressed as narrative drawn from different discourses (Brown & Lewis, 2011) to achieve 'stability'/legitimacy operating 'under construction' (Ybema et al., 2009). It is a 'process' rather than being 'static' (Alvesson et al., 2008).

Different studies have reported that the identity work of social entrepreneurs has been a problematic phenomenon. Ritchie (1991) argued that this complexity was a result of different groups (associated with social enterprises) interpreting the phenomenon in different manners. By using quotes of political commentators, he demonstrated how an understanding

of social enterprises differed during articulation. He extended this understanding beyond politicians/commentators to explain such interpretation manifest in 'the world outside, where its meanings further multiply in number, and fragment in effect'. With an ongoing debate around accolades and criticisms associated with social enterprise, researchers put forth that social entrepreneurs continuously struggle to balance the social and commercial interest of the organisations (Paulsen & McDonald, 2010) and need to manage 'the complex demand of double bottomline' (Miller et al., 2012). Resulting in the recent development of work around identity work of social entrepreneurs (Jones et al., 2008) that continues to demand a better understanding of it (Miller et al., 2012). Hence, this area of work needs further research on the challenges faced by social entrepreneurs (Miller et al., 2012; Pache & Chowdhary, 2012, Smith & Woodworth, 2012) 'as they construct what some have labelled as their contested identities' (Howorth et al., 2012).

In Cohen and Musson (2000) qualitative study looked at how enterprise discourse was articulated by two groups (i.e. medical workers and women shifting from employment to self-employment) 'to construct and reconstruct material practices and psychological identities'. The key argument of this study was, although practitioners did not imbibe 'enterprise culture' in terms of its principles and claims, they continued to reproduce it in their daily practice 'which were imbued with the notion of enterprise' (du Gay & Salaman, 1992).

Essers and Benschop's (2007) study of identity construction of Moroccan or Turkish female entrepreneurs in the Netherlands explored how identity negotiations took place with different constituencies which revealed the micro-politics at the workplace and deconstructing the dominant ' archetype of the white male hero'.

Through 61 interviews with social entrepreneurs, Driver (2016) explored the identity work of social entrepreneurs from a psychoanalytic perspective. It revealed the complexity of identity work of social entrepreneurship as each actor plays a role of using their logic making it work for themselves, hence taking different stands to the label of a social entrepreneur, the idea of profit, the underlying motivations and personal context (Oezselcuk, 2006).

Dey and Teasdale's (2013) work on dis/identification of third sector practitioners in London revealed how practitioners resisted and 'appropriated' certain aspects of social enterprise discourse. Thus, a social enterprise that was understood as a neoliberal tool to control the third sector (Carmel and Harlock, 2008) unexpectedly demonstrated resistance at the level of practice (Brady, 2011) which is indicative the extent to which practitioners dis/identify with

practice. It further showed that practitioners were able to 'displace' the identities attributed to them by discourses (Holmer-Nadesan, 1996). In this line, identity here referred to as a 'paradoxical activity' which represents the dominant discourses at the same time 'rearticulated' in other ways (Dey and Teasdale, 2013). Therefore in this thesis uses this framework of dis/identifications for Indian practitioners, against the backdrop of (i) socio-political context, (ii) generational identity and (iii) self-attribution (self-identified/ externally identified as a social entrepreneur). Consequently, this process will also help to further the understanding of development/friction/co-existence of discourses leading to the construction democratic/technocratic social enterprise paradigm (Montgomery, 2016) in Indian context.

Dey and Teasdale (2013) used Pecheux's (1982) work of identification which was instrumental in understanding how practitioners identify with the practice of social entrepreneurship as acknowledged in Dey and Teasdale's (2013) work that this classification demands further refinement and these five modes of dis/identifications need not manifest in such straight-forward manner nor operate in a mutually exclusive manner. Thus, practitioners can slip into one another modes across time (Ellis and Ybema, 2010). The table 2. below provides classification of five modes of identification by Pecheux (1982).

Identification	
Enthusiastic Engagement	As described by Pecheux (1982) in this case individuals associate with social enterprise discourse and use it to make sense of the reality around. Holmer-Nadesan (1996) it rejects any contradictions embedded in the dominant discourse. Hoedemaekers (2010) viewed identification a process to maintain fluidity and produce an illusionary identity (individual/oranisation).
Reflective Endorsement	It does not involve uncontested engagement with social enterprise discourse; it shows a ‘reflective mode of judgement’. This kind of

	association shows identification of social enterprise was not an automatic and direct rather comes with reasoning. Butler (1993) suggests through this process individual retains power instead getting dominanted or unquestioningly imbibing it.
Counteridentification	Modes of denouncing dominant discourse
Private Irony	Practitioner shows an 'uneasy sense of standing under a sign to which one does not belong' (Butler, 1993) while publicly resonating its ideas.
Public opposition	Explicitly not identifying with social enterprise discourse although privately supporting its discourse
Disidentification	
Displacement	Rejects dominant discourses 'privately or publicly' by criticizing it.

Adapted from: Pecheux's (1982) work on identification

2.11 Generational identity

There is an emerging area of research related to the study of generations drawing from sociology and anthropology, which contributes to being part of the individual identity. Joshi *et al.* (2010) have highlighted the generational identity paradigm as a multiple paradigm approach. First is 'cohort-based identity' where individuals exposed to similar experiences belonging to the same time. Second is 'age-based generational identity', which is based not on the similar experiences shared but because of sharing the same birth year, which creates an identity for individuals. The third is 'incumbency- based generational identity' where individual identity is a consequence of 'skills', 'experiences', 'attitudes', 'knowledge' as a result of occupying a specific position (e.g. CEO of an organisation). Identity theories namely self-categorisation and social identity theories are applied to 'the study of generations in the

workforce (Urick, 2012). However, there is a paucity of studies that bridges the understanding of the role of generational identity and social entrepreneurship, though there are few studies that investigate this phenomenon with entrepreneurship (Down & Reveley, 2004; Lippmann *et al*., 2015).

In recent times, sociologists refocus on the area of generations and other macro topics about 'temporality' and 'identity' (Pilcher 1994; Eyerman and Turner 1998, Corsten 1999, Scott, 2000). In lines with such interest, it drew the attention of scholars from organisational studies to understand the influence of generational attribute at an organisational level (Parker, 2000; Pialoux and Beaud, 2000). The interest in an understanding of generations raised within organisational studies later intersecting with entrepreneurship (Peterson and Mackler, 2001; Cohen and Musson, 2000; Ram, 2000). Tapsell and Woods (2008) adopted a generational perspective in the area of social innovation embedded in a specific geographical context. Hence, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the business school perspective have created a monolithic understanding of social entrepreneurs through individual characteristic traits; such an understanding is problematic. As a result, it obscures the concern that arises as to how individuals form 'entrepreneurial identities', thus there is a need to pay attention to experiences 'generational in nature' (Down and Reveley, 2004). Therefore, this thesis operationalises context by using a combination of ‘age-based’ and ‘cohort based’ identity of practitioners which contributes to their dis/identification with social enterprise discourses.

Critical Chapter Analysis:

As discussed earlier in this chapter, social enterprise literature been dominated by global north perspective despite realising the phenomenon being a product of its context which results in it being nuanced and complex. The literature also been dominated by business management school perspective leading to a functional, rational choice approach in understanding the phenomenon. This thesis will adopt a sociological lens, with an interpretativist approach to investigate the construction of social enterprise in the global south context i.e. India. This chapter discussed how the phenomenon of social enterprise in a specific context will be treated from a variety of theoretical position. This thesis will explain

construction of social enterprise through social enterprise discourses (normative institutional discourses and operational discourses) forwarded by institutional actors and practitioners.

The normative discourses of social enterprise will be explored using Montgomery's (2016) two schools of thought namely technocratic and democratic and the friction between the two paradigms and emergence of a dominant social enterprise paradigm in a local geographical context. This will further lead into the questions around how these forces operate and interact in theory and practice in the Indian context. Hence, the operationalisation of these normative discourse/s remain a product of political ideological paradigm influencing institutional norms in a specific context, however practitioners have discursively adopted managerial tactics to navigate (i.e collaborate/resist) these normative discourses. Thus, this thesis will draw from Teasdale's (2010) empirical work on third sector practitioners in the UK which created better understanding of impression management strategies being discursively employed by social enterprise practitioners which led them navigate tensions between normative and operational discourses. Moreover, drawing from Dey and Teasdale's (2016) longitudinal qualitative study on UK practitioner's work demonstrated how 'tactical mimicry' employed by third sector practitioners' led to overt identification with normative discourse/s of social enterprises to appropriate government funds but at the same time enhancing/gathering 'collective agency' in alternative space distant from the influence power. This thesis will explain such strategies from institutional legitimacy perspective, as in literature on impression management and tactical mimicry provides a rationale choice explanation for these strategies.

Moreover, construction of social enterprise in a region has been a product of constant interaction between normative institutional discourses and operational discourses of practitioners. Practitioners discursively indicate their dis/identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship. Using Pecheux's (1982) work of identification, Dey and Teasdale (2013) provided understanding how practitioners identify with the practice of social entrepreneurship. It was also acknowledged in Dey and Teasdale's (2013) work that these classification demands further refinement and these five modes of dis/identifications need not manifest in such straight-forward manner nor operates in mutually exclusive manner. Thus, practitioners can slip into one another modes across time (Ellis and Ybema, 2010). Hence, this framework will be used to explain how practitioners in India dis/identify with the

practice of social entrepreneurship. This dis/identification of practitioners will explored from a generational perspective indicating coexistence two groups of practitioners each drawing from technocratic and democratic social enterprise paradigm.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to explain the rationale of the research design and research methods adopted for this thesis. This chapter is divided into three sections; the first section will explain the rationale for the research design, which will be explained through epistemological stance, and reasons for adopting a qualitative approach to investigate this phenomenon. The second section will discuss the research process, which will describe how the research was carried out in the field, how data was organised and analysed. The last section highlights the reflections on the research through the role of the researcher, problems faced and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

The main aim of this thesis is to investigate discursive construction of the social enterprises by institutional actors and practitioners in the Indian context. The purpose of this research is driven by the research questions which goes on to re-visit how social enterprise phenomenon have been dominantly constructed through two global approaches although it has been empirically realised that social enterprise phenomenon is contextual in nature as there is a death of qualitative empirical work, especially in the subcontinent.

This study develops how normative discourse/s of institutional actors and operational discourses by the practitioners in a specific region results in the construction of the social enterprise phenomenon. Furthermore, this work will provide insights into how practitioners discursively use impression management strategy (tactical mimicry) to navigate tensions between normative and operational discourses for organisational legitimacy. These aspects of the inquiry have helped to set boundaries for the research, which enables to outline of the research approach adopted to investigate this phenomenon. The following section discusses the research design by highlighting the epistemological stance.

3.2.1 Epistemological Stance

The phrase social construction refers to a 'tradition of scholarship' that draws understanding from 'human relationships' to generate 'knowledge' (Gergen and Gergen, 2007). This philosophical tradition of social constructivism can be applied to wide range disciplines and many social phenomena to indicate that anything that is socially constructed there will be other (different) existence the manner in which it has been realised and conceived (Hacking, 1999). It is premised that the 'human world' differs from 'natural and physical world' thus demands to be studied differently (Guba and Lincoln, 1990). Social constructivism refers to how an individual making sense of the world around and refers to how society shapes the way we think (Patton, 2002). W.I Thomas a notable sociologist and symbolic interactionist developed the Thomas theorem: "What is defined or perceived by people as real is real in its consequences" (Thomas and Thomas, 1928). Thus, social constructivism talks about 'multiple realities' constructed by people and the effects of those on their lives and others. For instance, a constructivist will include voices of different stakeholders connected with welfare programme (i.e. staff, client, families of clients, administrators, and funders). However, every stakeholder will have different perceptions about the programme; as a constructivist approach, all of these perspectives are real. Social constructionism will take into account these multiple realities and compare them with different stakeholder without evaluating which perception is more real (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). In this context, 'power' is a key element (though relative to time and space). If reality is socially constructed and is relative to time and space, then certain narratives/perspectives of those in power in a particular culture will dominate the construction of a phenomenon (Patton, 2002). This identification of power helps to understand how constructs are established and legitimised. At the same time, it opens a pathway to understanding alternate realities, which are often silenced in this power play of discourses. For evaluation and research purpose, Guba and Lincoln (1989) put forth a few assumptions of constructivism, two of them mentioned below:

"…phenomena can only be understood within the context in which they are studied; findings from one context cannot be generalised to another; neither problems nor solutions can be generalised from one setting to another…." and other assumption stated:

"Data derived from constructivist inquiry have neither special status nor legitimation; they represent simply another construction to be taken into account in the move forward consensus."

Based on these understandings of social constructivism as an approach, this will be useful to investigate the social enterprise phenomenon in India in many ways. This approach offers the leverage to understand the social phenomenon in a specific context, i.e. through narratives of venture founders how they position their discourses in relation to social enterprise discourse/s leading to their dis/association with the phenomenon. It will provide further insight into how multiple actors in the social enterprises' space construct the phenomenon through their own rationality against the contextual background of socio-political and economic.

This lens will further facilitate to understand the phenomenon that operates as a form of managerial discourse and political rhetoric alongside practitioner's operational discourses—thus offering a more critical and analytical approach to investigate social enterprises by unpacking and interrogating this phenomenon as a contextual construct. The purpose is to contest underlining assumptions of the inevitability of social enterprises, and who are responsible for institutionalising it and in whose interest.

3.3 Research Method

The following section will explain the rationale of the nature of study entailed in this research. Thus, this section explains the reasons why this study adopted a qualitative inquiry.

3.3.1 Qualitative Study

This section explains the rationale for choosing a qualitative inquiry. Since this research will explore the construction of social enterprise in India, thus it involves understanding social enterprises as a contextual phenomenon. Such understanding will be developed through narratives of venture founders in relation to their dis/identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship and discourses generated by the institutional actors in order to shape the field of social entrepreneurship.

Mertens (1998) explains qualitative research as a 'naturalistic interpretive science', which is flexible to incorporate multiple methods like case studies, interviews, observations and

textual analysis, as these techniques are instrumental in developing insights into 'cultural aspects', 'organisational practices' and 'textual analysis' (Patton, 2002). The discourses generated through interviews produce text, these texts are embedded in the social-cultural setting and a qualitative inductive approach offers to understand and analyse them in the contextual setting.

Moreover, a qualitative study is useful for investigating 'human behaviour', 'underlining motives' and 'desires' (Patton, 2002). Such human interpretation of reality, which are driven by implicit motives generated through discourses, which can be captured in conversations (interviews). Text generated through discourses can be analysed. This kind of data can be derived through i) in-depth open end interviews ii) direct observations iii) written documents. Moreover, interviews help to extract 'direct quotations' from people about their 'experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge' (Patton, 2002).

This thesis engages with the discourses of social enterprise phenomenon in a specific context from multiple theoretical perspectives. It will create an understanding of identity work of the practitioners in the social sector in post-colonial India, in terms of how practitioners discursively dis/associate with the discourse of social enterprises. This thesis will also create an understanding of how institutional discourses shape identity negotiation of a social entrepreneur in a discursive manner in a specific context. Although there are various methodological approaches adopted to understand such phenomenon, the following section will highlight a brief overview of methodological approaches adopted in this area in relation with relevance to the research questions of this research project.

Although the relevance of context has been identified in social entrepreneurship research, there are not many studies in this area. A quantitative study by Kerlin (2009) presented the prevalence of social entrepreneurship as a global phenomenon; a qualitative work on context (Defourney and Kim, 2011) put forth models of social enterprises in East Asia. Both, this work has a macro geographical approach towards the role of context in social entrepreneurship. Other reports (British Council report, 2013, 15, 16) also conducted qualitative studies to contextual understand social enterprise activities in India. Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of academic work in the area of identity work of social entrepreneurs in the global north which adopted qualitative approach to investigate this phenomenon (Dey and Teasdale, 2013; Cohen and Musson, 2000; Essers and Benschop, 2007; Chasserio et al.,

2014; Driver, 2017). Few authors (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008; Sieger et al., 2016) have studied the identity work of social entrepreneurs through a quantitative approach as well.

Additionally, studies on the profile of social entrepreneurs were dominantly studied through qualitative studies (Castillo et al., 2015; Vasakarla, 2008; Nga & Shamuganathan, 2010; Adomavidante, 2012). By evaluating these various approaches of the analysis presented in these studies investigating the phenomenon, certain trends present themselves to the researcher. The first being how identity work of social entrepreneurs have evolved and treated (Dey and Teasdale, 2013; Sieger et al., 2016). Secondly, many author emphasis on the value of lived experiences of the social entrepreneur (Cohen and Musson, 2000; Driver, 2017; Dey and Teasdale, 2013; Essar & Benschop, 2007).

In summary, both qualitative and quantitative methodologies have been applied to understand and identity work of social entrepreneurs. Similar methodological trends are also visible in the area of study of the role of context in social entrepreneurship. Since, this research integrates three theoretical premises (the role of context, identity work of practitioners and role of institutional and practitioner discourses in the construction of the phenomenon) demands a deep understanding by listening to narratives (stories and lived experiences) of social entrepreneurs using a qualitative enquiry.

3.3.2 Sampling

As discussed in chapter 2, the field of social entrepreneurship has become a playground of multiple actors. The transitions in the social sector have led practitioners from diverse areas to associate with the sector in varying degrees. The identity formation of venture founders relates to them dis/identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship. At the same time, discourses of institutional actors play a significant role in shaping the field. Thus, it was imperative to include participants from diverse segments who self-identified as social entrepreneurs, who were identified by others (external) as social entrepreneurs and institutional actors who were directly or indirectly linked with the field of social entrepreneurship. The following section will explain the process of sampling for selecting interviewees for this study.

Interviewees:

Prior to the data collection process began, relevant information about social entrepreneurs (practitioners referred as social entrepreneurs on their organisational website or referred as social entrepreneurs by relevant institutions incubators/social impact investors, media/ awards/conferences) was collated. Similarly, information about relevant incubators/accelerators, impact investors and government departments were collated to develop a matrix. This information was gathered from the online sources, i.e. organisational website, newspaper articles, newspaper blogs and social media. The matrix listed groups that will be approached for interviews in three shortlisted locations; and the number of interviews that will be conducted within each group in each location. The different groups approached by me are enumerated below along with the matrix: (see Appendix I for interview guide for each group)

- *Prominent social entrepreneurs* (self-identified and externally identified) who were well known in the social enterprise sector as often featured in media and awards/conferences.
- *Social entrepreneurs* (self-identified and externally identified) who were directly working with grass-roots stakeholders
- *Incubators and accelerators founders/managers* from all three locations
- *Social Impact Investors* for social enterprises in rural/agrarian sectors
- *Private funders and foundations* not exclusive to social enterprises but did fund for-profit enterprises and traditional non-profits vice versa.
- *Government officials* at central government and state government level who were working in departments associated with social entrepreneurship in the country (i.e. NITI Aayog which is the Planning Commission of India and Ministry of Livelihood and Entrepreneurship)
- *Academics* from educational institutions associated with running social impact projects and courses associated with associated with social entrepreneurship

The process of selecting interviewees involved choosing participants who possessed rich information about the social enterprise sector in India and were actively engaged in this

sector as practitioners for a substantial number of years (minimum 3 to 5 years). The social enterprise is a burgeoning sector in India since 2000, and some key actors (social entrepreneurs, accelerators and social impact investors) have played a key role in the meteoric rise of social enterprises in the past decade. These key actors were also selected for the interview, as mentioned earlier.

The practitioners/social entrepreneurs who participated in the research project operated in diverse sectors; thus, the participant selection process was sector agnostic. The sample included practitioners/social entrepreneurs who were well known in the sector; it also involved young social entrepreneurs working in this sector for 3-5 years. Some participants explicitly self-identified themselves as social entrepreneurs while few were identified by others (actors in the field of social entrepreneurship) as social entrepreneurs.

Table 3: Categories of participants interviewed in three locations

Categories of interviewees	**Mumbai**	**New Delhi**	**Bhopal**
All categories of social entrepreneurs	3	3	5

Categories of participants	**No. of Interviews**
Social incubator/accelerator	4
Educational Institutions	2
Social Impact Funders/ Investors	3
Government Officials associated with social entrepreneurship	3

The purpose was to capture diverse narratives of multiple actors within the social enterprise sector, indicating how they interpreted and identified with the phenomenon. Though these participants were from different sectors, they were connected by the central idea of social enterprise. Few participants were carefully and consciously included in the interview process though they were not social entrepreneurs but demonstrated traits of social enterprise phenomenon. Moreover, few participants did not identify with the phenomenon but

possessed the traits of the phenomenon and rather than themselves but addressed by others as social entrepreneurs were also part of this research (Patton 2002).

Participants who were prominent social entrepreneurs and incubators were easily identified, whereas few others were identified from the conference attended by the researcher prior data collection process. The initial interviewees referred further potential interviewees for the research.

The number of interviews conducted ran short of the numbers targeted. This was due to three reasons; firstly, since data were collected from three different locations, time and budget was a big constraint (Patton, 2002). Secondly, in every location by the middle of the data collection process, the information that was being shared by most of the participants tended to get similar and not much new information was surfacing from the interviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lastly, due to a large farmer's protest in front of the government office in Mumbai, not many officials were available for interviews; thus, no interviews of government officials took place from Mumbai.

Location:

This section will highlight the rationale for choosing the three locations as data collection sites. These three cities in India, namely Bhopal, Mumbai and New Delhi, were selected for data collection.

Participants selected from the three locations namely, Bhopal (situated in central India; the capital city of state Madhya Pradesh), New Delhi (situated in northern India; National Capital) and Mumbai (situated in western India; the capital city of state Maharashtra; also financial capital).

The choice of selecting these locations was embedded in the purpose of the research, which was to understand the construction of social enterprises through discourses of multiple actors which includes actors from city/town apart from the national capital and financial capital. By taking into account the vast size of the nation, socio-cultural diversity and regional economic disparities influences discourses which needed to be factored in the sample. Although this sample is not representative of the entire nation, however, it is vital to include regional discourses (Bhopal) for representativeness and understand how they play out in relation with

dominant discourses generated from the national capital and other metropolitan cities (Mumbai). As indicated in chapter 1 introduction, British Council reports show most prominent social entrepreneurs, incubators and impact investors were located in major cities in India that includes New Delhi and Mumbai. Furthermore, New Delhi being the National Capital is the centre for policymaking in the country; Mumbai being the financial capital making it the hub where different forms financial investors (i.e. for-profit business, social impact investors) are nested here. New Delhi and Mumbai are two major and significant cities of India, and due to the presence of prominent actors, they are more likely to generate normative discourses which shapes the construction of social enterprise not only within their region but also across the country. Both these cities exhibit contemporary global characteristics about infrastructure, social and political networks, access to funds and human resources. Bhopal being a tier-II city, it is equidistant from New Delhi (754.1 km) and Mumbai (776.1 km) (indicated in the map). Thus, the discourses generated from this region indicated influences of the normative discourses along with possible local level discourse/s influencing the construction of social enterprises. Thus, it can also indicate to what extent the construction of social enterprises is inclusive of normative regional discourses, which remain highly socio-culturally nuanced. Lastly, the reason for choosing these locations was to add diversity in terms of the nature of social enterprise activities in these regions.

3.4 Data Collection

This section will highlight the process entailed in collecting data from three different locations in India. The semi-structured interviews conducted over four months in a phased manner, each phase involved data collection from each of these cities.

Since data collection began from a smaller (from tier II to tier I) city i.e. Bhopal to bigger cities like Mumbai and New Delhi, it helped develop the idea of social enterprise sector in India through a bottom-up approach. This process was instrumental in understanding the regional culture; people, place and nature of governance which in-turn helped locate a niche social enterprise community nested in the city and its characteristics. The profile of the social entrepreneurs and the nature of social problems they were addressing were important factors, which shaped their narratives as social enterprise practitioners. This process helped to identify and map discourses based on generational identity of practitioners through which

context has largely operationalised in this thesis along with political rhetoric of entrepreneurship promoted through institutional actors.

As part of this analysis, it was not just important to capture how dominant actors shaped the social enterprise discourses but how they were presenting social enterprise phenomenon to the researcher as part of routine daily practice and also multiple micro discourses, which led to a regional understanding of the phenomenon. Besides, choosing the most representative narrative among the wide range of narratives, it was vital to prevent from being overwhelmed with the data and ensure to restrict myself with manageable data based on the scope of this research.

A wide range of semi-structured interviews conducted with multiple actors associated with the social entrepreneurship space in India to ensure varied narratives that could be captured in this process. The data analysis process informally started in the initial phase of data collection process, which became a guiding tool for the subsequent process in terms of choosing actors/institutions that would be approached.

3.4.1 Process of Data Collection

This part will outline the process entailed in data collection in the three locations. This section is presented in three parts to describe the data collection process.

Stage One: Developing a sense of the sector

In order to develop an understanding of the nature of activities in social enterprises space in India it was essential for me to develop a sense of few important aspects. These aspects revolved around who are the key people talking about social entrepreneurship in India; the individuals belonging to which sectors were showing interest in this area in terms of operations and investments; and what were the challenges and discussions surrounding this phenomenon.

In order to develop this understanding, I looked for information on organisation's website, followed newspaper articles and blogs, which provided cursory information about the sector. Most of this information highlighted the role of social entrepreneur or had an overoptimistic idea of promoting social enterprises in India. Thus, apart from following news and online information, the researcher attended a two-day conference; Sankalp Global Social

Entrepreneurship Summit in Mumbai in India before the actual fieldwork began. This conference provides a platform to share information and network with different kinds of social entrepreneurs who displayed their work and discussed future venture plans. In this conference domestic and international social impact investors explicitly laid the pathway for the future of impact investing in India. Moreover, it provided a space for social entrepreneurs to connect with national and international funders, accelerators through displaying their achievements along with practitioners from the non-profit sector participated in networking with multiple stakeholders of social entrepreneurship. Attending this conference was a starting point to understand the dominant trends of discourses leading to preferred areas of investment. These dominant discourses shared during a panel discussions and presentations by prominent social entrepreneurs and impact investors indicating the future of social entrepreneurship in India. It was interesting to note that organising body of this conference deliberately kept the government (state/centre) out from participating.

Stage Two: Semi-structured interviews

This section will explain the rationale for choosing semi-structured interview method. This interview guide consists of the outline of the semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix I).

The purpose of interviewing was to allow the interviewer to understand the interviewee's notions of understanding of the world. Qualitative interviewing starts from a point where it assumes the other person's 'perspective of others is meaningful', knowledgeable and can be expressed. Interviews were conducted to capture these stories in others mind (Patton, 2002). As part of understanding and capturing discourses of multiple stakeholders of social enterprise sector, it was important to go beyond observation (from the conference). As everything cannot be observed, 'feeling, thoughts and intentions' cannot be observed. Observation prevents from taking into account what has gone before and what can entail in future. It prevents from developing an insight of how people see and organise the world around them and associate meaning to it. Therefore, this demands for conversations (Patton, 2002). Particularly in case of analysis of narratives, the text produced through interviews plays an instrumental role in understanding the phenomenon.

By adopting a conversational strategy, which involved a mix of guide approach with a standardised format, allowed interviewer the ability to probe at a necessary point during the interview to explore areas in-depth and further ask questions, which were not part of the guide while designing it (Patton, 2002). In such cases, the response of the interviewee is far more spontaneous. Thus, adopting a semi-structured interview method of inquiry is suitable to incorporate such features. Such inquiry has the flexibility to discuss topics which were not presumed would come up at the same time discussion guiding points will help the interviewer to steer the conversation and prevents deviating from the focus of the interview (Patton 2002).

Semi-structured interviews (SSI) is widely employed in qualitative research for its 'diversity', 'underlying assumption' and 'broad applications' (McIntosh and Morse, 2015). SSI is designed to elicit 'subjective responses' from participants regarding a specific 'situation' or 'phenomenon' which they have undergone; this is possible to capture through a detailed 'interview guide' driven by 'objective knowledge' (i.e. the objective of the study and the 'experience' of the 'phenomenon') and 'subjective knowledge' that are layered understanding shaped by perspectives of individuals that is implicit (Merton and Kendall, 1946; Morse and Field, 1995; Richards and Morse, 2007).

The SSI started with general statement questions (see Appendix I). The interviewees were probed at certain points where it was necessary, that could elicit important information, and at times, they were interjected to explain certain aspects in detail. During interviews, participants were given the time to speak at length in order to express their ideas/opinions and understanding the phenomenon. Across interviews, participants from the same group shared similar thoughts with few exceptions, this depended on the position from which interviewees were experiencing and associated with the phenomenon. The interviews were conducted in an informal conversational manner which entailed discussion on what led them to start their venture, what were the kinds of activities of the organisation, how did they manage to get funding, how are they were associated with the government or any future association expected. The nature of these questions were modified based on the group that the interviewee belonged. Overall, all interviews were informative and unique in their rights. Mostly, people were open to express their thoughts and conversations were stimulating and engaging. However, in case of few young social entrepreneurs, they were more conscious of

what they were sharing and appeared to less engaged with the issues and the phenomenon as practitioners.

Total 36 interviews were conducted over 4 months. As with most interviewees time was a constraint, the interviews lasted between 45-60 minutes. Most interviewees in Mumbai were very conscious of their time to spend it on an interview for research purpose; as a result, a lot of time was spent by me in persistent attempts in seeking and confirming appointments. Nonetheless, I managed to interview most of the people and organisations I had listed initially before the data collection.

Stage three: Transcribing

All interviews were audio-recorded excepting one where the participant was not comfortable with the interview being recorded. After that, audio-recorded interviews were transcribed in Microsoft Word for subsequent thematic analysis. The data generated through interviews were texts; many interviewees used native words, which were carefully transcribed to represent its true meaning in English (Patton, 2002). Though most of the interviews were conducted in English or a mix of English and Hindi, excepting for one interviewee (native English speaker) for remaining interviewees English was a second language. Two interviews were conducted in the native language (Hindi) which were translated and then transcribed. Again, during translation I ensured to restore the essence and meaning.

3.4.2 Reflections on the Research:

This section will set out to discuss through a reflexive process the challenges in the research which will involve explaining the position of the researcher and the difficulties faced during the research.

3.4.2 (a) Positionality of the researcher

As mentioned earlier, discussing this section requires deep reflections since the beginning of the research and during the process of data collection. This process entails identifying personal feelings and emotions at the same time grasping an understanding of the area being researched. Thus as a process it has been an academically and personally enriching experience.

Although, the presence of the concept of social enterprises existed in India much before 2000s, however, when I drafted the research proposal in 2014 when this sector was in its nascent stages (with few social enterprise activities and academic institutes engaged with social enterprises). Although there was an emerging buzz around the phenomenon not many such activities had gained prominence. My academic background coupled with the experiences as a practitioner (as a social worker and later CSR professional) in the Indian third sector drove my interest towards social enterprises. Furthermore, I believe my deeper understanding of the Indian third sector grew as a practitioner. I experienced constant financial and operational constraint which has remained a major challenge for this sector. Along with such constrains the dual mission of the CSR sector (brand building through scale of social impact) and its inherent challenges of being nested in for-profit corporations often posed operational dilemmas.

Consequently, these experiences further directed my interest towards social enterprises, as it depicted a promising picture of possessing the potential to bring about a socio-economic transformation which motivated me to embark on this research. I started this research project in 2016 in the UK, as a result the geographical disconnect from the sector's developments and activities, devoid me from gaining an understanding of the rapid developments and prominence gained by social entrepreneurship in India. Such precipitated growth of social entrepreneurship was first realised in end of 2017 when I re-visited India to attend Sankalp Global Social Entrepreneurship Summit and collect data. The conference was a platform for multiple actors associated with social entrepreneurship. There was no representation from national or state level government, policy makers, think tanks or researchers. As I observed intending to gather a sense of this sector, my role was limited to an outsider.

Even though social entrepreneurship has managed to gather immense attention from the current government and the private sector, there is a lack of literature investigating the reasons for this growth or where does it sit in the Indian social sector; such notions contributed to further challenge for me to arrive at focussed research questions. Few reports provided an empirical understanding of social enterprises in India, however, there was a lack of theoretical understanding why social enterprises exist in India. Particularly in the global north literature there was a growing interest to understand social entrepreneurship. These literature shaped my ideas where social enterprises are portrayed as a normative concept,

promoted as political rhetoric, a new form of market value, institutional norm and by academic work an area for further research. These work were also forwarding social enterprise construct as phenomenon that neatly fits in public and market space. As a result I continued to find it challenging to develop my position towards social enterprises in the Indian context. Therefore, the approach in this thesis re-interprets these normative understanding and discourses by looking at social enterprises in Indian context in an analytical manner, which also attempts to test theories at a regional level. Although this has been a challenging process; I was driven by my internal motivation, which has been the driving force.

During the process of fieldwork, I had identified social entrepreneurs and promoters of social enterprises in the country (India) and who were prominent figures in this sector. At the same time, I also interacted with social entrepreneurs, social workers working directly with grass-root level stakeholders in rural and urban areas. I as researcher connected with the latter group in most of the cases, as I felt they understood and articulated the real socio-political issues and challenges of working with actual marginalised sections. In many occasions, I personally identified with their situations and developed a moral obligation to help them in future. At the same time, I did share contacts from my social networks with both the groups. Many a times, I also felt tempted to intervene more often as a practitioner which was the other challenging aspect of the research.

Constant interaction with field developers and social entrepreneurs led to informal conversation prior and post interviews; these were times when I had consciously held back from sharing notions from a practitioner perspective. During interactions with the grass-roots social workers and social entrepreneurs similar challenge was faced, nonetheless, I consciously refrained from sharing my perspective from a practitioner position. Furthermore, I had never directly worked in the social enterprise sector nor had social networks in the two cities (Delhi and Bhopal) which made me feel not more of an insider but one aspect which helped reaching out/getting access was being from the similar socio-cultural background. This reflexive process helped me realise the ambiguous role of a researcher. India's socio-cultural context helped me perceive the phenomenon beyond what was being shared in the interviews, which were more aligned with the normative understanding of the phenomenon. Interviewing people directly/indirectly linked to the sector helped to engage with social

entrepreneurship at a much deeper analytical level taking into account the socio-cultural context from where these deep-seated discourses were emerging.

3.4.2 (b) Problems Encountered

This section will highlight some overall problems faced during the data collection process and in some cases mitigated to an extent. Most of these problems were not under my control and needed manoeuvring in strategies in data collection process.

Several external factors altered the duration of data collection. Since this process took place in the winter, which contributed to bad weather conditions (fog and poor visibility), flights and trains were often delayed in turn affecting planning interview schedules. Travelling to three different locations was a time-consuming process. Moreover, travel to the locations, internal travel within the locations and accommodation were cost intensive. Therefore, budgetary constraint led to conduct 35 interviews while the initial target was to conduct 40 interviews. Travelling was also challenging because of poor road safety and operating as alone female researched. Other unaccounted-for events like public holidays, festivals, riots and farmers protest caused some delays and affected data collection process. Farmers protest prevented from conducting any interviews with government officials in Mumbai. Furthermore, finding the right person in the government office for an interview was very time-consuming due to strong institutional gatekeepers.

To work around these challenges, it was necessary to constantly re-work on timelines. Particularly in case of government officials and prominent social entrepreneurs, it was fruitful to approach two or more people with a similar portfolio in order to conduct the maximum number of interviews within the limited period.

Apart from external challenges, there were some intrinsic challenges, which were part of the interview process. Although interviewees were aware the interview was one-on-one (i.e. interviewee and the researcher) they sometimes had another team member present during the interview; this happened in case of three interviews. Moreover, due to busy schedules of participants; interviews were conducted in cafes, home, airport, cars and in a banquet before an event. As a result, either person could not control the level of surrounding noise during

the interview process that affected the quality of recording. In some cases, interviewees were in a rush, which prevented them, to fully immerse in the conversation and few had their hand phone ringing in the middle of the interview though they turned it off immediately. Another aspect, which had an impact on the interviews was the time of the day the interview conducted; in case an interview took place late in the evening the possibilities were high that both interviewer and interviewee were much fatigued. Despite these challenges, it was possible to collect informative data from each of the locations.

3.4.3 Ethics

This section will highlight the ethics approval process for this study, along with the key ethically issues associated with this project. This study was categorised as Category B research by the Ethics Committee (ERGO) of the University of Southampton. The key ethical concerns were raised with supervisors, and measures were incorporated to minimise ethical risks. Based on these considerations, the ethics form was submitted to the Ethics Committee of the University of Southampton. The data collection process began post-ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee.

The main concern was a breach of confidentiality. Since interviewees were asked to share information about their organisations and particularly in case of government officials as they represented their departments were extremely cautious of with whom they are sharing information. It was ensured to share details of the research, through the participant information sheet and consent form (see Appendix II and III) well ahead of time for the interviewee to go through each of them. On few occasions interviewees did not read the participant information sheet; thus I made sure to read it to them before the interview began and asked interviewees if they have in questions before the interview process began. As per the information sheet, I reassured all interviewees that all information like personal details of the interviewee and organisational details would be anonymised. All interviews began after participants signed the consent form. In case of certain interviewees emphasised that the researcher can use their organisation details in the research. All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and save on a personal computer and an external hard-drive. These documents will be accessible to my supervisors and me.

Since all interviews were audio-recorded, interviewees were reminded of a dictaphone being used for this purpose. One of the interviewees expressed discomfort towards the fact that the interview was audio recorded but signed the consent form, hence that interview was immediately transcribed based on the interview notes.

3.4.4 Limitations

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with experienced as well as young venture founders/social entrepreneurs from each location to gather details of their experiences, reflections on experiences, attitudes towards social sector and where they discursively position in terms of dis/associating with the Indian social sector space. Similar interviews were conducted with institutional actors (accelerator/incubators, social impact investors, government officials and educational institutions) to understand their discursive construction of social enterprises in India. This will lead to understanding how social enterprises were promoted through political rhetoric and resource-rich actors.

Potential limitations of the research approach arise from sampling strategies, the degree of reliability of experiences, the issues sourcing from second-language filtering and validity of research findings.

Firstly, the participants for this research was chosen from three locations (Bhopal, Mumbai and New Delhi); these locations were selected based on the diversity and degree of social enterprise activities in these regions. New Delhi being the national capital and Mumbai being the financial capital they have significant policy and practice impact with regard to social entrepreneurship on the country, however that does not necessarily imply the overall trends of social enterprise activities in the entire country. Moreover, few participants were selected based on snowballing, which can lead to expressing similar thoughts and ideologies based on the network they share in the social enterprise sector.

Secondly, many questions in the interview required participants to recollect experience and incidents from their past. In such a situation, as the venture founder/social entrepreneur may recollect incident accurately but at the same time distort recollection, recall poorly or change

the event in some degrees. However, the transcription would draw on combined attitudes of participants and what was their learning and how it affected participants in going forward.

Thirdly, the language was another limitation in this study. All participants excepting one were not native English speakers. However, participants were at varying degrees in articulating their thoughts and ideas in English, but it was important to keep in mind the limitation language can pose. Moreover, in such a case, it was important to preserve the implied meaning in cases where participants used statement in the native language, which are embedded in the cultural context.

3.4.5 Data Analysis

This thesis used thematic analysis to understand experiences, attitudes, viewpoints of actors related to social enterprise and the practice of social entrepreneurship. A wide range of methods such as discourse analysis, interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) and grounded theory also employ thematic analysis. However, thematic analysis is used for a varied range to topics due to its flexibility of having no explicit guidelines of how it is conducted (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998; Tuckett, 2005). The decision to choose thematic analysis is driven by the matching of the theoretical framework and methods since thematic analysis is not theoretically bounded like grounded theory and IPA. Thus, this research project, which is epistemologically designed for a social constructivist approach to understanding how institutional actors and practitioners in a particular context construct social enterprises, will use a thematic analysis. This research will use an inductive method of thematic analysis by developing themes and codes that emerge from the data.

Thus, prior to beginning with thematic analysis of the data, tables were created to provide personal profile, brief background and context of each participant (venture founder/social entrepreneur) presented in Appendix V, information of profile of organisation and context presented in Appendix IV.

The following steps were followed during the analysis process:

Familiarisation with the data

The process of familiarising started from the point of transcribing the data from audio-recorded files to text documents (Riessman, 1993). This was a vital phase being part of

'interpretive qualitative methodology' (Bird, 2005). All interviews were manually transcribed and saved in Microsoft Word documents. In case of one interview transcription that needed to be translation from native (Hindi) language to English. Other interviews were repeatedly read with an intention to look for patterns guided by the research questions.

Generating Initial codes

This stage began after familiarisation of the data, which generated a basic idea about the data. Along with the ongoing familiarisation of data, codes were attached to the segments of the data. The coding process started with the research question in mind based on which related codes were identified in the data. This initial coding was done manually by writing notes to understand the nature of codes that were emerging from the data. Thereafter, all transcribed interviews were uploaded on NVivo software. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis software that helps in organising the data, codes and themes.

Searching for themes

This stage began when all codes were created and collated across the data set. It requires refocusing on the data and looking at codes from a broader perspective. Thereafter, collating codes that can be categorised under the broad themes. Chapter 5 presents a schematic representation of the broad themes and the codes that emerged from the data. At this stage, the initial process of identification of links between codes and themes and between themes started to take place. Some readjustment between codes and themes took place. At the same time, some codes emerged which could not be placed in any theme and was left as a separate theme. During this stage, each theme and code were given brief description for future replication.

Reviewing themes

This stage involved reviewing themes, some themes did not really develop to be actual themes due to lack of data, or due to very diverse data, while some themes were merged into each other due overlapping characteristics. Other themes, were bifurcated into other themes. It is necessary for this stage that themes are coherent at the same time, distinct from each other.

Defining and naming themes

This stage began with the development of a thematic map of the data and further refinements of the existing themes that were presented for analysis. The refinement of themes means describing the essence of the theme. It involves collating narrative texts from across the data related to the theme and describe them. The description is not just paraphrasing but what important aspect it highlights about the data.

Producing a report

Once all themes were finalised, the analysis process progressed to writing-up of the report. The report provided a detailed, logical account of the entire data. Evidence from the theme (i.e. extracts from the data) will help make logical claims. Here the analytical narrative went beyond a description of the data and presented argument in relation to the research questions.

The following three chapters present the three analysis chapters. Chapter 4 addresses the first research question of how institutional actors discursive construct social enterprises in India by analysing quotes generated by government officials, incubator founders/managers, social impact funders, academics in educational institutions. Chapter 5 will set out to address the second research question of how practitioners discursively dis/associate with social enterprise discourse. Lastly, chapter 6 will address the third research question of how practitioners adopt discursive strategies of impression management (tactical mimicry) to navigate tensions of normative and operational discourse for legitimacy.

Chapter 4

The 'social' face of neoliberalism: Operationalising in local context in construction of social enterprises

4.1 Introduction

This empirical chapter sets out to use Montgomery's (2016) work of two schools of thought (i.e. technocratic and democratic paradigm) in social innovation to explain construction of social enterprise paradigm in India through normative discourses of paradigm building actors. The data indicated the discourses of paradigm building actors in India (government, educational institution, incubators and social impact investors) resonated ideals of the technocratic paradigm. This chapter explains why these discourses mirrors discourses of paradigm builders in the global north.

A body of burgeoning research in the global north indicated social enterprise as a neoliberal policy construct; that contributes to 'marketisation of civil society' (Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004).

Nicholls and Teasdale's (2017) work introduced the concept of social enterprise as micro-paradigm, 'nested' in meso-paradigm of public policy and macro neoliberal paradigm. The cascading neoliberal ideologies reflected in the discourses of paradigm-building actors. However, the shortfall highlighted in Nicholls and Teasdale's (2017) work was the use of policy paradigm to investigate social enterprise micro paradigm as a tool of macro neoliberal paradigm, which ignored the function of political and non-political actors in formulating the framework of ideas regarding the social enterprise. It further ignored how policy paradigm operates in practice, which is an interactive process between policy discourses of social enterprises and organisational behaviour. Due to absence of explicit social enterprise policy framework in the Indian context, this analysis employs narrative of paradigm building actors to explain how the technocratic paradigm has been propagated forming the normative institutional discourses in the region. Consequently providing an understanding paradigm building of social enterprise through empirical data in a different geopolitical context extending the understanding beyond policy paradigms.

Additionally, Montgomery (2016) explained that the operationalisation of technocratic and democratic paradigm remained a product of political, ideological construction influencing institutional norms in a specific region. Consequently, despite the pieces of evidence of

converging discourses of Indian paradigm building actors with global north, this empirical data highlights its nuances in the Indian context.

Lastly, Nicholls' (2010) article indicated different 'clusters of discourses' linked to various paradigm building actors that shaped the normative idea of social entrepreneurship. Each paradigm-building actor (i.e. government, foundations, fellowship organisations and network organisations) characterised by its discourses, narrative logic and ideal-type organisational model. Each of these paradigm building actors who are also resource-rich in the field of social entrepreneurship use 'a process of reflexive self-legitimisation' to institutionalise social enterprise discourse. Due to the pre-paradigmatic status of a field such as social entrepreneurship, resource-rich actors use their power in the legitimisation process leading to institutionalisation which has been done by a process where actors aligned 'key discourses and norms of the field' with their internal rationality of action leading to reflexive self-legitimation. As a result, this has an immense effect on 'field actors' lacking resource and power. Therefore, this analysis chapter will present the discourses of similar clusters of paradigm building actors in the Indian context. Mapping their discourses will generate an understanding of the social enterprise paradigm constructed in the Indian context.

The following analysis chapter will present three parts. The first part explains how the transitions of the political ideologies are explicit in the existing political discourse resulting in shaping the normative institutional discourse of social enterprises. The second part will explain how the shift in the discourse of the Indian social sector is a result of discourses promoted by paradigm building actors (i.e. incubators, social impact investors and educational institutions), thirdly, how institutional collaborations are contributing to discourse transference and recourse-rich actors dominating the normative institutional discourse of social enterprise. Lastly, how a combination of all these discourses promoted by paradigm building actors impacting the traditional social sector in India.

The following table.4 provides the participant codes used for anonymising the interviews of the paradigm building actors. The initial ‘P’ stands for participant followed by I for incubator, V for impact investor, E for educational institute and G for government and serial number. (See Appendix IV)

Participant	Code
Incubators	PI.1
	PI.2
	PI.3
	PI.4
Impact Investors	PV.1
	PV.2
	PV.3
Educational Institutions	PE.1
	PE.2
Government	PG.1
	PG.2
	PG.3

4.2 Changing political discourse

India has a long history of mixed social welfare provision where traditional non-profit organisations played a significant role. As explained in the Ch-1 introduction, the recent political-economic transitions and evolution of the social sector have resulted in a shift in the discourse of development work leaning towards technocratic paradigm. Such discourse shifts were visible in the narratives if political actors linked to social entrepreneurship. Moreover, Chatterjee (2004) had pointed out this discourse shift of political actors indicated a shift in present political ideology in India from a rights-based paradigm synonymous with democratic paradigm to the neoliberal paradigm.

In the book 'Federalism without a Centre: The Impact of Political and Economic Reforms on India's Federal System' by Lawrence Saez (2002) drew on two factors which transformed institutions and policies; firstly, the paradigm shifts from Keynesian policy regime towards a neoliberal paradigm with an emphasis on marketisation. Secondly, the growing power of regional parties, which could substantially affect federal policymaking (Bhutani, 2004). These two factors have played a vital role in the construction of social enterprise paradigm at a national and regional level in the Indian context. Therefore, this section of the analysis will

discuss the narratives of political paradigm building actors constructing normative discourse of social enterprise and its effect Indian social sector.

4.2.1 Neoliberal political discourse

The neoliberal political ideology of the present political regime has been one of the reasons for growing market-based solutions offered to solve social problems. Such an ideology reflected in areas of growing dependence on the private sector for public service delivery. Moreover, the style of governance in terms of the delegation of responsibility to state governments and increased impetus on innovation and entrepreneurship to achieve micro-macro economic and social goals.

The government indicates the intention to encourage innovation at every structural level of the country. As participant PG. 1 shared that, the national level programme Atal Innovation Mission Atal Incubation Mission aimed to install innovation from school level by building a creative system that would promote innovators, job creators that in turn, will bring economic growth and help put the nation ahead on the innovation front. As part of this programme, the government was promoting entrepreneurship by setting up incubators across the country, particularly in tier II and III cities by delegating responsibilities to private incubators in these regions. Funds to these private entities were issued based on conformance to the compliance guidelines of the government. Thus in this manner, the lack of technical knowledge of the government was compensated by collaborating with private entities. This central government programme at regional areas kept state government out of the process of selection of incubators and implementation of the programme. Subsequently, this strategy justified as a method to avoid the complex bureaucracy that discourages venture founders. Despite the autonomy given to the private entities, the compliance guidelines is a way to instil the normative discourse of entrepreneurship. As shared by Peck and Tickell (2002) where such government practice aims to create 'little platoons' in the form of voluntary/faith-based associations (other forms based context) that will align with the neoliberal ideology. Furthermore, such 'little platoons' co-opt in such government agenda intending to bring about a few changes while conforming to this hegemonic ideology (Montgomery, 2016).

"…so Atal Innovation Mission is fundamentally an attempt to change.. to create more innovators in the country who can be job creators who can add value to the economy you know just keep us in the forefront of innovation ..we don't want to increase paperwork and

then make it hard for people to apply right these are incubation centres these incubation centres are to maintain compliance certain kind of guidelines but then beyond that you know have to do it themselves" [P1, Government, New Delhi]

As the government disclosed, entrepreneurship was promoted by setting up of incubators across the country. However, there was a sense that government was not wholly involved in the process the reason being not dampening the spirit of entrepreneurship. Such and probably greater degree of passive involvement witnessed in the field of social entrepreneurship, which will be discussed later in this section. Participant PG. 1 mentioned that the role of government should be limited to making the compliance process simpler for entrepreneurs, which will help boost entrepreneurship in the country. The participant also mentioned that the government should be responsible for amending policies, which hinder the growth of entrepreneurship. However, there was a complete lack of clarity on the action plan on how such measures will operationalise. NITI Aayog, which is centrally promoting entrepreneurship across the country, have two programmes (i.e. Atal Incubation Mission and Tinkering Labs) striving towards this goal. Many other schemes and programmes like StartUp India scheme, Make in India, Skill India were under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship respectively, which were implemented by same ministries at the state level. Thus, with a growing delegation of responsibility from central to the state government, these programmes are at the mercy of state-level expertise, infrastructure and governance style of regional political parties. To ensure the fruition of these programmes, the central government adopted neoliberal governance strategy of inducing competitive spirit among state government performance; however, the complexity arises due to the growing power of regional political parties with opposing ideology.

"so we are building our green-field incubation centres it's very standard we are funding them getting them built all over the country …then scaling up existing incubators…we have also the component of grand challenges… but those will be out soon it hasn't been officially launched yet …I think government should actually not play a role in shaping any eco-system in that sense because you can't be so heavy-handed when it comes to entrepreneurship, you have to let it flourish you have to take a back seat, so you what you can do is be a catalyst, and in that sense, I think Niti Aayog plays a very important role… What you are doing is identifying what start-ups need support with compliance making that process easier for them…relief to entrepreneurs so things like that..is there a policy that's is hindering this particular area" [P1, Government , New Delhi]

This agenda of promoting entrepreneurship was pushed forward through international events like the Global Entrepreneurship Summit. Besides, there was a special focus on encouraging women entrepreneurs, which also led to setting up Women Entrepreneurship Cell within Niti Ayog (Planning Commission of India), as shared by participant PG.2 the initiatives referred in the quote more directly linked to entrepreneurship and innovation. There were transient responses to social entrepreneurship.

"NITI Aayog last year hosted global entrepreneur summit which was started by President Obama in 2008 .. for example, we tied up with Indian school of business they do a lot of work in social entrepreneurship we tied up with them and facilitated interactions mentoring kind of environment as government we directly do not fund any start-up..also NITI Aayog is working on something called women entrepreneurship ..work with a lot of women entrepreneurs first-time women entrepreneurs typical tier II city" [P2, Government; New Delhi]

Another, important factor for government to promote innovation through entrepreneurship which briefly emerged in a few interviews was to achieve a comparative advantage over other economically successful countries and among East Asian countries, especially China. Varshney (2007) pointed out that India's advantage over China has been 'democracy enhanced by the rule of law and advanced capital markets' as a result helped to translate into firm-level innovation supported by robust copyright laws and incentivising through capital markets. As opposed to China, where an absence of the rule of law and capital markets being high controlled by the government, this puts China economic progress in uncertainty when faced with competition from low-cost producers. Consequently, this could lead China to lose its comparative advantage in 'labour-intensive mass production'. As for India's development, innovative ventures can ensure steady and long-term economic growth.

As a participant, PE1 explained promotion of entrepreneurship driven innovation for economic growth had been the main reason for the government to show interest in this sector. The idea of comparative advantage has been a driving force for the government and private sector.

"…and if China and US are investing heavily into this, then we can't afford to lag behind we have to stay ahead of the current scene what can be done? in our situation regressing to old practices?" [P1, Educational Institution]

Hence, the discourses of political actors indicate its intentions of bolstering entrepreneurship within the nation. However, this aim remained fragmented between the state and central government. Despite the central government mandate of promoting entrepreneurship, state

government lacked clear guidelines and means to achieve these goals, which will be explained further in the following section. About social entrepreneurship, it was believed at the centre and state level that the cascading effects of promoting entrepreneurship would benefit social entrepreneurship as explained by participant P3.G.

"In India, when the government is talking about entrepreneurship and self-employment, there is no separate mention of social entrepreneurship. Mostly, all department like science and technology, food processing, small-medium scale enterprises are promoting entrepreneurship within the department" (translated from hind) [P3, Government, State Government]

The severe state commitment to social entrepreneurship reflects in its either policy framework or commitment to funds towards the sector; such capital investment targeted towards creating effective and efficient public service/goods provision by encouraging social enterprises (Nicholls, 2010c; Nicholls & Pharoah, 2007). Both these commitments remain diluted and fragmented in the Indian context.

It is evident from government ministry websites; there is a lack of mention of social entrepreneurship under any programme or scheme. Social entrepreneurship appeared in the website of National Innovation Foundation-IndiaInformation about National Innovation Foundation have been sourced from its official website an autonomous body of the Department of Science and Technology set up in February 2000 to promote grass-roots technological innovation and promote traditional knowledge. Hence, political actors position social enterprise discourse within grass-roots social innovation using for-profit/non-profit models by individual and local communities.

Social enterprise activities in India involved a diverse range of activities in the social sector. Reports by the British Council (2015, 2016) indicated higher social enterprise activities in India with a growing supportive eco-system (i.e. incubators, impact investors and educational institutions). These reports also indicated that government being supportive; however, there was no explicit mention of policies around the promotion of social entrepreneurship; instead, the focus was on entrepreneurship.

In the USA, the regulatory framework allows L3C Lo-Profit Limited Liability Company) which blurs the distinction between for-profit and non-profit ventures. Similarly, in the UK legal framework CIC (Community Interest Company) formulated for social enterprises to reinvest profits and assets for the public good. On the other hand, in India, such legal frameworks are

absent. Earlier social ventures in India registered under the Societies Registration Act or Indian Charitable Trusts Act, which prevented ventures from receiving investments and make profits. In recent times social venture registration takes place as Private Ltd. Company, Section 8/25 or Limited Legal Liability Company or establishing 'hybrid' structure within for-profit and non-profit vertical.

The lack of government policies related to social entrepreneurship/entrepreneurship and clear guidelines to state governments has resulted in a discrepancy between centre and state and consequently led to the replication of initiatives by centre and state or within same government departments (e.g. Skill development and employment within HRD). As PG. 3 (a state government official) shared, referring to the mandate of the central government to promote entrepreneurship without any special provision for social entrepreneurship. PG.3 mentioned state government's role in growing entrepreneurship within the state through skill development has been the primary mandate; however, they lacked clarity how to link them to national level programs like Make in India, Skill India, and Start-up India executed at the state level which led to disconnect between the state government and centrally governed schemes and programmes.

"We have started entrepreneurship development cell last year…working towards various initiatives to promote entrepreneurship in the state.. make in India is basically dealing with industries commerce department so being part of the skills development eco-system is working towards entrepreneurial promotion and not so much in the side of make in India because large sector investments not into medium and small industries" [P3, Government, State Government]

Participant PG. 3 explained how policies made in the centre often failed to address local needs at the same time disbursement of funds from the centre frequently delayed implementation. Hence, the recent governance style of operational changes has provided state governments with the power and resources to develop entrepreneurship within their region. This entrepreneurial idea was tied-up with generating employability and skill development. The participant shared that the Chief Minister at state level reorganised funds to start new programmes aligned with the national interest of promoting employability and skills development.

"We have our own state skill policy just like national skill development policy…2015 we have our own state policy but prior to 2015 it's not very relevant so we are in the process forming new policy because which will be in lines with the national policy…now the mandate of a chief minister is to extend skill training to as many people as possible…the funding earlier use to come for a program called Modular Employability Skills. It used to come from the centre..the chief minister decided to come up with his on scheme because there was no funds coming from the centre so he decided to create a fund in the state combining the funds of skill training.. that was actually happening across various departments because now the power to make the decisions the power to implement it that's all come to the state" [P3, Government; Bhopal]

There were instances where the state government's independent initiatives are mere replication of central government initiative, which prevented concerted drive and prevented large-scale impact. As a result of working in silos, the state government and central government led region political actors promoted a discourse of social entrepreneurship with employability, self-employment opportunities and employment opportunities. Primarily looked at entrepreneurship as a tool to generate employment and livelihood and has no specific policy intervention to promote social entrepreneurship at the state level.

PG. 3 state government shared its role in developing entrepreneurship eco-system. The state government viewed entrepreneurship from an angle of employability and self-employment, which was a part of the mandate from the centre. Thus it was mainly responsible most social policy in India directed to a designated group of people (Ghosh, 2004; Arora, 2004). As a result, many social programmes at centre and state level overlap, due to 'narrowly defined target groups' and minimal information about these programmes among 'potential beneficiaries' (de Haan, 2008).

This replication of initiatives of state government in connection with entrepreneurship/social entrepreneurship is a result of the disconnect between the state government and centrally governed schemes and programmes and lack novel government machinery between state and centre to promote social entrepreneurship. For example, Atal Innovation Mission, Tinkering Labs were central government programmes also manage by the central government at the state level. Make in India, Start-Up India and Skill India which comes under Ministry of Commerce and Industry and Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship lays the mandate for employability and skill-building at the state level with no scope for promoting social entrepreneurship. Lastly, the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised

Sector set up in 2006 came under the Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises, which is predominantly related to the manufacturing sector.

Hence, there is a considerable lack of policy framework and absence of government machinery which can promote social enterprises within the country apart from Atal Innovation Mission and National Innovation Foundation-India, which is promoting setting up of incubators across the country which is more technology-led social innovation.

4.2.2 Political discourse positioning social enterprise in public/market space

The government has promoted different initiatives around entrepreneurship; however; it has deliberately kept itself away from directly getting involved in the promotion of social enterprises within the country, as explained in the earlier section. Although the government has not directly promoted social enterprises, however, it supports the growth of institutions (incubators/accelerators) that backs social enterprises. These institutions imbibe and shares similar market-driven discourses that fit into the neoliberal discourses promoted by the government. As shared by Peck and Tickell (2002), such government practice aims to create 'little platoons' in the form of voluntary/faith-based associations (other forms based context) that will align with the neoliberal ideology. Furthermore, such 'little platoons' co-opt in such government agenda intending to bring about a few changes while conforming to this hegemonic ideology (Montgomery, 2016).

The welfare aspect of social enterprise and the traditional non-profit was acknowledged by the government considering the growing unmatched social needs, but at the same time, the market orientation of social enterprise seemed to fit the prevailing political ideology. As shared by PG. 1 on the future of the Indian social sector and the role of NGOs was vital but only in certain areas and remaining areas would be taken over by social enterprises. NGOs were perceived to have no business model and not economically viable. Furthermore, NGOs could not work on a large scale, putting their efficiency in question. They were suitable to address issues at a local level and work in sectors which needs financial investment with little or no returns on investment.

Despite the explicit support to social enterprises over NGOs by the government, there is a lack of legal structure for social enterprises in India. As discussed earlier were registered under Societies Registration Act or Indian Charitable Trusts Act and in recent times registered as Private Ltd. Company, Section 8/25 or Limited Legal Liability Company or establishing

'hybrid' structure within for-profit and non-profit vertical. Hence, the political discourse indicated a preference for social enterprise organisations in comparison to traditional NGOs by resonating with the efficiency discourse revolving around the technocratic paradigm of social innovation, which instigates a debate around the efficiency of the traditional non-profit sector and social enterprise occupying a position of addressing efficiency, emancipation and social welfare (Montgomery, 2016).

"NGOs remain important for impact where you know it's where they need no business model but that doesn't mean you shouldn't do it right so in those areas NGOs should paly a leading role but in every other area I think social entrepreneurship will take over" [P2, Government; New Delhi]

Chatterjee (2004) argued the inevitable trends of the government turning into 'technocratic governance' by explicitly demonstrating the need for greater welfare at a lower cost. This political ambition fits rightly into the idea of promoting innovation and entrepreneurship across different sectors and the wider geographical area by which it addresses the expectations of 'civil society'. The cascading effects of entrepreneurship on social entrepreneurship would help address the welfare needs of 'political society' more efficiently at a lower cost. Hence, this narrative resonated with Moulaert et al.'s (2013) observation 'SI is increasingly embraced as a 'new' approach to solving the crisis of the welfare state, by creating new jobs in the 'cheap' social economy and reorganising the welfare system through commodification and privatisation of some its services and the more efficient restructure of others'.

The government understands that the trickledown effect of entrepreneurship can address larger welfare goals of employability and livelihood, as explained earlier by PG. 3 (state government). However, the reforms/ interventions related to this area continued to favour a selected section of 'civil society' Civil Society and Political Society- (i.e. educated, English speaking, urban population) rather than the 'political society' (i.e. mass population). Participant PG. 2 shared the role of technological revolution coupled with skilled human capital, could play a significant role in the development of the entrepreneurship eco-system of the country. However, there is a blind eye towards how technology could pave the way for community development and social development projects. In the interviews, there was seldom mention of how technology could foster micro rural enterprises. Hence, trends indicated the government focus on addressing and utilising educated urban human capital for

economic goals to gain a comparative advantage. This quote of the participant resonates with the discourse of global north policymakers where "some of the most important sectors for growth over the next few decades are linked to the development of human and social capital" (BEPA, 2010). In this way, social capital has emerged to play an 'instrumentalist' role in social relations aimed at economic development. Hence, this results in the concentration of social capital as a way to accumulate other forms of capital (Leadbeater, 1997). Nonetheless, this 'instrumentalist' and 'competitive' comprehension of social relation exists as a premise of the technocratic paradigm.

"I think…almost everybody in this country has access to a mobile phone a large amount of data and in some cases or probably a majority of cases have access to data or sophisticated computing power …secondly lot of power in the individual's hand… it needs dedicated effort by government of India to push for more start-ups…third thing is a lot of our educated people have either seen technology solutions abroad I have worked in those technology tanks abroad they bring in the country innovation eco-system is what we are going to focus next two years" [P2, Government; New Delhi]

PI. 3 shared a very detailed and a different version of understanding of the government's role in the present Indian social sector of indirectly promoting social enterprise as an organisational form an alternative to traditional non-profits. As much as the government has remained remotely involved in promoting social entrepreneurship, however, have taken decisive actions against traditional NGO sector. Earlier in this analysis, the government did share specific sectors would continue to need intervention from traditional NGO; however, the recent modifications in FCRA (Foreign Contribution Regulation Act) have throttled the flow of funds to NGOs, and many lost their licences to operate. On the one hand, traditional NGOs associated with social activism were perceived as a threat to current neoliberal ideology. On the other hand, lack of modifications to encourage investment in start-ups could restrict the growth of entrepreneurship as well.

"I think ..... FCRA funds, you may have seen this has gone from 17,000 crores to 6,000 right? so clearly I think the government has a role to play ..we have probably the most stringent laws … it is very difficult to fund organisations…ngos.. for the profit side external commercial borrowing laws also do not allow debt financing to come into this country and most start-up organisations don't need actual equity they need revolving loans and can pay them off and so I think those are two structure issues.. so it was actually very few NGOs that were handpicked by the government that and some of them had again a very strong right-wing attached to it" [P3, Incubator, Mumbai]

In the above quote participant, PI3 raised two pertinent points. First, restricting funding

provision for the traditional third sector also prevented resulted in limited funding relating to resource dependency theory and coercing to market logic. Lack of funds prevented scaling up their initiatives, putting a question on the efficiency discourse for traditional non-profits. A compelling discourse of the technocratic paradigm focuses on the efficiency of social organisations, which relates to the 'scale-up' model similar to commercial organisations. Restricting funds coupled with a narrow legal framework for social sector organisations act as a mechanism to exclude traditional non-profits within the social sector or exert pressure to restructure their organisation (aligned with the framework of market) to access newer form funding (e.g. social impact bond SIB) in the social sector (see BEPA, 2010 p.103).

Second, the participant highlighted the paradox where the existing funding system for social enterprises in India acts as a hindrance; the structural problem of funding for social enterprises overlooks the appropriate funding mechanism that can foster the growth of these organisations, which demands different forms of funding apart from mere grant funding.

The political discourse of paradigm building actors (government) concerning social enterprises indicated resonance with the technocratic paradigm due to their emphasis on business-model, scalability and economic growth. However, through the discourses, it can be implied that in the Indian context, the technocratic paradigm does not neatly fit in at all levels of political discourse. The political discourse related to social enterprises resonated with the technocratic paradigm; such discourse was more dominant at the central government level. The state government discourses ideas of the central government; however, with a greater understanding of local challenges, they subliminally resonated ideas of democratic paradigm. Absence of formal government machinery between centre and state to promote social enterprise have prevented neoliberal ideals of technocratic paradigm to transpire at regional levels.

The convergence of discourses of political actors with global north policymakers has resulted from involvement of international development fund, collaborations with international entities and knowledge transfer from professional personnel from the global north. Additionally, achieving comparative advantage has also led to adopt similar discourses. The political discourse has remained passive; assuming that impetus on entrepreneurship and innovation will have a cascading effect on social entrepreneurship. This understanding is visible as there has been a lack of policy framework and funding regulation framework for social enterprises. The agenda of growth of social enterprises have been rolled out to private

incubators upholding similar neoliberal technocratic ideology. Nonetheless, social enterprises are accepted as economically viable to address social problems and an answer to the lacks of traditional non-profit on the grounds of efficiency and revenue model.

Apart from a fragment of political discourse leaning towards neoliberal ideologies promoting the technocratic paradigm of social enterprises, there are other paradigm-building actors (i.e. incubators/accelerators, educational institutions and impact investors) discursively shaping social enterprise paradigm in India. The next section will analyse the discourses of these paradigm building actors construct social enterprise paradigm.

4.3 Shifts in discourse/s of Indian social sector

The political and economic transitions discussed in the Ch-1 contributed to the transitions in the Indian social sector reflected in discourses of paradigm building actors. The traditional non-profit sector was under severe scrutiny by government and other private sectors on the grounds of transparency and efficiency. Moreover, the growth of development fund investments and emergence new funding institutions (linked to private financial institutions) resulted in building a technocratic paradigm of social enterprise premised on market-driven ideals of social ventures (marked by scale, efficiency and financial sustainability).

The following section will discuss the shifts in the discourses within the Indian social sector shapes social enterprise paradigm.

4.3.1 Shift from mission driven to efficiency, business-model driven

In a Forbes article, Dr Fazel Abed (founder of Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) quoted- "If you want to do significant work, you have to be large. Otherwise we'd be tinkering around on the periphery" (Armstrong, 2008).

Hence, this discourse of efficiency and scaling up has dominated the social entrepreneurship sector. In the Indian context, the role of scale proves to be a vital element for its large geographical area and demography.

However, the scale has been understood differently based on practitioners, the social problem and communities addressed (Shukla, 2020). This section will analyse institutional discourses related to scale in the Indian social sector where large scale projects in terms of

geographical reach and beneficiaries or a ventures potential to achieve such scale remained a dominant discourse among paradigm building actors.

Participants representing incubators/accelerators perceived scale as a prerequisite to attract social impact funds. As per PI.1, investors were keener investing in potentially scalable projects; thus, they played a role more of an accelerator rather than promoting incubating projects.

Joshi (2003) pointed out that in the 1990s, the government focused on boosting the non-profit sector but under highly regulated condition. Bava (1997) mentioned about 26 NGOs engaging in criminal conspiracy and other fraudulent activities. Another issue identified by Murthy and Rao (1997) was whether these NGOs were reaching out to deprived sections of the society. Patrick Kilby (2011) refers to a study where barely one-third of the NGOs were working with socially and economically deprived sections of the society that led to a discourse of lack of transparency and efficiency of traditional NGO sector in India. Moreover, the previous funding structure in the development sector was dependent on grants which made them financially less sustainable. The recent changes in the funding structure in the development sector have led to some transformation of organisational logic in the development sector. Incubators tend to receive funding through social impact investors, which used for accelerating ventures. As participant PI. 1 shared the main focus of impact investors was to selectively invest in accelerating ventures in terms of scale, which can ensure revenue returns. As a result, in only those projects being chosen based on scale, they have already achieved and potentially can achieve in future.

"There are some fledgling angel investor networks in central India that we are part of already and most of their focus is on acceleration funds not incubation funds… okay so they like to see a start-up already achieved a proof of concept and looking to scale that is a safer bet" [P1, Incubator, Bhopal]

Another role of some incubators has been to work hand in hand with ventures to articulate the organisation's 'theory of change' the critical characteristic of 'scaling out' (Shukla, 2020) depended on the clarity of the organisation's 'theory of change' (Taplin and Clark, 2012). As participant PI.2, stated as an incubator, their work helped ventures to get institutional funding and to achieve scale. The incubator's role primarily rested on helping organisations articulate/draft their 'theory of change' which transpire into attracting institutional funding in turn, allowing the venture to achieve the desired scale to attract institutional funds further.

In this case, incubators are playing a crucial role in articulating the organisations' theory of change' based on the institutional logics of funding organisations driven by narrative logic of the business model, efficiency and scale.

"[We are]…very proactive going out field visiting organisations understanding what they did…so creating a comparable analysis amongst groups in the same sector and then determining how we can provide those organisations institutional funding as well as hands-on support enabling them to scale.. (Organisation name) social impact program which was an accelerator program help these organisations scale and articulate their theory of change.. not just create funds but create a greater impact on the ground… so It was more of an efficiency perspective realising target… I think two things scalable and replication ability to replicate these are the two kinds of criteria" [P2, Incubator, Mumbai]

From an impact-investor perspective, the efficiency discourse tied with returns on investment discourse. As explained by participant PV. 2, a clear check-list helps in deciding on social investment. Firstly, the participant did not distinguish between a social venture and for-profit business venture from an investment point of view, as both were similarly judged based on their rate of returns. The second criteria were the composition of the founding team of the venture. A favoured founding team by investors implied having people with critical social networks and market expertise. Lastly, the team's chosen problem statement for the organisation and solutions offered. According to the participant, a viable solution is faster one (efficient), cost-effective (scalable and better returns on revenue). Therefore, impact investors infuse business management discourse into the social sector by establishing certain normative logic, which most resonates with the technocratic paradigm.

"[We]… look into any venture per se and a social venture or tech-driven business and all it's only the cycle of returns is very different from you know the cycle of returns when it comes to running of the mill kind of a business or a start-up.. from the investor's eye. They clearly start if they can see hundred times their returns..the first tick mark is that the founder the founding team how complementary are they to each other have they really thought about the problem statement that they are trying to address, how much time and how deeply they know their problem then coming from there what are the solutions that they are giving to that problem is it you know faster cheaper or different or doing it differently there has to be a clear" [P2, Impact Investor, New Delhi]

In similar lines, participant PV.3 explained the role and purpose of social impact investors and shared how impact investors look for a return on investment as a key deciding factor before funding a social enterprise. It was explicit that the social impact-investing sector does not operate in isolation of the financial institution logic; there was a reference of international banks, which were part of the social impact investing space.

"[When we talk]…about social impact investing is basically when the funds come into the picture invest in social enterprises with the outlook of a return on interest return on investment so that's the basic idea when you are investing social enterprises and making some profit out of it that's impact investing for you… eco-system players like the banks RBL bank, yes bank IDFC bank so they are the parallel investing and impact investing." [PV. 3]

Based on the quotes of paradigm building actors, it seems an economic-efficiency led discourse has led to the emergence of a new paradigm in the Indian social sector. As ascertained by participant PE.1, who explained there had been a shift in discourse in traditional development sector organisations were NGOs coerced to adopt market logic discourse. This transformation was a result of new players that entered the Indian social sector since 2001. To name a few these organisations includes micro-financing (Aavishkaar India Micro Venture Fund), private foundation (Marico Innovation Foundation) and educational institutions (IIT-Madras and Rural Foundation Network (Villgro)) dedicated to social innovation, international conferences (World Economic Forum's India Economic Summit 2002) and awards (Social Entrepreneur of the Year Award by Nand & Jeet Khemka Foundation). Participant PE.1 explained that all projects in traditional non-profits are not economically viable, therefore depend on grant funding. The efficiency discourse promoted by these new players relates to the economic outcome. Among these players, private foundations played an important role in grant funding, but with the recent transformation in the funding model of foundation led to the shrinking of grant funding. Therefore, traditional non-profit resort to adopt an economic narrative to access such funds that resonate with resource-dependency theory where social sector organisations were compelled to adopt economic efficiency discourse in order to access resources.

"There is a new paradigm to social work or social eco-system which is emerging strong, and we are arriving a market based developmental …NGOs never worked on a market lens the efficiency is always the economic parameter the discourse has come that way.. now they have to use economic lens market lens efficiency lens they have to use those lenses" [P1, Education Institute, Mumbai]

4.3.2 Shift from social action driven to revenue-sustainability driven

The interviews with paradigm building actors also indicated a shift in discourse in the Indian social sector from social mission-driven non-profit towards the business model and economic self-sufficiency driven discourse. The nature of these discourses align with business management school discourses, which is a result of the professional background of founders

of incubators and impact investors were dominantly from business or banking sector. The knowledge transfer from for-profit economic sector to the development sector reflected in the shift in discourse/s.

"[I]…after working a few years in banking I felt that the skills that I acquired there could actually benefit more people here in the kind of work (organisation name) does" [P1, Incubator, Bhopal]

As a result of lingering ambiguity around the efficiency of the Indian social sector, paradigm builders emphasised on the business model and economic sustainability. The scepticism associated with the efficiency of NGOs was a result of financial frauds revealed of many NGOs in the past that led eco-system builder to seek alternative models for social development projects. Participant PV.2 explained how social enterprises were far better than traditional non-profits as social enterprises have a business plan and a model. The participant explained that for donors/investors did not prefer to invest in charities as they lacked tangible results (here, tangible results refers to social impact and sustainability of the organisation). However, in the case of social enterprises because of its business model, it brings tangible results through social impact and such organisations a sustainable for their revenue model. Therefore, organisations in the social sector were expected to break-even, just like for-profit entities. This narrative indicated the dual (social and economic) goal aspect of social enterprise. However, in India, for organisations to balance these dual continues to be extremely challenging as most social enterprises continue to be registered as NGOs and the narrow legal framework acts as a hindrance to achieving these goals.

"social enterprise has a business plan and a model which NGOs lack …it's very different if you take the business plan of an NGO it's not a business plan…you know Indian NGOs I am talking about you just put your money and forget it. Here this is a complete business plan which ultimately fifty percent is actually contributing to the society but actually trying to break even also" [P2, Impact Investor, New Delhi]

Moreover, Interviews with educational institutions incubating ventures indicated that specific type of projects was more likely to be selected for incubation programme. Participant PE. 2 explicitly articulated that products/services needed a business model which depended on market logic, capacity to gain competitive advantage and has the potential to be replicated to scale up. Participant PE. 2 represented a technology incubation centre of an Educational institution, their criteria for selecting ventures for incubation remain the same for for-profit technology start-up and social enterprise. Although, they have experimented with few social

enterprises reflects social enterprise being a sub-set of the core incubation programme. It was indicative that social enterprises lacked a robust business model and revenue generation capacity compared to start-ups; further infusing the drive for social enterprises to establish higher revenue-generating capacity and mirror business-model similar to for profits.

"Students get all sorts of ideas, and at the same time, we are focusing on certain sectors, so we are building a critical mass of start-ups with a business model. We have also experimented with a couple of programs on social enterprises…we don't impose any particular model on them.. it has to be what the market is saying. So it sometimes it might be that focusing on competitive strategies, differentiated niche product.. sustainability is going to be a key factor in our decision so then some kind of a business model which is we insist on" [P2, Education Institute, Mumbai]

Another participant PE.2, representing the educational institution, expressed the current pressure on traditional non-profit to adopt a business-model and sustainability discourse. The participant shared with the recent changes in the funding strategies of organisations it only relevant for non-profit organisations to develop a business plan/ model and economic sustainability strategies. In the current scenario, developing and entrepreneurial logic is critical for survival in the sector. Therefore, this can result in specific (reputed and big) traditional non-profits to transcend into this new organisational form and compete for funds with other social enterprises. However, many small traditional non-profits might find it difficult to coexist within the social sector.

"If you look at developmental work from a sustainability perspective, the discourse is changing… I mean the support system, the funding agency everything those things are changing. Then we need entrepreneurial interventions… because then that will bring sustainability. In terms of venture model a business model that will optimise the utilisations of this funds… I would say in social workspace which was not discussed earlier about now it's very expressive is that if NGOs get grants from xyz philanthropic agency then writing a business plan for next five years is a requirement now or they asked for exit.." [P2, Education Institute, Mumbai]

Impact investors explicit intentions of funding social ventures, which had specific business and revenue-generating model marked the transition of funding model in the Indian social sector. Participant PV.1 emphasised the intention of impact investors to fund ventures, which had the potential to scale and grow into more prominent organisations. There was clear intention to work with the marginalised section, but only if they had a market opportunity.

" [From] …*an impact investors point of view …we are trying to look at a business model that engages a business with poor and low-income people so, if you have a business model that*

engages with the low income and poor people our belief is that if we have a good team and we can provide a significant amount of capital to that good team, you will be able to build a substantial business that engages with a huge number of poor people and therefore if we focus scaling the business up while you continue to engage with poor and low-income people" [P1, Impact Investor, Mumbai]

Thus, the shift in the discourse of the social sector towards market orientation indicated by the paradigm-building actors indicates how normative social enterprise discourse is associated with the technocratic paradigm. However, these shifts have been a part of the changing funding landscape in the Indian social sector, which will be analysed, in the next theme.

4.3.3 Moving from grant dependent to market driven funding models

As discussed in earlier chapters, social enterprise activities in India was not a new concept; cooperative movement like Amul (1946), a technology-driven social enterprise like Sulabh (2970) and a rights-based organisation called SEWA (1971) marked the existence of social enterprise in India. However, the development of a social enterprise eco-system was due to the emergence of some key players, particularly in development funding space. Over the years, with new players entering the social sector have changed the discourse of social financing.

Until the end of the last century, the only dominant institution in the field of social entrepreneurship in India was the Ashoka fellows. By the 21st century, many new funding actors and other eco-system builders started playing a prominent role in social entrepreneurship (Shukla, 2020). Participant PV.1 was one such key player in the impact investing space, as participant PV.1 introduced impact investing in India and promoted impact investing through micro-financing. The participant shared that the private banking sector was also keen to enter the micro-financing space in India; furthermore, funds were available through development fund investments, which came from international sources in the initial days. Hence, a combination of market-led social investments provided more opportunities to social sector organisations to access funds, but at the same time, it permeated economic ideals in the social sector.

"Around 2000 a significant amount of change started taking place in micro- finance… it was most of people in micro-finance started realising that for-profit micro-finance has the potential to scale up big time and I was one of those guys who had that idea and I started

making small investments and building the eco-system of micro-finance ..if you are a banking professional but don't know anything about micro- finance we can turn you into a micro-finance entrepreneur in forty-five days … I would say made a small contribution" [P1, Impact Investor, Mumbai]

Thus, over the years, sources of raising funds have diversified, and with this diversification access to funds have increased. Participant PI.3 stated that building networks with top management in the banking sector as well as with high net worth individual were key sources to access large capital. Such funding related involvement of personnel from the financial sector and high net worth human capital also provides access to social networks and expertise. The participant stated that the funding landscape has diversified and people having greater access to funds. At the same time, the participant hopes that such availability of funds benefits people and projects that lack social networks and cost-intensive. The participant admits that personal linkages have helped to access specific funds, which in turn were used on projects related to social advocacy and justice, which were unlikely to receive any funding.

"I got more capital from the senior people from the bank including the CEO and chairman so we realised that it was actually those individuals can give much larger amounts of capital and actually were able to bring business…they would bring in time the networks to the table. We are today as a country have far greater access to funding that existed in India today than ever before… we hope our research provides people those linkages and provides them the realisation that you need to fund some of these so we have a democracy governance collaborative funds that we raised to support initiatives that are focusing on advocacy and democracy and access to justice and we have been able to do that again because we were able to show the linkages" [P3, Incubator, Mumbai]

As explained by participant PV.2 impact investing community is a close nit group of people. Thus, their motivations of funding a social project bring in the rationality of the private sector, as explained by participant PV.2. Such investments were aiming for profit. Thus, impact investments are dependent on networks and with a clear intention of return on investment. For these investors, the social angle in the investment has been conceived as sharing their networks and expertise, which venture founders can leverage for their organisation.

"*You know angel investing across the globe is a more or less clubby kind of an affair where people get together during their free times because people are running their own companies they come together from the philanthropical view of expanding their you know whatever they have learned from doing business across the globe and pass it down to someone else but yes amidst of this make some money out of this and you know to create something similar to what they have also done in their past*" [P2, Impact Investor, New Delhi]

Participant PG.1 very clearly articulated the nature of development funding in India for the future. The government articulated earlier how social entrepreneurship space will take over the traditional non-profit sector. The government also realised that many social enterprise models are efficient, scalable, high impact compared to traditional NGOs, thus serving suitable machinery for public service delivery. By explaining the importance of social enterprises, development impact bonds were implicated as a future funding model. However, there was no mention of the role of CSR funds and funds from foundations.

"I think social entrepreneurship you know has gained a lot of eyeballs but I still think it's very small right now in India. One approach was development impact bond I think personally, it's an approach that can work very well ..but you know what you need is really scale that up there are a lot of charities but then charities only fund NGOs. I think the social entrepreneurship based approach can be more powerful than an NGO based approach in many cases because there the focus has to be scalability make impact at a larger scale" [P1, Government, New Delhi]

Participant PE. 1 explained how funds in the development sector are becoming highly market-orientated, which has been pushing development sector organisations to adopt entrepreneurial approaches to access these funds. However, social enterprises can potentially best fit in some instances based on a combination of three aspects: first, the problem and the context. Second, what part of the value chain they are offering solutions; and third the type of fund was chosen to address the problem. Also, an organisation's strategy of diversifying funding structure was linked to the nature of the problem addressed; thus, it is a strategic funding model of an organisation.

"[I think]…particularly now when the funds are also becoming very market-centric market based philanthropic fund right!... so in that way then we need more and more entrepreneurial intervention in social space. Hence I feel social enterprise is a more relevant again certain not everywhere that social enterprises will come handy sometimes it has to be a business enterprise sometimes there has to be an active result, it depends on the problem that which part of value chain you are seeing the problem that will decide where we need grant really we need investment we need" [P1, Education Institute, Mumbai]

4.3.3 a) Role of CSR funds in reinforcing market-driven funding

In 2013, the enactment of section 135 of the Company's Act made it mandatory for companies with a turnover of 5 billion to spend 2 per cent of PAT (Profit after tax) of three preceding financial years. CSR money was channelled through corporate foundations, and there were

different agencies like NGOs, social enterprises, social impact investor who are competing for these funds.

Participant PI. 2 shared that a part of their organisation's funding came from CSR funds. However, they faced many difficulties in accessing CSR funds for urban projects as it demands the money to be spent on rural projects where they can see real transformation. Participant highlighted the positive side of how CSR funds have brought in more accountability and demand for efficiency in the NGO sector. Hence, again CSR funded projects operationalise on a technocratic institutional discourse of tangible out-put and efficiency of the social sector. Furthermore, as stated by the participant; CSR funds have regional focus also sectoral focus discussed later in this chapter; such preferences can lead to skewed investment based on corporate preferences rather than the real need of the community.

"So we have some fees but that only covers the small portion of our cost and then part of it we raise through foundation and CSR.. a lot of them have CAPS, so CSR don't want to give more than x percentage of their budget prior..I think there is a lot of development that need to go into how to spend CSR money ..the system its forcing a lot of accountability there is a lot in our portfolio we are seeing a much higher demand and interest that are monitoring evaluation practices …csr in my experience is quite strict about out-puts" [P2, Incubator, Mumbai]

Moreover, participant PV.3, who was part of a social impact investing association shared that they were strongly lobbying the government for a policy, which would allow CSR funds to flow into social impact investing sector. In such a case, access to funds for traditional non-profits will become more competitive.

"So we have a research committee now advocacy you know… we are working on representations wherein CSR money will be channelised to towards impact investing… that is what we are trying to convince the government for" [P3, Impact Investor, New Delhi]

The prevalent legal notion about CSR funds is that it has been insulated to circulate within the traditional non-profit sector, which not valid in practice. Participant PE. 1 shared how CSR funds were routed through social incubators to fund projects which might have a strategic revenue model and most likely scalable. The participant explained their broad areas where CSR funds could be channelled to ventures ranging from creating employability to environmental start-up projects. Here, the investment in technology and environment led projects indicates an emerging paradigm of circular economy in Indian context. The

participant towards the end indicated how corporates dictate the project's focus areas that can also lead to skewed funding and sectoral focus.

"Corporates have more and more CSR programs which are working on start-up models and which can be scaled. Without scale it's not relevant in India ..it has been structured very carefully, funding an incubator counts as a CSR activity so we can the now deploy these funds. We have a portfolio and we invest in five start-ups seven of them go forward and create jobs eventually that's one way of looking at it or digging a well or coming up with sustainable irrigation practices or having a product based solar energy product plus water management plus smart irrigation kind of product based start-ups is another approach. So some companies have this mandate that I want to this is my focus this is my CSR activity going for three years…" [P1, Education Institution, Mumbai]

However, the government makes it explicit that CSR funds and social entrepreneurship funding were insulated from each other; as these funds cannot flow into the social enterprise sector. At the same time, there has been a growing lobby of social impact investors demanding the need to make CSR funds accessible to the social enterprise sector. Gov. 3 shared the skewed nature of CSR funds, which mainly focused on the education sector regardless of the geographic locale.

"Social entrepreneurship and CSR are operating on different paths currently as CSR money cannot be invested in social entrepreneurship. The CSR funds are mostly flowing to people working in the education sector whether it is in urban India or in rural India. There should be some government policy which should allow the CSR fund to channel to social entrepreneurship" [P3, Government, Bhopal]

The discourses of paradigm building actors indicate a shift in social sector discourse towards technocratic paradigm. The neoliberal political discourses cascaded to other paradigm builders in the Indian social sector. These discourses promoted social enterprise as an efficient and cost-effective instrument for public service delivery on a large scale with the potential to percolate grass-roots level. However, social enterprise was perceived not very different from traditional entrepreneurship and perceived to fill the space of traditional NGOs in specific sectors. These narratives resonated with ideals of the technocratic paradigm.

The new players in funding the social sector were due to the growing importance of international development funds that marked a change in the landscape of social venture funding. In India, social impact investors indicated their preferences in funding those ventures, which had achieved scale or had the potential to scaled up; this, in turn, shifted the role of incubators where it played a role of an accelerator. Furthermore, access to these funds

depended on founder's social networks as social impact investors in India operated in the closed-nit lobby. CSR funds from corporations operated on the rationality of the technocratic paradigm also dictating projects in specific sectors. These funds, according to government regulation, were restricted to traditional non-profit; however, there was evidence of it being routed to social enterprises through incubators. A robust social impact investor association continues to lobby for access to CSR funds. In relating to funding social ventures, the government indicated an inclination to promote social impact bonds as mentioned the earlier theme, social impact bond financing operates on technocratic ideology.

The above discussions indicated diversification of funding landscape in the Indian social sector and changing relation between centre and state governments (in terms of responsibility and power) contributed to shifting in discourses of institutional actors in the Indian social sector constructing a technocratic paradigm of social enterprise. The next analysis section will discuss institutional collaborations resulting in exchange of discourses. This section will discuss how discourses of different paradigm building actors come together where discourses of resource-rich actors dominate the construction of social enterprise paradigm.

4.4 Emerging novel institutional dynamics- leading to transference/homogenising of discourses

The emergence of social enterprises witnessed not just new entities and players and renewed interest in the Indian social sector. As a result, it influenced institutional dynamics witnessed through novel collaborations. These new institutional partnerships manifested in the form of financial commitments, implementation and administration partners. These dynamics resulted in exchange/sharing of a similar discourse among different paradigm building actors. Hence, discourses of different paradigm building actors come together through such collaborations where discourses of resource-rich actors dominate the construction of social enterprise paradigm.

4.4.1 New institutional partnerships in social enterprise space

Participants in their interviews have shared different kinds of institutional partnerships that were taking place or might be taking place in the future. Most partnerships, whether traditional government partnerships or public-private partnerships, the underlining factor guiding these partnerships depended on personal connections and networks of paradigm

building actors. As discussed in the earlier themes, most paradigm building actors promoted the technocratic paradigm of social enterprise hence focusing on social ventures with maximum financial return. Participant PI.2 explained the role of the incubator, as a consulting body liaising between government projects and non-profit organisation in terms of assessing know-how and strategies. According to the participant, the government was willing to collaborate with NGOs in return, NGOs adopt the scale discourse. Such kind of partnership between government-incubator-NGO indicates that new institutional partnerships lead to the adoption of discourses promoted by paradigm building actors.

"the state government …like I said limited interaction.. I think they are more open to it and then the other trick the NGOs ready to meet the scale that the government demands… we are looking at bunch off different things for instance we have partnered with a funder right now to do capacity assessment and some strategy planning work with both side of the teams" [P2, Incubator, Mumbai]

Active institutional partnerships took place with educational institutions as explained by PE.1, which collaborated with government and other domestic and international educational institutions. The participant shared such kind of partnerships will allow more knowledge transfer and exchanging of best practices. Moreover, participant represented science and technology focussed educational institution with a particular focus on specific technology-led sectors. Hence, their projects were capital intensive and need revenue model to justify high capital investment; this led ideology more closely tied to business-management school perspective.

"we have corporate partners now we have government agencies we are getting support from international entities like UK university combine with the Indian universities might be able to combine the best of both… that a solution developed in the UK that has a market here sometimes the reverse knowledge transfer from developing countries now being used in developed countries…sector-specific partnerships three focus areas health care, electronics and clean-tech" [P1, Education Institution, Mumbai]

The central and state governments indicate a change in their operations, where the state government had more autonomy within the existing federal structure by initiating independent partnerships. As PG.1, the central government shared how Niti Aayog (Planning Commission of India) has implemented its green-field initiative Atal incubation mission in different states. This initiative has led the central government to adopt a collaborative approach with state governments and another government department to implement the programme at a PAN India level.

"Atal innovation mission is the only implementing thing in NITI Aayog does otherwise it's a policy think tank. So we work very closely with the all the state governments where the Atal labs are in order to make sure they are given the right infrastructure support… so the district administration helps us, we have tied up with various corporations such as Intel etc. who are going to provide learning materials for children…NITI works with not just DIPP but across all ministries and departments..again as you saw in the IIM we were working with the multiple schools colleges universities…" [P1, Government, New Delhi]

Participant PG. 3 explained how partnerships with different international funding bodies were being established at the state level. It tied-up with an international organisation in terms of funding for a project to set up incubator centres for entrepreneurship at the state level. Its partnership with UK aid development fund indicates the involvement of international funding bodies continuing to shape discourses and probably policy discourse in local contexts.

"The state government is going to get a loan from Asian Development Bank to set up skills park we want to see there in the skill spark because as incubation support and entrepreneurship development…UK aid department for international development funding across various areas, so it was also supporting MSDNs it was supporting the government of Jharkhand and government of MP" [P3, Government, Bhopal]

Participant PV.2 stated earlier that impact investing community was a close-knit community which was further accentuated by the launch of a formal association. PV.2 explains that this association has been able to collaborate with a well-known international foundation as well as receive funds from international financial institutions. The association provides a common platform for social impact investors and international funding agencies to invest in the Indian social sector. However, the only group, which has yet not joined this platform, is Indian family businesses and high net worth individuals High net worth individual[9] in India.

Indian family run business and high net worth individuals are the repository of enormous capital, which usually enters the development sector through a private foundation or CSR initiatives due to the tax benefit (as per Companies Act). Although the impact investing community remains keen on building collaboration with Indian family businesses, it is highly unlikely while there could be possibilities to access finances from high net worth individuals.

"…then we launched [name of association] to create an association where impact investors would come together… we have been actually collaborating working with many other people, we are trying publish a magazine called [name of magazine]….foundations called Rockefellers participated and some development finance institutions like the FMO the IFC they became the

[9]India's 0.33 million High Net Worth Individuals has a wealth of more than $ 1 million and their combined wealth amounts to $8.2 trillion. Paradoxically India ranks 103/119 on Global Hunger Index (2018) which is an estimated 195 million Indian goes hungry daily (Shukla, 2020)(The figures quoted are sourced from government and industry reports between 2014-2019)

third investors …Indian family offices and Indian high net worth individuals are the last one that has come on significantly now" [P2, Impact Investor, Mumbai]

As discussed above, the collaboration between paradigm building actors takes place based on shared rationality or resource-rich paradigm building actors dominates this rationality. Resource-rich actors dominate the mandate of social projects in terms of sectoral focus and geographical areas; this has consequently contributed to skewed investments in specific sectors. The following section will discuss such skewed sectoral focus and its implications on Indian social sector organisations.

4.4.2 Collaborating Institutions' agenda deciding sectoral focus

The British Council (2015) survey findings indicated the skewed presence of social enterprises in mega-cities, 55% of these social enterprises had their head offices in merely nine cities (Mumbai, Bangalore, New Delhi, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Bhubaneshwar, Gurgaon, Chennai and Ahmedabad); and the remaining 45% were sparsely spread over 72 smaller 'tier-II' and 'tier-III' cities. Apart from skewed growth of social enterprises in geographical pockets of the country, interviews indicated these sectoral preferences though most impact investing participants stated that they were sector agnostic. Moreover, political discourses explicitly encouraged the development of social enterprises in tier II and III towns in India.

Government has been explicit in terms of putting forth its focus areas (health, housing, retail) where social enterprises can contribute. According to political discourse, the role of social enterprise has been constructed to complement the supply chain in the areas of public service delivery. Participant PE.2 from an educational institution also highlighted social enterprises' role as supply chain discourse; this indicates cascading political discourse and educational institutional discourse position social enterprise organisations as last-mile delivery bodies of public services. This strategy meets government discourse of cheaper and faster public service delivery. In such a situation, social enterprises will need to partner with local NGOs to achieve their targets. Hence, this will position social enterprise organisations as urban entities, while NGOs were operating more at the end of the supply chain of the welfare system.

The highlighted areas by the government indicate prominent areas where projects are more likely to receive government funds (in case there are any) or impact investment funds.

Consequently, a combination of these dynamics will lead to skewed funding towards particular sectors.

"Health is my personal view not necessarily the government of India's view you have seen a new scheme … for health insurance under Ayushman bharat… housing is definitely there in fact social innovation mission we are trying to come up with a grand challenge method…so health hygiene affordable housing these are clearly on top of governments agenda… similarly retail supply chain are probably the areas where you will see a lot of social entrepreneur probably five six years ago self-help group" [P2. Government, New Delhi]

Such skewed focus is not only restricted to the specific sector but also geographical location. Participant PG.2 shared implementation of the Atal Innovation Programme promote entrepreneurship in tier II and tier III cities; however, the mission had little to mention about promoting social enterprises in rural economies.

"so there is a clear thrust on places where you may not have all support system so incubators are being done by being established by NITI Aayog through telecommunication department of science and technology also establishing incubators and I think by department of bio technology" [P2, Government, New Delhi]

Interviews indicated that most incubators/accelerators operate in urban India despite the government's focus on promoting and building incubators across the country. As shared by participant PI. 4, their primary focus region is limited to one state (Maharashtra) and more specifically in the city Mumbai. Hence, they prefer to focus on social entrepreneurs around this region.

"we are more Maharashtra focussed within Maharashtra we are more Mumbai focussed because our model is very high touch because it requires the entrepreneur to come to our office a month"

Another participant PI.2, pointed out how much investment was taking place in the education sector. Indian education has become a sweet spot for large CSR investments, which consequently attracted more incubators/accelerator to emerge around the sector.

"there is a lot of money in the education sector it's like the one funded thing in the CSR space for sure probably more than double the next category so there is a lot of money going into education so in that way it's like very good space to be in" [P2, Incubator, Mumbai]

Few incubators chose areas, which remained ignored due to their inability to generate revenues. Participant PI. 3 chose issues which were overlooked by government and other incubators and impact investors while addressing macro-economic agenda. This incubator

work with many NGOs at the grass-roots level on these specific issues escape popular sentiments of social awareness. In order to create awareness about such areas, this incubator conducts studies to produce research reports which could attract niche funds.

"[We work]…on different sectors child marriage, agriculture and providing quality education to municipal schools malnutrition zero to three age group and so these research reports we do them we look at two to three hundred organisations in that particular sector …so we try to choose sectors over sub-sectors that don't actually have much spotlight on them…we feel the need to shine a spotlight that typically people don't look at and I think middle class Indians and CSR for that matter all primarily focussed on education and livelihoods" [P3, Incubator, Mumbai]

Participant PV. 3 stated that, health and education sectors were popular sectors for the government. This two sectors because of government thrust, have received attention from prominent foundations and CSR funds (e.gs?). On the other hand, impact investors have shown interest in working in areas which appears in the political discourse but does not receive government attention or funding. As participant PV.3 mentions here, two such areas were water management and sanitation. Impact investors were interested in such areas as there will lack government interference for greater autonomy.

Moreover, these sectors are capital intensive, demand rotating capital investment with a prolonged break-even period. Thus, impact investors using diverse funding mechanism are more likely to invest in such areas. Additionally, impact investors and technology-led incubators are two likely agencies interested in such areas, which is indicating a growing paradigm of the circular economy within the Indian social sector.

*"…the sectors that are doing really well are education and health… that's what the target of government of India is right now is…. so we have to join hands with them and the sector that is doing the least is a water and sanitation" [*P3, Impact Investor]

Participant PE. 1 shared that there are specific sectors which are receiving attention from the government. As a result, numerous projects were initiated associated with these sectors. Some of these sectors, like education, health and housing, have been targeted to increase accessibility. However, the projects are not pure welfare driven as they an economic angle. E.g. in some cases, the economic angle is adopted by employing 'pay-per-use' model. Such economic models operate on the premise of providing affordable product/service that can be afforded by low-income communities (Shukla, 2020). Hence, the participant here explained

that social enterprises adopting such a model of delivering public services were more like to receive government support.

"In sectors such as health care, water, waste management, energy, housing and lot of products/projects that we are developing to either increase the accessibility to health care ..the value proposition is at a price point that is relevant to most of the community not just high value addition priced products do. We have certainly seen some encouraging trends and support from government" [P1, Education Institute, Mumbai]

Despite government positioning social enterprises organisations as the last mile delivery machinery of public services, participant PE.2 explained that such intentions of the government have been successful to an extent. However, there is a long way to go as there are not many organisations that work at the real grass-roots level. The primary challenge for organisations to operate in such a setting is the lack of trained human capital.

"so I think the structure of incubators are also changing and grass-root incubators are now emerging….there are small groups in Jabalpur, Bhopal they are doing it but again doing at tehsil level block level there is nobody there has to be yet to happen because that place needs lot of contextualisation in terms of delivery of training" [PE.2 Educational Institution]

Indian mass lives in rural areas, which demands a shift in the focus of social projects and investments from urban to other geographical locations, particularly to remote areas of the country. Participant PE.1 explained that considerable transformations were taking place among marginalised communities whereby the government employs rural-enterprises for 'last-mile delivery' of public services. By referring to an example of mid-day meal scheme where government utilised local entrepreneurial network to deliver services. Such models are efficient and cost-effective in public service delivery. Hence, government benefits from such a system because of its low operational cost and high accountability. However, in this scenario, the discussion suggests that public service delivery is made efficient either by using local resources or by social enterprise organisations. In both cases, it benefits the government on the one hand by significant cost-cutting and on the other hand providing social enterprises with a gap to fill with their services, which were revenue-based. This technocratic approach undermines the importance of building social and human capital in the local context and negates the empowering community to develop self-sustainable models to address local needs. Empowering communities help in contextualising social projects, which has been a challenge, mentioned in the above quote.

"[I think]…that's moving well, rural enterprises micro-enterprises the communities which are actually secluded now they are start thinking like entrepreneur. The mid-day meal cooked is creating micro-entrepreneurs at grass root level…so government is using entrepreneurial network for the last mile delivery. In many places micro-entrepreneurs are being used as a support system to deliver the schemes so that is happening, it's evolving…I think even government has been very conscious about the transaction cost so better do it locally transaction cost is less ownership is high less chance of leakages so I think it's a very legitimate proposition it's a win-win for all the stakeholders" [P1, Educational Institute, Mumbai]

These discussions indicate there has been an increasing social enterprise activity initiating novel institutional partnerships, not mere traditional collaborations (i.e. between government and NGOs) but between new emerging institutions in the field of social entrepreneurship. The empirical data shows that most of these institutional collaborations were a result of existing personal social networks, sharing similar normative ideology regarding social enterprises; this has led to the transference of discourses among different institutional actors leading to a dominant normative discourse of resource-rich actors to construct a technocratic paradigm of social enterprise in India. The normative discourses shared by paradigm building actors represented a specific segment of Indian population characterised as urban, educated, English speaking group representing the interest of selected few; which has also led to skewed investments in specific regions and sectors.

4.5 Conclusion:

The analysis framework drew on Montgomery's (2016) work of two schools of thought (i.e. technocratic and democratic paradigm) and Nicholls' (2010) article, which indicated different 'clusters of discourses' linked to the various paradigm building actors shaping the normative idea of social entrepreneurship. Therefore, discourses of paradigm building actors play a role in constructing social enterprise paradigm in a region. These work proposed social enterprise as a neoliberal construct, which dominantly represented global north discourses of social enterprise. By using Montgomery's (2016) work, this analysis offers an understanding of how discourses of paradigm builders in India shape the normative paradigm of social enterprise. Moreover, using Nicholls' (2010) article, the analysis answers how resource-rich actors shape normative discourses of social enterprises in a local context, i.e. India. The following section concludes the core findings of this analysis.

Firstly, the analysis of narratives of different paradigm building actors (government, educational institutions, incubators and social impact investors) in India have surfaced that their discourses lean towards technocratic paradigm marking its similarity with global north discourses. This analysis reveals the reasons for its convergence with global north discourse. It also brings out despite the convergence, the discourses was little less straightforward and demanded a nuanced understanding. The neoliberal political ideology of the present government marked by the shift in the discourse of political actors from rights-based paradigm (democratic paradigm) to a technocratic paradigm; envisage the importance of promoting entrepreneurship to address issues related employability and livelihood and gain a comparative advantage among emerging economies. The cascading effects of entrepreneurship will, in turn, benefit social entrepreneurship. Thus, the political discourse engaged with a social enterprise in a limited manner, lacking direct policy framework for social enterprises. To promote entrepreneurship, the government formed alliances with private sector entities and international organisations to achieve its goals of promoting innovation and technology ventures, ventures addressing employability issue and achieve comparative advantage to address macroeconomic goals. Consequently, the political discourse indicated its affinity towards efficiency discourse of social enterprise over the communitarian discourse of traditional non-profit organisation.

The convergence of discourses of paradigm builders of the global north and south resulted from institutional and individual actor knowledge transfer. Interviews indicated events like Global Entrepreneurship Summit, partnerships with UK Development Fund and the growing role of international development fund in the Indian social sector led to the transference of global north discourses in the Indian context. Furthermore, paradigm building actors in India represented a specific section of society characterised as urban, educated, English speaking, upper/middle class likely to have gained academic or professional experience in the west, which also led to similar knowledge transfer. Despite these convergences, the global north discourse positioned social enterprise to fill in the gap caused due to roll-back of state welfare provision. However, in India, the emphasis on market-led, efficiency discourse of social enterprise promoted by paradigm building actors positioned social enterprise to replace traditional non-profit. In the past exposure of financial frauds in the traditional non-profit and its inability to address massive social change maligned its image among civil society and other stakeholders. Over the years, crony capitalists in the country have portrayed the role of

traditional non-profits in social action and advocacy as anti-establishment and undesirable for the nation's progress. Replacing the traditional non-profit has been systematically done to counter opposition for economic developmental projects.

The analysis indicated that the political discourse at all levels was not purely technocratic. The political rhetoric of entrepreneurship at the centre manifested in some its schemes, initiatives and policies related to employability, livelihood and self-employment at the state level. There was evidence of central government delegating entrepreneurship promotion responsibilities to the state by promoting partnership with the private sector and emphasising on adopting market-based solutions to social problems. However, due to the lack of appropriate machinery between centre and state, it diluted its purpose, also, with the growing power of regional political parties and state government having a better understanding of local context initiated projects with the communitarian approach.

Secondly, this analysis explains how paradigm building actors discursively contribute to constructing a technocratic paradigm of social enterprise in India. The shift in discourses of the social sector and the emergence of novel institutional and partnerships led resource rich actors to construct a normative paradigm of social enterprise in India. The findings from the analysis indicated the emergence of new entities such as impact investors and incubators and market-based funding led propagate discourses of scale, efficiency and revenue model in the social sector. These discourses seamlessly aligned with the existing technocratic political discourse of providing service faster and cheaper. Moreover, diversification of the funding in the social sector, which did not distinguish a social venture from a commercial venture, prioritised return on investment. This led incubators/accelerators and traditional non-profit adopt a commercial lens. Interviews revealed access to these funds largely depended on the social network of the venture founder. Furthermore, institutional partnerships led to discourse transference and homogenisation of normative institutional discourses.

The varied institutional collaborations included; first, government and private sector where the later acted as a knowledge partner in terms of project management. The second type of collaboration was incubators/accelerators as a liaison between government and traditional non-profit or social enterprise. Thirdly, government and incubators collaborated with educational institutions as consultants, knowledge partner (through research). In these various collaborations, NGO's have predominantly collaborated for last-mile delivery of public

services in remote locations. Hence, grass-roots discourse remained eclipsed or subjected to 'isomorphic pressure' by dominant discourses of resource-rich paradigm building actors.

Lastly, paradigm building actor played a crucial role in shaping narrative logic and ideal-type organisation in the Indian context. The narratives of paradigm building actors indicated that there was a clear preference towards market and efficiency discourse leading to the promotion of a business-model organisational type driven by social action.

Chapter 5

Practitioners of three generational cohorts discursively dis/associate with social enterprise discourse/s

This chapter sets out to explain how the practitioners in India dis/associate with the discourses of social enterprises. The complex socio-cultural and economical traits of the subcontinent offer an exciting yet challenging opportunity for contextualising social entrepreneurship and offers a unique understanding of the phenomenon (Agrawal and Kumar, 2018).

This chapter will share findings of practitioners discursively dis/associate with the practice by mapping practitioner discourses emerging within a local context due to its socio-cultural factors coupled with the generational aspect of practitioners. The socio-political and economic transformation, combined with the generational aspect, has contributed to the diverse profile of practitioners to self-identify as a social entrepreneur or being identified as a social entrepreneur by external institutions.

The diverse profile of practitioners against the backdrop of generational and socio-political and economic shifts and transformation in the social sector has led to multiple discourses, ranging between two paradigms, namely technocratic and democratic. A group of practitioners, mainly out of incubation/fellowship programmes demonstrates social enterprise discourse converging with western discourse, which has been a dominant discourse in the field. The reason for converging perspective is a result of investment from international development in the social sector, technical knowledge transfer from the global north and neoliberal agenda of the present political regime as a paradigm builder, discussed in Ch. 5.

The findings in this chapter will attempt to offer an understanding of contextual-generational understanding of social enterprise discourse overshadowed by dominant discourses and how it translates for practitioners to dis/associate with the practice of social entrepreneurship. The dominant discourses put forth social entrepreneurship as an unrefuted 'positive economic activity' (Calas et al., 2009). These discourses revolve around 'functionalist ideals (Grant and Parren, 2002), economics (Sarasvathy and Venkataraman, 2011), individual heroism (Williams and Nadin, 2013), masculinities (Calas et al. 2009) and instrumental reason

(Gibson-Graham, 2006). Issac Lyne's myth-busting investigation of social entrepreneurship phenomenon is a political event preceded by a set of socio-cultural events (Dey and Marti, 2016) having adverse effects (Scott and Teasdale, 2012) as opposed to a 'straight forward, uncontested and ideology free activity' proposed through 'western common-sense' (Essers et al., 2017). The global south literature presents the role of social enterprise as a tool to counter the nation's social challenges. India's large-scale socio-political and demographic challenges have not met optimistic outcomes as compared to economic progress in the recent past; as a result, social enterprises are believed to have a massive opportunity of tapping into this area (Singh, 2012). Such literature, view social enterprises as an emerging entity with great potential to solve social issues plaguing the nation and ignores other factors. The evolution of hybrid welfare system, the frauds revealed in the NGO sector that deterred credibility, the role of international development funds played a crucial role in re-emergence of social enterprises which seldom highlighted in the literature. Moreover, reports on social enterprise activities in India put forth, strong government inclination to drive social entrepreneurship (British Council Report, 2015, 2016) with particular focus on education, health, agriculture and affordable housing sectors. However, social enterprise literature has not comprehensively put together the optimistic outcome expected out of social enterprises, and some it is fall-out in practice which also makes social enterprise discourse fragmented among practitioners.

Social entrepreneurial practices witnessed in the subcontinent, demonstrated social entrepreneurial success like Sulabh Toilet Project, Seva Café, SEWA and some self-help groups. However, in the recent times, social enterprises, for example, TAPF, CRY and Arvind Eye Care has been struggling to keep up with innovative models and solve social issues which questions the 'positive economic activity' discourse. The growing number of social enterprises indicate not just its mere acceptance as a solution to social problems but also seen as a non-questioned viable option from leading educational institutions (i.e. IRMA, TISS, IIT Chennai, IIM Bangalore, IIM Calcutta) (Agarwal and Kumar, 2018) which have to promote the west led social enterprise discourse in the country. A book on social entrepreneurship in India named 'The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid' by C.K Prahalad (2004) proposed how the marginalised section offers a vast market opportunity innovative business models could leverage this vast opportunity financially. Hence, social enterprise research then looked

at social enterprises as business models providing goods and services to the marginalised sections (Linna, 2012; Olsen & Boxenbaum, 2009; Seelos and Mair, 2007).

Consequently, many organisations started offering inconsequential products to the marginalised (Garrate and Karnani, 2009; Karnani, 2009). Furthermore, social enterprise research came into light with SKS micro- finances (Gunjan, Soumyadeep and Srijit, 2010). In case of the bottom of the pyramid (BOP) business models (Karnani, 2011; Seelos and Mair, 2007) and SKS micro-finance case (College and Baron, 2011; Joshi, 2011) business model superseded social impact. Henceforth, as long a product and services suited to marginalised were being created and sold that was understood as social entrepreneurship. However, such activities did not incorporate baseline studies and impact assessment after the intervention, which would have been an essential factor for the legitimacy of the field in India. Sonne's (2012) work presented a burgeoning class of social entrepreneurs, impact investors funding market-driven solutions based on neoliberal agenda, on the other hand, Sonne and Jamal (2014) also put forth the diverse entrepreneurial initiatives existing in the country. These ranges from self-help groups, impact investing organisations, circular economy, accelerators and disruptive social entrepreneurial initiatives (Agarwal and Kumar, 2018).

Hence, these practitioners' operational discourse/s of social enterprises will help to develop a broader understanding of how practitioners dis/associate with the practice of social entrepreneurship. It will provide an understanding of how normative institutional discourse/s play out at an operational level based on the generational aspect of the practitioners and self-identified/externally identified social entrepreneur.

Analysis:

The profile and contextual background of the founders provided in Appendix-II, additionally the table.5 below maps practitioners along their generation cohort and the context. The participants were coded for anonymization; where initial ‘P’ stands for participant, followed by serial number (1,2,..) and initial of location (B,D,M). By using an inductive approach, the narratives of dis/identification were linked to the existing literature and discussing how it manifests with a contextual variation.

Generational Cohort	Interview Participants	Contextual Background
Senior Generation (SG) (1950-1969)	P1D, P3M	Socio-Political: Early liberalization generation. Indo-Pak war, emergency in 1970 and formation of Janta Party; Green Revolution,Operation Harit Kranti, Milk Flood, etc. Economic: Hindu rate of growth, closed economy, License Raj, heavy spending on social programmes Technological: Nascent stage of technological development
Generation X (1970-1984)	P2D, P3D, P1M, P2M	Socio-Political: Assassination of Indira Gandhi, Sikh genocide, first non-Congress party coming to power, Mandal commission, Bofors Scam, Rajiv Gandhi becoming prime minister; nuclear families, Hum do Hamare Do Economic: India at the brink of being bankrupt; slow economic development Technological: Advent of television, beginning of IT revolution in India
Generation Y (plateaued growth with Millennial) (1985-1995)	P1B, P2B, P3aB, P3bB, P4B	Socio-Political: Rajiv Gandhi assassination, Babri Masjid riots and bomb blast, Godhra incidences, India shining campaign, standard of living enhanced, India winning 20–20 world cup; double income, single kid Economic: Economic liberalization, privatization of public sector organizations and opening up of Indian markets for MNCs, heightened growth rate at 8%

		Technological: Technology as a differentiator between haves and have nots'; advent of Internet, mobiles and smartphones

Adapted from: Chawla. D; Dokadia. A and Rai.S .2017. Multigenerational Difference in Career Preference, Reward Preference and Work Engagement among Indian Employees

Practitioner dis/identification with sectoral/professional label

Dey and Teasdale's (2013) work on dis/identification of third sector practitioners in England revealed how practitioners resisted and 'appropriated' certain aspects of social enterprise discourse. Thus, a social enterprise that was understood as a neoliberal tool to control the third sector (Carmel and Harlock, 2008) unexpectedly demonstrated resistance at the level of practice (Bradly, 2011) which is indicative the extent to which practitioners dis/identify with practice. It further showed that practitioners were able to 'displace' the identities attributed to them by discourses (Holmer-Nadesan, 1996). In this line, identity can be interpreted as a 'paradoxical activity' which represents the dominant discourses at the same time 'rearticulated' in other ways (Dey and Teasdale, 2013). Similar, operational discourse/s emerged from practitioners among the Indian social sector. However, the reasons for such dis/identification have been mapped against socio-political context, generational identity and self-attribution (self-identified/ externally identified as a social entrepreneur). Consequently, this process will also help to understand further the development/friction/coexistence of democratic and technocratic social enterprise paradigm in India.

Dey and Teasdale (2013) used Pecheux's (1982) work of identification which was instrumental in understanding how practitioners identify with the practice of social entrepreneurship. It has been acknowledged in Dey and Teasdale's (2013) work that this classification demands further refinement and these five modes of dis/identifications need not manifest in such straight-forward manner nor operates in a mutually exclusive manner. Thus, practitioners can slip into one another modes across time (Ellis and Ybema, 2010). The table below provides a classification of five modes of identification by Pecheux (1982).

Identification	
Enthusiastic Engagement	As described by Pecheux (1982) in this case individuals associate with social enterprise discourse and use it to make sense of the reality around. Holmer-Nadesan (1996) it rejects any contradictions embedded in the dominant discourse. Hoedemaekers (2010) viewed identification a process to maintain fluidity and produce an illusionary identity (individual/oranisation).
Reflective Endorsement	It does not involve uncontested engagement with social enterprise discourse; it shows a 'reflective mode of judgement'. This kind of association shows identification of social enterprise was not an automatic and direct rather comes with reasoning. Butler (1993) suggests through this process individual retains power instead getting dominanted or unquestioningly imbibing it.
Counteridentification	Modes of denouncing dominant discourse
Private Irony	Practitioner shows an 'uneasy sense of standing under a sign to which one does not belong' (Butler, 1993) while publicly resonating its ideas.
Public opposition	Explicitly not identifying with social enterprise discourse although privately supporting its discourse
Disidentification	
Displacement	Rejects dominant discourses 'privately or publicly' by criticizing it.

Adapted from: Pecheux's (1982) work on identification

5.1 Dis/identification with sectors- non-/for-profit

All participants were venture founders from three generational cohorts, as explained in the table earlier. Some participants were a self-identified social entrepreneur, and some were labelled as a social entrepreneur by external institutions. Most of the practitioners (externally addressed as a social entrepreneur) refrained from clearly identifying with the practice of social entrepreneurship and practitioners (self-identified as a social entrepreneur) dissociated from the practice of traditional non-profit to identify with social entrepreneurship practice. Moreover, there was an oscillating tendency of venture founders to dis/identify with the practice of social entrepreneurship and traditional non-profit sector.

Participant P1M (externally addressed as a social entrepreneur), generation X, discussed the conflicted role of social entrepreneurship in Indian society. The lack of policy framework and legal structure has led to commercial business embrace the identity of social enterprise, and instead of solving needs, they operate on creating new needs. Such phenomenon has been witnessed in the Indian social enterprise sector where businesses were treating needs of marginalised sections as a market opportunity by inundating sector with products and services often not apt in the long run ((Agarwal and Kumar, 2018). The participant showed a 'reflective endorsement' to social enterprise discourse as donor-stakeholder based model rather than donor-beneficiary based model in the traditional non-profit sector. Thus, the participant was unable to distinguish the between the operations of his organisation vis-a-vie of a traditional non-profit however moves away from revenue dependent model to revenue self-sufficiency although the premise of raising funds remained similar to the traditional non-profit sector. Hence, in this case, the reflective endorsement has been an outcome of not directly associating with social enterprise discourse rather disassociating with traditional non-profit discourse. Dey and Teasdale's work practitioners adopted this form of identification by aligning the legal structure of the organisation form to social enterprises to access legitimacy, as mentioned by Nicholls (2010). However, in the Indian context, there is no formal legal or policy framework for social enterprises, nonetheless practitioners by altering organisational practice (revenue-based) away from traditional grant-based non-profit thus indicating 'reflective endorsement'. Lastly, the participant's emphasis on stakeholders and the idea of refraining corporate/government funds indicates alignment to a democratic paradigm.

"*Social entrepreneurship also is one of the most abused words right now… even the most profitable venture which are not in the business of fulfilling the needs but creating needs even they call themselves social entrepreneurs…the way that I see it is very simple… in normal work in this space vs social entrepreneurship, in normal space you say donor-beneficiary, out here you talk about stakeholder…also any money whether corporate CSR, government that supports charity will not let entrepreneurship thrive…I didn't know how many E's coming entrepreneur right I started because I was bothered by something and I thought of a solution whether it is a viable solution or not I didn't know right…I don't know what is traditional NGO, traditional NGOs are also doing pretty good job the only thing is that I think the way we are different is that for sure we don't have donor beneficiary but stake holder*" [P1, Mumbai]

On the other hand, participant P3a and 3bB (self-identified as a social entrepreneur), generation Y, indicated more affiliation towards for-profit organisation competing for funds in the market economy. The participant views government has a lesser role to play in promoting social entrepreneurship, and the private sector plays a more active role. The participants showed 'enthusiastic engagement' with the entrepreneurial aspect of social entrepreneurship. The participants firmly believe in the market logics and how the finance from the private sector can play an important role in boosting social enterprise in the country. This indicated the endorsement of the technocratic paradigm.

"*Why are we depended on the government why do you want the government to promote social enterprises when there are private people already doing good things about it right!...private money has an edge, x company is doing something, y company is doing something, there is a big seed fund around it still if these people are not helping then that means your business is not worth investing why do you want the government help you in that*" [P3a and 3b, Bhopal]

Another, participant P2B (self-identified as a social entrepreneur), generation X, shared how personal experience and self-introspection led to the inception of the organisation. The participant decided to work with the most marginalised communities by providing education and developing community teachers for the same project. The participant's organisation was completely grant-based and worked with the most vulnerable children in the community, which is most similar to the practice of traditional non-profit. However, as the inception of the organisation was through a social incubation programme, the practitioner by default identified through 'enthusiastic engagement' with practice social entrepreneurship although associated more with the discourse of traditional non-profit sector.

"I completed my Bed in 2005 …while I was going through my Bed studies I found the methods and skills used were very informative and really useful but unfortunately it is not being used in any of the mainstream schools …I thought after completing Bed..I will give back to all those

what I have studied in my Bed to children those who gets no facilities… me and my husband thought of something to do for those children on the education field who are deprived of quality education" [P2, Bhopal]

Similarly, participant P2D (self-identified social entrepreneur), generation X, shared how a news venture cannot operate like an NGO, which is completely based on grant model despite their good intentions. A participant explains news venture needs to question the market logics, which dominates any commercial venture. Thus, news venture has a unique role to play; in this process, the participant has positioned between democratic and technocratic paradigm. Here, the practitioner has raised a moral dilemma of a news agency to remain apolitical, dissociate from market logics and act as a pressure group for different agencies in the society and being accountable to civil society, at the same time understands the importance of self-sustainable revenue model indicating 'enthusiastic endorsement' with social enterprise discourse.

"eventually someone has to put initial capital eventually to has to be sustainable I think news can't be run like a NGO just like a NGO cannot impact governance the way that political capital can impact governance …For all their good thinking and good intentions… Similarly to fundamentally change news you cannot do it with grants and ngo models… You have to rock the market, you have to say this is the model since the market is the dominating …You have to be sustainable in the market.. the reason news is always a difficult business because in all other businesses the logic of the market is dominant it will supersede any individuals thought process or morality or ethics or ethos because of returns if am fund manager I have my duty is to give maximum returns to my clients" [P2, New Delhi]

An exception was participant P1B (self-identified social entrepreneur), generation Y, indicated contradicting and shifting identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship, which made the analysis more complex as the participant positioned in-between democratic and technocratic paradigm. The participant expressed a firm belief associated with Gandhian ideology 'be the change you want to see in the world' which relates to traditional non-profit sector discourse. However, contradicts this ideology by stating how business demands certain levels of comprising with ethics and morals and associated oneself with commercial business. Further, participant justified this re-adjusted idea of business ethics as essential or else organisation's role would be limited to advocacy. The participant explicitly dissociated from an activist role, which is again closely associated with the traditional non-profit sector. This indicated a 'reflective engagement' of the participant with the practice of social entrepreneurship.

"*I thought that before empowering any women in the world I have to empower myself and the most inspiring and life-changing thought was be the change you want to see in the world if you know that your vision is clear and the impact that you want to make is clear to you then doing certain level of whatever wrong you can say is also accepted because you know that otherwise, you become an activist you know the ethics and the values and everything once you are into business you have to sort of give up lots of ethics and values because then you are also doing business… being an entrepreneur you have to give upon advocacy do advocacy when it is required but not it should not be your priority you know the activist mode has to go then you know I have given upon that*" [P1, Bhopal]

Participant P1D (externally identified as a social entrepreneur), generation SG, shared a deep association and a moral obligation with another Gandhian ideology of eradicating the practice of untouchability and non-violence. The participant shared how individual morality drives his personal and professional life, which guided him to start his organisation of taking this ideology forward. The organisation works to create public toilets with a mission to eradicate manual scavenging; a practice deeply rooted in the caste system. The participant decided not to work with grants from the government but through government contracts similar to social enterprises. The participant identifies as a sociologist and a social reformer, thus closely associating with traditional non-profit, although externally referred to as a social entrepreneur. Hence, a participant explained the reason being addressed as a social entrepreneur from an external agency was the success of the organisational in terms of the model and scalability. However, both these parameters form a part of recent social enterprise discourse in the country. The participant stated the analysis indicates that although this organisation showed traits of a social enterprise; however, the practitioner counter identified through displacement (publicly countering hegemonic discourse) with social enterprise discourse.

"I have started turning the prejudice history of India to rescue the untouchables to fulfil the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi, now I can't leave the job, endorsed the views of Mahatma Gandhi of non-violence and through non-violence society can change… I agree few things have given strength my mother she used to say go to sleep without food but never be dishonest, Gandhi speak the truth and third this gentlemen IAS officer so he wrote on file that this organisation should not be given grant it should be allotted work…. I am a sociologist and a social reformer if they say social entrepreneurs (laughs) why because we have become successful...so any sort of work they say is not successful but because this is successful it is social entrepreneur" [P1, New Delhi]

Participant P3M (externally identified as a social entrepreneur), generation SG, shared his personal background and his links with the non-profit sector. The participant explained in the

recent time, the marketisation of the social sector whereby organisations compete for funds and rationalises their edge over the other. Moreover, the concept of impact assessment never existed in the traditional non-profit sector, considering most works was with charity money. However, diverse forms of investment in the social sector have resulted in some changes in the non-profit sector. Finally, the participant explained 'social entrepreneur' has been a mere professional label, as he never started his organisation as a social entrepreneur. Thus, participant dissociates from the practice of social entrepreneurship and neither explicitly associates with traditional non-profit. However, operationally the organisation resonates traditional non-profit. The practitioner counteridentified with the practice of social entrepreneurship through 'private irony'.

"I was born into the family of trade unionists and communists, so I myself participated in those activities is this idea that people should make themselves literate through movement appealed to me, and that's how I got into adult literacy program …NGOs social entrepreneurs foundations and everybody was basically saying the same thing ..that we are better than everybody, so it's not useful …we started seeing rural model is a cleaner model …NGOs nobody was measuring this whole idea that should be measured was not there it's more recent and slowly because otherwise it was all considered charity…investment and development is something that started changing in 90's sometime….I don't know how to answer that question whether we are social entrepreneurs these are labels … I don't know, well, I didn't start out to become social entrepreneur" [P2, Mumbai]

Lastly, Participant P3D (self-identified as a social entrepreneur), generation X, shared how understanding the problem (which the founder's organisation is currently working on) was a long drawn process and which finally led her to become a social entrepreneur. At the same time, the participant explained the organisation was registered as an NGO and referred to oneself as an activist. Hence, the participant identifies with social enterprise discourse through 'reflective endorsement' where such a process is not automatic and linear rather comes through reasoning (Butler, 1993). In terms of legal registration and leader style, the participant resonates with the traditional non-profit and democratic paradigm, however, publicly identifies with social enterprise discourse.

"the problems were so multi-layered it took me a while to kind of properly you know evolve it into a social enterprise...we formally registered in 2004 you know for a freelancer or an independent NGO smaller NGO or an activist like me I think it brings some structure" [P3, New Delhi]

Most of the practitioners from generation SG and have been part of the long traditional social sector and currently find themselves in a transitional phase where the social sector is

becoming more competitive and marketised. Thus, these practitioners either counteridentify through private irony or disidentify through displacement. Moreover, most of them were attributed as a social entrepreneur through external institutions who intends to legitimise social enterprise as a field based on technocratic paradigm while these practitioners resonate more with a democratic paradigm. Most practitioners from generation Y cohort who witnessed the growing buzz around the phenomenon of social entrepreneurship showed 'enthusiastic engagement' with the practice of social entrepreneurship. This group discursively related to the dominant discourse of the technocratic paradigm and self-attributed themselves as a social entrepreneur. Lastly, generation X cohort who witnessed both the some of the long history of social sector and strong criticisms in the '90s associated with the practice of social entrepreneurship through 'enthusiastic endorsement' and some through 'reflective endorsement'. This group tried to maintain a fluid identity while few attributed themselves as a social entrepreneur as being part of an incubation programme or avoid being viewed as a pure for-profit enterprise. However, this group leaned more towards the democratic paradigm. Across generational cohorts there was a strong personal/professional experiences and a rationale to embark on the social entrepreneurial journey which can be traced in their biographical antecedents in building their social and economic skills. This aspect supports Chandra and Shang (2017) work of narrative analysis of biographical antecedents of emergence of social enterprises.

5.1.1 **Relevance of a professional label**

The lack of definitional consensus around social entrepreneurship has contributed to the dis/identification of venture founders with practice. This fluidity, in definition, was used to an extent by practitioners to leverage their own interest for their organisation. The interviews indicated a complete lack of conceptual compartmentalisation of understanding of social enterprises, non-profit sector and entrepreneurship. Participants used their own rationality to make sense of social enterprise, and this was possible due to the lack of policy and legal framework in the country. This section will analyse

Participant, P2M refrained from distinguishing between NGO, social enterprises and other enterprises. Participant, P2M (generation SG), externally identified as a social entrepreneur, highlighted the current trend in social sector where traditional non-profit sector professional was being referred to as a social entrepreneur. Although, this has been resisted in operational

discourse; however with the transforming funding landscape in the social sector due to emergence of social enterprises, in practice the label of the social entrepreneur was not denounced by practitioners.

"Is there a difference between I don't know what the difference is what is social enterprise vs NGO now that trend is to call everybody who runs an NGO… social entrepreneur I used to ask a lot of these people what exactly is a social entrepreneur I thought any entrepreneur would be a social entrepreneur what is social entrepreneur …what does it mean" [translated from Hindi] [P2, Mumbai]

The eco-system builders of social enterprises started playing an important role in 2001, it transformed funding structure, and international fellowship programs were becoming active (Shukla, 2020). These institutions used social enterprise as an umbrella term to bring in successful (terms of impact and scale) traditional social sector practitioners, in turn, legitimising social enterprise as a field. Consequently, such practitioners identify with the social enterprise through 'private irony' which according to them inconsequential in the manner in which they operate.

Participant P2M explained the role of being externally attributed as a social entrepreneur. The participant explained that multiple professional labels have been attributed to him and his organisation through external agencies and which has no impact on how the participant views himself as a professional. The participant explained how different awards that came to him (none of which they applied for) was for leadership, social entrepreneur, for innovative intervention for creating knowledge and contribution in the field of education. The participant highlighted if agencies found them credible for awards, then the participant was happy to accept them; however, that does not change how participant identifies with practice. Participant and his team view themselves as 'streetfighters' more similar to grassroots level social worker, thus identifying more with the traditional non-profit sector, resonating with the democratic paradigm.

"Well that's the funny part …all these organisations that have given us awards and I don't think we applied for any of these and those are different award…first award was gravis prize for leadership ..second award was skoll for social entrepreneurship good so they thought we were entrepreneurs …third award was vice prize which came for I don't remember …doing innovative work and all that….the fourth award was bbba award frontiers of knowledge so people look at us differently we are doing exactly the same thing and people find merit in this or that or together and they decide that we should be given award… I was shocked when I was given the medal of honour of the Columbia teachers college we have not done anything in teacher training but they recognised whatever we were doing as a contribution to education so that's fine who am I to say no!… so how do we see we see ourselves as street fighters you

know we are not very sophisticated" [P2, Mumbai]

Thus, external institutions have played a greater role in attributing individuals and organisations to practice social entrepreneurship rather than venture founders. This was further explained by participant P1M, stating that external institutions have been successful in attributing labels to the organisation as a social enterprise or venture founder as a social entrepreneur but that has not influenced the ethos and operations of the organisation which closely identified with traditional non-profit. Furthermore, during the inception of these organisations, there was no existing concept or awareness of the term social entrepreneur.

This notion was further reinforced by participant P1M (generation X) where the practitioner makes it explicit that external institutions do not affect daily operations of the organisation. However, to a great extent, these institutions were responsible for labelling the organisational type as a social enterprise, which has been, used an umbrella concept in the social sector considering there was no idea of what consists of a social enterprise organisation among practitioners.

"no these institutions, to be honest, do not have any role in shaping the organisation at all for sure but yes in terms of naming the organisation as social enterprise or social entrepreneurs is what they have done for sure because we didn't know what social enterprise at all and in those days in any case it was not a popular term we didn't know what is a social entrepreneur at all so, someone named me social entrepreneur someone called social enterprise we have no role in that" [P1, Mumbai]

Participant P2B, generation X, reflected the fluid nature professional label in terms of dis/identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship. Although, the venture founder and the model of the organisation closely identified with traditional non-profit organisation, however, the organisation originated out of a social enterprise incubator, thus directly linking its identity with the practice of social entrepreneurship.

"[name of organisation] is part of [name of incubator], so I cannot differentiate [organisation name] from [incubator name] because it is the mother organisation under [incubator name] all these seven models comes under" [P2, Bhopal]

Hence, through the interviews, it was clear that professional labels have no significant value for practitioners that remained independent of their dis/association with social enterprise discourse or merely served as a tool for legitimacy in the current social sector.

In the following section of the analysis, the themes discussed will reveal how practitioners

discursively related to the dominant social enterprise discourse. Thus, mapping their narratives along generational and contextual aspects along the two schools (i.e. technocratic and democratic) nested within neoliberal and counter-hegemonic paradigms (Montgomery, 2016) respectively plays out in the Indian context.

5.2 **Dis/identifying through operational discourse**

5.2.1 Management Style

The interviews with participants revealed diverse operational styles adopted by practitioners; this could be attributed to a diverse profile of practitioners hailing from different educational, professional and organisational backgrounds. This section will discuss the operation management style of venture founder leading to dis/identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship.

Participant P1B (generation Y, self-identified, as a social entrepreneur) explained the practitioner's relationship with members of self-help groups was like equal partners (shareholders) of the organisation. It was explained how the feedback loop in the organisation worked to modify and improve quality, and the operational mechanism of the organisation was a collaborative one. Hence, in terms of leadership, it was similar non-hierarchical resonating with democratic paradigm while the feedback loop to improve quality of production was more similar to the technocratic paradigm.

"I give them inspiration it's a both ways thing you know wherever I am on the fields we.. we talk we share stories what happened , what worked out what did not work out so that way you know it's a both way learning, I will not say that… its.. it's a collaboration ..I am not the only person it's like they are also equal part of this organisation" [P1, Bhopal]

Similarly, Participant P1D (generation SG) explained how technological innovation was used as an intervention to prevent manual scavenging in the country and inventing new systems for generating biogas for households among low-income communities. Although, the organisation's success came from technological breakthrough (social innovation) and organisation operated based on government contracts in its nascent stage resembling operations of social enterprise however the founder's organisational ethos remained similar to a traditional non-profit sector while engaging with communities.

"so my contribution is that I invented the technology porous ecological compost toilets now people say magic toilets (laughs) what is the magic word in manure or fertiliser being used to

cook food, warm bodies converting into energy so we say now so magic toilets …so because of this technology this could happen otherwise there is no chance of ending the practice of manual cleaning of dirty soil or defecating in open in India" [P1, New Delhi]

Thus, both participants P1B (generation Y), self-identified social entrepreneur, and P1D (generation SG) externally identified social entrepreneur mentioned working with communities and showed similar patterns of understanding of relating with the communities. Both resonated the ideas of the democratic paradigm of horizontal power distribution to prevent social exclusion (Mouaert et al., 2003). As Gibson-Graham (2003) put forth community economies act as a tool to "deconstruct the hegemony of capitalism and elaborating multiple axes of economic diversity in an emancipatory project of repoliticising the economy". Hence, rejecting the 'hero-entrepreneur' discourse promoted through technocratic paradigm. However, for both participants, there was evidence of a certain level of hybridisation at an organisational, operational level similar to social enterprises.

Scholars of the counter-hegemonic paradigm (democratic) construct use their own understanding of the phenomenon of social innovation/entrepreneurship in terms of social capital and empowerment. This indicated "an ambiguous convergence has thus occurred between top-down neoliberal restricting strategies, on one hand, and bottom-mobilisation of users and civil society for better or more effective services on the other, which has somewhat legitimised the deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation processes" (Martinelli, 2013). Such a phenomenon existed across participants regardless of generational cohort or whether self-identified or externally identified as a social entrepreneur.

As participant P1M, generation X, self-identified social entrepreneur, explained the approach of work and its legal registration of the organisation, which was that of a traditional non-profit organisation; however, the reviewing style of the organisation was similar to most corporations. The participant explains organisation members conduct quarterly reviews using SWAT analysis which most corporations as an efficient management strategy.

"So, NGO is not about how we register NGO is about how we are working and what is the approach though that approach I think many institutions which are registered as not for profit have that we have… and the second aspect is are we reviewing our work. We, around 50 people handling the project in different states, meet every three months to review our work. Probably such kind of review is not even done by corporates SWAT analysis that we do" [translated from Hindi] [P1, Mumbai]

Such trends of hybridisation were not witnessed not just in leadership and operational styles

but also in the organisational structure. Participant P4B (generation Y, self-identified as a social worker) shares the organisation structure in terms of the composition of its board members (most have a corporate background) and using keywords like target, social impact, product, market which indicated inadvertently aligning with the practice of social entrepreneurship. This has been a consequence of the criticism received by traditional non-profit on the grounds of lack of efficiency. Introduction of social enterprise discourse, which draws from efficiency, and scale discourse has forced the traditional non-profit sector to adopt similar discourse and draw legitimacy from the private sector. In this case, the practitioner by having members in the top management from the private sector and emulating corporate organisation structure aims to acquire legitimacy in the sector.

"We have target there is a budget plan and we have advisory board. Our advisory board members and mentor team …one of our mentor is [name of person] who is senior vice president of HCL and another global CSR head of IBM… and in two years we have create social impact where 40% of students can introduce themselves in English language, basic reading and writing English and our model and our product looks completely ready for the market so that we can replicate and expand" [P4, Bhopal]

Both P1M (generation X) and P4B (generation Y) both operationally emulate traditional non-profit. In their interviews, they discussed the role, power within communities to plan their development agenda hence resonated with the democratic paradigm. However, it does not completely abstain from market logics in its organisational structure and operations as it strategically engages the broader economy to infuse the idea of 'social justice' within the economy and the practice of social entrepreneurship (Moulaert and Aileni,2005).

This section of the analysis revealed that regardless of factors like generational cohort, self-identified/externally identified social entrepreneur or technocratic/democratic paradigm most of the practitioners are employing a certain degree of hybridisation based on their own rationality in terms of their organisational structure and function. On the one hand, P1B and P1D with horizontal organisational rejects the 'hero-entrepreneur' discourse of social enterprise at one level and working on government contracts and improving manufacturing quality indicated links with social enterprise discourse. On the other hand, P1M and P4B allegiances with democratic paradigm at the same time adopted dominant discourse to design organisational structure and review patterns indicating moving towards the efficiency discourse of social enterprise.

5.2.2 Venture Model

With regard to the business model, social entrepreneurial activity usually placed on a spectrum going from purely non-profits, engaging in innovative or revenue-generating activities to businesses producing social or environmental impact as a part of their core operations (Alter, 2007). On the one extreme of the spectrum, there are some of the social entrepreneurs supported by organisations such as Ashoka, the Skoll Foundation or the Schwab Foundation, starting innovative no-profits to achieve social change, and no-profits engaging in revenue-generating activities (e.g. Oxfam). On the other side of the spectrum, there are social enterprises like Belu Water or Divine Chocolate, which are businesses whose aim is to be profitable and financially sustainable, but which are also characterised by shared ownership and/or an entrenched social mission driving all their activities. In-between these typologies, there are multiple hybrid forms of organising, blending their social and business sides in very different ways. Thus, hybridisation in management style trickles down to hybridisation in venture model as shared by participant P1B (generation Y), self-identified social entrepreneur where the participant uses for-profit business jargons to articulate the hybrid model of the organisation.

Regardless practitioners coming out of incubation program articulated the organisation model (for-profit or non-profit) similar ideas. As in this case participant, P1B was part of SSE (School for Social Entrepreneurship India) incubation program and mentored by several other incubation programmes. Thus, the organisational model design was overpowered by the choice of incubator mentors rather than the founder. Hence, the incubator's institutional logics tended to override the founder's dis/identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship.

"you can say like we have a two business model b two b and b two c wherein we are also a supplier of the fabric, and we make our own products so.. that is what our business looks like and the whole model so it's a hybrid model.. wherein the social aspect…training and the giving away charkas and manufacturing of threads happens under NGOs and we are a private limited company we do research, marketing, branding of khadi then we got the incubation support in terms of mentors developers a lot of workshops to develop skills.. one of it was social impact calculation impact and there was diagnostic plan the flow you know like our organisation which was- all young people trying to do something became like more concrete private limited company with a hybrid model they were talking of having two different organisations and collaborations and what not and we became a fabric company from a brand" [P1, Bhopal]

The business-model discourse was dominating the narrative of those practitioners who were incubated in social incubation labs and generation Y practitioners who were most likely to be part of such labs similar to the case of participant P1B. The social incubator and hub culture have been responsible for the hero-entrepreneur discourse (Nicholls,) which attaches itself to the technocratic paradigm. Thus, the 'dynamic social entrepreneur (Dees and Economy, 2002) is driven to reinstate the discourse around efficiency (Montgomery, 2016).

On the other hand, participant P3D (generation X) working in the agrarian sector articulated the social problem and how the venture model addressed this problem. Although the participant understands the macro structural problems in the agrarian sector, the venture founder designed a specific intervention, which can be replicable and have large-scale impact. The participant understands how the model needs to operate and products placed in the market, which resembled for-profit enterprises strategies. Thus, participant employs the ethos of the non-profit sector in identifying the problem and engaging with community leaning towards the democratic paradigm but devises a revenue-generating model for scale and sustainability of the organisation resonating with the technocratic paradigm of social enterprise discourse.

"Agrarian crisis in India or farmers committing suicides .. is the lack of efficient post-harvest management which includes distribution , storage equipment's and also building effective distribution channels so this was the main problem and I wanted to come up with a unique solution but because the problems were so multi-layered it took me a while to kind of properly you know evolve it into a social enterprise as we developed this eco model village..where import of chemicals fertilisers pesticides is banned only organic farming is put in use after three years of rigorous training the village only one village is producing eighteen metric tons of organic apricots graded, we just got our certification ..yes so now I think this eco model village is ready I had the technology in place I had the resources in place I know what can go wrong what can go right to that ah.. That model is ready ..I want to replicate this model in other villages as a future in terms of product line" [P3, New Delhi]

Other participants explain their venture model and their strong inclination to collaborate with private sector players to develop a revenue-generating model. Both participant P1B and P3a and P3b B (generation Y) have a clear perspective in terms of their venture model, how to position their organisation in the market and the value as a service provided. Both these organisations were operating for less than five years. Their description of their organisation model was a similar for-profit enterprise with an intention to draw legitimacy from the private sector.

"we will plan b to b services…you know the expertise which we have for the differently-abled community and we will be helping corporates on that right now we are in a pitching state so we are not generating any revenue currently but we aim to help corporates, universities and schools to understand the differently-abled community in a better way through that we will be generating the money" [P3a and P3b, Bhopal]

On the other hand, founders of organisations, operating over ten years shares experienced the transitions in the social sector, shared the challenges of positioning their venture, and articulated their venture's purpose to their stakeholders. P1M's (generation X) organisation have been well known for its operations in urban and in rural areas. They have gathered several accolades from civil society and in the social sector. However, the organisation have a rookie approach where strategies were devised on-ground using a bottom-up approach.

"so in terms of our challenges that we certainly need to work on that how do we reposition how do we tell people the depth of it the deeper idea and second is I think because people thought we worked on cloth, people didn't know we worked on water sanitation and other issues.. maybe that is the reason they didn't come out to support in terms of larger money" [P1, Mumbai]

Similarly, a participant in P2B (generation X) was part of an incubation program, and the organisation have been operating for over ten years. However, the participant lacked a clear idea of the venture model; rather, the discussion remained more focused on the vision of the program. The organisation operationally resembled non-profit and operated on grant funding. Hence, for generation X practitioner both form the incubation program and not from the incubation programme, lacked clear venture model and their operational description of their venture model resembled traditional non-profit leaning towards the democratic paradigm.

"So that way if they can if I change one child student from [organisation name] this child can take care of other children in their community and can start something of their own with other children so they can also get employment in this whatever this children starts that is how we think of" [P2, Bhopal]

Participant P2D (generation X) founder of online political news channel, discussed the advertisement model for news and how disruptive it was for the field of journalism. Thus, a technological intervention, online platform, helped to reform this sector and connect with their viewers. This organisation has been operating on crowd-sourced funds and have hosted national level journalistic events and debates. Thus, generation X whether self-identified/ externally identified as social entrepreneur lacked clear venture model and most of their

organisations were grant-based as these practitioners were part of the charity/grant based venture model of traditional non-profit and currently transforming into a different revenue model based on self-sustainability resonating with social enterprise discourse.

"so..in short because the news model is broken, we believe the advertising doesn't serve the viewer, it serves the advertising as a model ..Their funding is used to serve the advertiser not the viewer; we thought that the digital age would allow a new kind of a model but new relationships between audience and news producer" [P2, New Delhi]

Hence, generation X, participants share their lack of clarity or inherent inability to develop a venture model, unlike generation Y that is aligned with the dominant discourses of venture model promoted through incubation centres relating with the technocratic school.

Another group participants, generation SG (externally identified as a social entrepreneur) discussed an organisational model in terms of focus areas of the organisation's intervention. Based on the narrative of participant P3M, it reflected the beliefs and values of the organisation, which transcended into the interventions. There was no clear revenue-generating model, as collective welfare remained the primary objective of the venture. The organisations of this group of practitioners have been part of the long history of the Indian social sector, operating over 25 years.

"We started campaign called three c's of hope where first c stands for classroom second is community and third is citizenship and mostly what happens is they go to half of the day they spend at school where nothing much is happening…we are also engaging the teachers also so that they can understand what kind of methodology we use to give them hands own experience.. when because we personally believe you learn by doing it you remember more and you understand where you are going to apply it and we are focussing on sustainable development course so it is free you just log in through your phone no and that's it you can use it so it doesn't have any like economic model like a subscription based for safety and caring for the community that's why" [P3, Mumbai]

Lastly, participant P1D belonging to SG generation was the founder of a 49-year-old organisation which has one of a kind intervention to prevent manual scavenging which fights a structural problem of caste-system in India. The intervention was technologically driven, by introducing public toilet facility addressing sanitation problem, which is intertwined with the problem of the practice of the caste system. Here, the participant discusses ancillary programs the organisation, which is about providing vocational training providing livelihood opportunities to marginalised. Despite having a sustainable venture model, the practitioner referred to them more in terms of programmes that being carried out.

"So that way we took them to many places to help them socially upgrade them, they should earn their own living…started teaching them vocational skills to make dolls, carpets, saree designing all these we taught them.. before they were earning three hundred, but now they are earning ten thousand fifteen thousand per month" [P1, New Delhi]

Thus, generation SG, with organisations operating over 25 years, described their venture model through projects and programmes of their organisation and they remotely related with venture model idea. They endorsed developing a bottom-up approach to working with community-based on the needs of the community which resonated with the democratic paradigm unlike the technocratic which views public service as a product and civil society its consumers (Osborne and Gaebler 1992; Hood, 1991; Le Grand, 2006). However, there was evidence of existing venture model within these organisations, which resonated with dominant social enterprise discourse which practitioners counter identified through 'public opposition'. On the other hand generation Y group of participants, with organisations operating for five years or less, were more clearer in articulating their venture model, most these participants had networks in the private sector and were inclined to partner with the private sector. This group was more exposed to incubation programmes and the hub culture and related to business management school discourse projecting 'enthusiastic engagement' with social enterprise discourse, consequently relating to the technocratic paradigm.

The third group generation X, with organisations operating for 15 years or above, have vaguely described their venture model; they work in a less structured environment and developed operational models and strategies more on a daily basis, their model has been ground-up resonating with democratic paradigm and operationally disidentifying with dominant discourses. Their description of the venture model was driven by a description of projects or programmes that are operating on the ground, and their operational ideas were closely tied with operation formats of traditional non-profits similar to generation SG.

5.2.3 Design of social intervention, sustainability and social impact

The nature in which venture founders described intervention reflected not only their discursive dis/identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship but their larger affiliation with technocratic/democratic paradigm of social entrepreneurship. The description of their organisational intervention depicted their idea of the theory of change. Through the interviews, it was visible that generation Y (which predominantly identified with the practice

of social entrepreneurship) resonated business management school discourse in describing their interventions. Thus, showing close allegiance with the technocratic paradigm.

Participant P1B (generation Y), the self-identified social entrepreneur, shared a very detailed and strategic plan with a clear idea of balancing social change and revenue model. The participant explains the organisation aims to achieve in the successive years. Here the participant shared the idea of empowerment through the livelihood of the rural community very briefly in describing the intervention and social impact design. However, the focus revolved around the market viability of the product (in terms of demand-supply) and scaling up the initiative. Thus, associating with efficiency discourse of social enterprise. It operationally resembles any commercial enterprise but involving marginalised women livelihood opportunities adds the 'social' angel to the enterprise.

"I chose khadi because it gives direct employment to the women in the rural areas by providing them training in spinning… we develop new fabrics present it in the market …create demand for that and then get into the production. We have been able to create employment for three hundred people… next one year we want to set up a centre where we can have thousand women, because now we see that there is a requirement of our fabric so initially it was more like validations in the market…how big the size. We will try to push that in the market and for that we will require around fifteen hundred artisans so ya our target is next one year it should reach to fifteen hundred artisans. Apart form that five years down the line I want to make a network of one lakh artisans all over India. So I want to create these small spin centres so every house becomes a thread manufacturing company and every women become the owner of that thread manufacturing company" [P1, Bhopal]

Again, participant P3a and P3b (generation Y), self-identified social entrepreneur, described intervention in terms of product and stakeholders as customers. Thus, participants identified with technocratic discourse. Practitioners' online venture model was designed for a certain profile of viewers, taking into account how they would scale for the future. Participants P3a and P3b refer to the size of subscriptions and people viewing their videos online indicating to scale of the organisation and potential to further scale which as tools to attract funders and gain legitimacy.

"*I am the numbers guy, you know… so [name of app] is used right now in 140 countries more than eighteen thousand people have downloaded the app more than two thousand to three thousand people use it on a monthly basis and more than seven thousand people have actually figured out whether their child have developmental delay or not which is a good deal for us. But we started with content so right now we produce audio-video and texture content online where we talk about the stories of differently abled community or we will talk about mental health…this includes two hundred thousand people a month and more than twenty right now*

..around more than twelve to fifteen thousand people subscribe…videos every month" [P3a and P3b, Bhopal]

However, participants P1B, P3a and P3b, B; indicated how the social angel gets espoused within the dominant market-led discourse and the 'social' gets reinstated within the frame of 'demand and supply' driven by efficiency and savings made available to public services (BEPA 2010; Murray et al., 2010; Mulgan, 2006; Leadbeater and Meadway, 2008). Scale, which is a measure for efficiency, remained the focus of technocratic discourse causing friction while including organisations from the social sector where such efficiencies are differently realised as inclusion and empowering marginalised sections (Montgomery, 2016). As explained by participant P2D, generation X, shared a similar perspective on the need to grow the organisation; however, the growth of the organisation relied on demonstrating grass-roots reporting and higher-quality reporting hence convincing subscribers realise the need to pay for news.

"We are looking to create new product so we are looking to ramp up our game and the kind of reporting we do and we are looking to creating outreach program, Which is a very important part of growth where we connect with potential subscribers and tell them this is why you need to pay so it's a combination of these things" [P2, New Delhi]

Similarly, Participant P2B (generation X), self-identified social entrepreneur being part of social entrepreneurship incubator, however, identified with the traditional non-profit sector. The participant described intervention in terms of how it addressed the need for quality education by identifying the most marginalised community and used public spaces for educational purposes.

"[Name of organisation] under which the children from the slums who are deprived of the quality education are being given quality education through museums so this is something we are running from last twelve years and its one of its kind in our country and it's a bookless education and museums are the education centres for the deprived slum children …so we thought that when already an educational centre exist government infrastructure exist in our city why not use this educational centres and the educational tools that the museums exhibits for those children who are actually deprived of quality education" [P2, Bhopal]

Such narratives of generation X practitioners resonated with the narrative of P2M (generation SG) who identified with the traditional non-profit sector. The key element in these two cases was the identification of a problem and working with the most vulnerable communities in society.

"[Name of a person] and others started working on the vulnerable children out of that came our[organisation name] council that worked in Mumbai big time big intervention in zari industry, and today we see that zari industry is almost child labour free where it is child labour free and that became a big model of how to work with child labour and then started working with the government [project name] and so on" [P2, Mumbai]

Furthermore, the interventions of P1D and P2D (generation SG), externally identified as a social entrepreneur, had a strong ideological background deeply rooted in traditional social change and advocacy which reflected in their identification with the traditional non-profit sector. Participant P1D shared how Gandhian philosophy influenced his idea of social change and drove him to design intervention for social change, which Gandhi strived to eradicate from Indian society.

"Gandhi wanted the caste to remain but untouchability should go so that we are saying and that we have done successfully two places if you like to go you can go … so they have no sense of untouchability in their mind … so this through non -violence" [P1, New Delhi]

Participant P2M discusses strategies of advocacy. On the contrary, generation X and Y expressed their desire to stay away from advocacy, stating that it was intangible. Here, participant P2M explained the two strategies for advocacy for an NGO, which also demanded NGOs to work in collaboration government to influence social change. Here, the participant shared hybridisation democratic discourse of collaboration with government with the technocratic discourse of scale, which in turn aids advocacy.

"If you start an NGO or whatever you call it then just working for yourself is not good if you want to achieve scale ..then you must work with the government which means that you will also influence the government only work with the government means you give solutions we tell them what must change the pattern of advocacy is different how advocacy to be carried out is a different matter altogether so what is the model for advocacy one model is go and talk and tell government officers facts and figure and you know philosophies and all that the other model of advocacy is work with them on the ground and say this is going to change that is going to change two different ways of doing it" [P2, Mumbai]

Most of the participants belonging generation Y (that identified with the practice of social entrepreneurship) have referred to social impact in terms of reach/numbers tangible measure for scale which in turn relates to efficiency discourse. These participants have also been associated with social entrepreneurship programmes or incubators. Participant P1B clearly articulated a long-term impact of the organisation in terms of the number of artisans

(women) that it would cover through the programme, the number of the spinning centres that the venture founder plans to establish in the upcoming five years earlier in this section. In terms of social impact two participants; participant P3a and P3b (generation Y) explained how the organisation (AI-based) had expanded to a number of countries and the number of people who have used the phone application and befitted from it and the expanding number of viewers of their online content earlier. On the contrary, participant P3D (generation X) described impact from the point of view of satisfaction levels of people who are part of the programme, how the success of the organisation boosted morale and happiness quotient of the farmers.

"Social impact is that I think one of the biggest…the impact has been very quick and very visible like I had seen it with the farmers I had seen it when their morale goes up when they are happy when they received our solar driers the peak time of harvest, and that is been my biggest victory and the biggest impact because you know when anything is timely say I will say something very small like when we get timely salaries we have all been in jobs it's such a good feeling you know if it is delayed that is a problem in India" [P3, New Delhi]

While, participant P2B (generation X) shared the number of children that were covered under the programme in different cities, followed by long term impact the organisation in terms to making their students more employable and take up different vocational training. Hence, the participant shared some of the organisation's success stories.

"The first year there were 350 in Bangalore and 120 children in Mumbai and 120 children in Delhi so the first batch was out … the students who have passed out are now in different colleges so some are there in engineering college some are persuading their degree courses in different colleges so one of the girl who passed out last year is now doing fashion designing some of them are perusing BBA some are doing BCOM different things.. two of the students who came back as a teacher from museum school and teaching right now in few who could not go to the colleges are now doing something of their own started something of their own" [P2, Bhopal]

Similarly, participant P3M, generation X, discussed impact as an ongoing and evolving process. This was further explained how adolescent's learning curve had been steadily increasing, and they keep of developing products and take them to the market.

"*So ya that's what they are learning different skill sets…so the whole learning curve has increased and they want to build something more which is for larger community for and they are thinking in terms of how it can be aligned with entrepreneurship and stuff like that so right now they have been working on…*" [P3, Mumbai]

In the interviews, participants have discussed the importance of sustainability and strategies to achieve that sustainability for their organisations. Participants have shared that ideas of sustainability-driven by business management school and some not sharing similar ideas face challenges of sustainability in India.

Participant P1B, generation Y, shared financial sustainability for an organisation is necessary not merely for motivation but also for continuity of the organisation irrespective of the founder such understanding of the participant reflected ideology of incubation programme which the participant was a part of and referred to them as "they" in this extract.

"Revenues obviously going to bring a lot of motivations to these people.. so it should not fissile out once I am not there or once you know the support is not there… so self-sustainable so I think they said there is no harm in being small but sustainability is the key so first focus in this three hundred people make them sustainable and have goals" [P1, Bhopal]

Participant P1B and P3a and P3b B (both generation Y) share their clear ideology on developing a revenue-generating model and more closely identify with the practice of social entrepreneurship. On the one hand, the narratives of the participant implied sustainability from a financial standpoint. Participant P3a and P3b shared developing appropriate strategies and networks for raising funds for the organisation; however, they emphasised on developing a revenue model was essential for sustainability as grant-based funds could dry up. Financial sustainability was also important to strengthen the organisational structure by which participant refers to expand programme bandwidth, diversification of activities and take independent organisational decisions.

"So right now we are focusing a lot on generating revenues we have figured out certain ways in which we will be generating revenue in the future and we are pitching the right people who will take that model from us in terms of fund raise… yes we are looking for funds but we are not a lot of start-ups nowadays are like we will just look for funds nothing else problem with that is that you can keep on raising and you can keep on giving out chunks but then if you are not generating revenue the funds will not last you the entire course of your organisation and its very important to figure out the business the earning aspect of it because raising funds is not the problem sustaining so sustainability is one thing that we are focusing on once the company is sustainable then you can like you know when you strengthen the structure of the company then you can pour in the funds and will go in the right places but when you don't have a proper structure then it will just go haywire right" [P3a and P3b]

Moreover, participant P1M (generation X) and participant P1D (generation SG) shared their different idea and experience of sustainability for their organisation. Participant P1M expressed his discontent upon being questioned about his sustainability model by institutions

of dominant discourse/s; as a result, he responded that the fact that his organisation was operational for over a decade which suggested its sustainability. Further, the participant explained that people from diverse backgrounds were getting involved in the social sector; however, it was important for people not have some ulterior motive, their organisation worked using a bottom-up approach where community decided their needs, unlike other projects where educated and financially powerful individuals decided developmental agenda.

"*so I said for the last thirteen fourteen years we have not only grown or sustain also now it is your bookish knowledge which says it is not sustainable and the practical aspect of it says it is sustainable I think the one thing which is very important such kind of relationship is a no one should come with a own agenda and I think we have been able to do it very successfully with hundreds of partners because we never interfered in their work…particular people are deciding on their own I think this is one very rare initiative where you are asking someone what you need otherwise all the development agenda ..is always driven by the people who wear good clothes or who have money people are deciding their problem people are working on it and we are just catalyst so, our role is to be honest in certain case is secondary role*" [P1, Mumbai]

Participant P1D (generation SG), externally identified as a social entrepreneur. His organisation operated for the past 49 years when people did not acknowledge social entrepreneurship as a concept. Participant shared how his venture model worked well along with government partnerships on grants earlier, and now it still continues but with corporate funds, and thus there was a shift from grant-based model to self-reliant model to ensure the sustainability of the organisation. However, the shit in the finding model did not change the operation pattern of the organisation.

"*so this worked very well in this country and now apart from government we are working with some hundred companies under CSR corporate social responsibility that we are doing so that way the model of running the organisation got changed from grant to self-reliance so become self-reliant now do the work of household toilets, public toilets*" [P1, New Delhi]

Participants P2D and P2M shared the difficulty of sustainability. P2D (generation X) identified with the practice of social entrepreneurship shared the difficulty in achieving sustainability as Indian beneficiaries have become used to free service brought about by traditional NGO sector have been offering for years, hence when there is service cost attached it was difficult to convince the public to pay. This makes a lot of social enterprises choose grant-based revenue models.

"*see sustainability is a big challenge …In the Indian convincing the audience who is used to consuming news for free that's if it's for free that is if it's not serving you If you aren't paying for the product, you're the product.*" [P2, New Delhi]

Moreover, P2M (generation SG) who identified with the traditional non-profit runs an organisation with a huge volunteer base as employing resources threaten the sustainability of the programme. However, volunteer-run programmes have their own challenges to sustainability.

" …If we have large no of volunteers we can't employ them paying them becomes a huge burden and then sustainability" [P2, Mumbai]

In relation to intervention design, the generational aspect played an important role for practitioners to dis/associate with the practice of social entrepreneurship. Generation Y participants viewed intervention linked to organisational revenue model and sustainability of the organisation and social impact more in terms of reach and numbers. Thus, revenue and scale have played an important role in associating with social enterprise discourse. However, generation X did acknowledge the importance of a revenue model but emphasised on the nature of the intervention (social change and benefitting the marginalised). This was similar to generation SG's approach towards intervention and impact-driven by a deeply personal philosophy to work for marginalised communities. Their idea of sustainability was not dependent on revenue model but being committed to the cause they were working for.

5.2.4 Balance between social and commercial interest of the organisation

In the Indian context, few works of literature discussed the personal struggles of social entrepreneurs and their internal conflict of balancing the social and commercial interest of their organisation. This nature of the internal conflict, in turn, steers practitioner to dis/identify with the practice of social entrepreneurship.

The interviews indicated a reflexive process of evaluating personal goals, ambitions, aspirations and expectations from life remained a starting point for venture founders to balance the commercial and social interest of their organisation, which in turn influences the founder's dis/identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship. Participant P2D (generation X) explained this self-evaluation process. This form of self-evaluation, in turn, reflected the manner in which social and commercial interests of the practitioner's

organisation was managed.

"Either they are going to serve the news or serves to your investor…You cannot be honest to both so that is as far as VC funding is concerned ..I cannot live the life of many of my friends who were activists, I am not a fan of that kind off struggle and hardships. I want enough money to take a holiday abroad, I afford that restaurant so that's important to me ..I have no interest in for example cars like an Audi, BMW, Mercedes that's not part of my plan ...Couple of holidays an year , here or there eating at restaurant ,Buy good Nike shoes to run playing football These things that make me happy so therefore for me it's not too much of a struggle. But if you know you want a yacht and you want a horse and you want I like I want travel first I think then you need to re-evaluate your choices in life" [P2, New Delhi]

Some venture founders devised their internal idea of social and commercial balance. Practitioners P3a and b (generation Y) described their venture as one which had a social objective complimented by a revenue model. The scaling up of the organisation meant greater revenues and the social angel was experiencing emotional gratification as a result of appreciation received from the stakeholders.

"*outcomes something that we get back on the emotional front you know its I would say overwhelming because we have like we have people whom we don't know anything about coming and talking about their personal life's their vulnerabilities this is something that bothers me like something that they won't even talk to their best friend and coming and talking to us*" [P3a & P3b, Bhopal]

Similarly, participant P1B (generation Y) discussed the balanced between social and commercial aspects of the venture. The participant discussed the important role of revenues as it ensures sustainability, further elaborating that the emphasis on developing a sustainable model was reinforced during the social incubation programme.

"So revenues obviously going to bring a lot of motivations to these [weavers] people so it should not be fissile out once I am not there so self-sustainable… so I they[incubation programme] said there is no harm in being small but sustainability is the key so first focus in this three hundred people make them sustainable and have goals that is one thing…" [P1, Bhopal]

Lastly, participant P1B demonstrated that the founder's clarity in understanding the goals of the venture coupled with unique management style helped to balance the social and commercial goals of the organisation. This helped the founder to easily switch between roles between for-profit entrepreneur and social worker.

"*Very clearly so .. like certain values in our organisation we don't compromise obviously the person who is running it is very clearly…so I think that clarity is there we don't want to do unethical business but sometimes certain things obviously you have to mend it a little bit of diplomacy little but we make it clear that we are not lying … we are doing khadi … we are*

giving employment to women.. I am business man but once I am with artisans the women that I work with them I am a true social worker.. I want them to be really good and become really skilful …..on the business front when I am dealing with the customers and clients and all I am a true business man I have to sell" [P1, Bhopal]

On the contrary, participant P1M (SG generation) was personally driven towards the social cause and to contribute towards social change and thereafter looked at creating an economic model around it.

"*There are two if you see deeper philosophy there are two aspects of it I personally believe one is the emotional and a very individualistic or very personal part of it the second is the economic aspect that how do you ah how do you really convert it into a different economy and all that kind of the thing"* [P1, Mumbai]

Generation Y demonstrated a very clear division of expectations from the social and commercial aspects of their organisation. They have also shown smooth transitions in between roles of a social worker and entrepreneur. Hence, this relates 'enthusiastic engagement' identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship. On the contrary, generation X described the personal priorities of the practitioner remains the primary factor deciding the balance between social and commercial outcomes of their organisation but failed to clarify the grounds of dividing social and economic goals of the organisation. Generation SG had their primary focus on the social cause which they were personally connected with and devised economic model based on circumstances. Hence, there was no clear division between social and commercial; it was more of a holistic pursuit.

5.2.5 Funding structure

The literature indicated technocratic school of social innovation/entrepreneurship aids the neoliberals to compensate for their 'roll-back' policies and initiatives. The support garnered by the technocratic paradigm emerges from its proponents, which deliberately 'roll-out' novel institutional 'hard-ware' (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Hence, it is essential to view social innovation/entrepreneurship not a mere manifestation of neoliberalism constructing new projects but rather a part of larger 'political project to reengineer the state' (Bockman, 2012). India had not experienced similar roll-back of public welfare provision similar to western counties (i.e. the UK, USA) however; it did witness transformation in the social sector and emergence of novel entities funding the social sector. The funding entities that emerged in

the social sector were social impact investing, social incubator and micro-financing, venture capitalist funding, corporations (CSR funds) and awards (Shukla, 2020).

Practitioners witnessed the long-term implications of these novel development funds and shaped the way they look at funding their organisation. In the interviews, the participants discussed their initial source of funds and their preferred funding sources. Participant P1B (generation Y), the self-identified social entrepreneur, shared how social entrepreneurs should refrain from VC funding, as social enterprises would be reduced to being a commercial enterprise. The pressure of scale and impact from the VCs acted as deterrent factors, and the constant emphasis on generating revenue does not match with the ethos of social enterprises.

"but VCs are like proper commercial investors something that I think social enterprises should stay away from… otherwise with the time you lose the essence of social enterprise then you become like a normal enterprise … impact!... I think the only thing that they bring in is a lot of pressure for revenues and they only look for scale up …so that is why its not that people who are who wants make a lot of money is good obviously that kind of pressure but for people who are not only thinking about money but also impact it becomes annoying for them" [P1, Bhopal]

Participant P2D (generation X), self-identified as a social entrepreneur, shared how it was necessary to rightly choose investors keeping the organisational interest intact. It was a well thought out decision to avoid commercial venture capitalist (VC) and choose the right kind of social impact investors. The participant shared that this choice was based on the understanding that commercial VCs' primarily focuses on profits and lacked engagement with the ideology of the organisation.

"[organisation name] is a self-sufficient company, [organisation name] after you know we started it internally got some traction there was some interest we you know said okay let's take it a little bigger, let's go for VC funding and that VC is not conventional VC, it is impact funds who are more interested in kind of social, you know what am talking about conventional VCs are in my view… they are the equivalent to.. traders taking stocks, that's what they are really doing, they are not seeing the wisdom behind the fundamentals of those stocks" [P2, New Delhi]

Participants, across the generational cohort and regardless self-identified/externally identified as a social entrepreneur, shared how personal savings, family and close social networks were preferred funding options for social entrepreneurs. Participant P1B (generation Y), the self-identified social entrepreneur, explained how the three 'F's (family, friends and fools) invested the initial capital. Thereafter the investment and mentoring facility

came from the incubator programme in the form of a financial loan. The participant explained a particular interest towards government funding, seeing the possibility of multiple schemes and funds to promote 'Khadi' (textile associated with freedom movement) and to access these funds the participant had a connection with senior IAS officers in government departments. Otherwise, in case of other practitioners, they avoid accessing government funds as it is known for being time-consuming for bureaucratic reasons and only a few those having social networks in the government officials were more likely to receive funds.

"The first f's friends family and fools (laughs) so it was same friends family and fools only who invested I my business but then I found the incubation centre in the form of a soft loan which I have to return like there is a proper system and they have also taken certain percentage of equity for mentoring in return they are providing me all sorts of mentor that are required for our organisation…there I a lot of government support as well in khadi so there are a lots of grants and funds that are available… so I am also applying.. it is always good to work on governments money than the VC" [P1, Bhopal]

Participant P3aB and P3bB (generation Y), self-identified social entrepreneur, shared how family helped in funding to start the organisation and thereafter the founder had access to large amount fund through a reputed global start-up funder, which was at that time helping the organisation to operate. The culture of start-up funds has been a recent phenomenon in India with the government's impetus on developing entrepreneurship eco-system in the country. This trend, to some extent, benefitted more generation Y population who lacks initial capital and social networks. However, the recipients of these funds have also been those mostly urban, English speaking, middle class.

"So, in the start my dad helped us for at least one and a half years then we raised a hundred thousand dollars from five hundred start-ups which is a Silicon Valley venture fund they are the largest venture fund in the world in terms of the of start-ups in their portfolio after that we reached that money in January 2016 after that we are just using that money" [P3a and P3b, Bhopal]

Participant P3D, generation X, self-identified social entrepreneur, shared how there were no funders in the initial days when the organisation was being set up. The participant used personal savings to fund and set up the organisation. Later, the organisation received international funds; thereafter, the practitioner has been striving to get to a self-sustainable model. Moreover, funding for an organisation depended on the sector/cause of the organisation. Practitioners working in sectors/causes, which were not priority sectors for the

government and private sector often found themselves in a difficult position to raise domestic funds and prefers international funds.

"We had no support the longest time I had fifteen thousand pounds from my job savings from England none of that exists now … I got my first grant which was fifty thousand dollars last year which is still not enough for a village of forty-three but we managed somehow and …" [P3, New Delhi]

Similarly, P3M, generation X, self-identified as a social entrepreneur, shared the experience of lack of social networks and constant paucity of funds the sustainability of the organisation remained in question. There was no specific strategic plan for raising funds for the organisation, which mirrored traditional non-profit way of fundraising. In this case, the practitioner approached different institutions for funds to keep the organisation operational.

"I put my own saving in the beginning and then started loan ….on the verge of … I finished all my funds reach out to other friends and family we did crowd source funding then we did started writing grant proposal in India what is like whom you know is more important than what you do so it has been difficult but lot of people heard from abroad and things like that they have helped a lot and we won google rise award last year and that has given some funds and nvidea also heard about us they wanted to partner so that's how we got funds and then again this year we want to continue with their CSR program" [P3, Mumbai]

Despite the fact that organisations were facing constant pressure from lack of funds and their sustainability under threat, social entrepreneurs have refrained from seeking grants from the government. Participant P2B (generation X), the self-identified social entrepreneur, shared that despite facing a shortage of funds preferred not to approach government funding and opted to revisit the organisational model to develop communitarian ownership of the programme. At the same time discussed how competitive it was to access CSR funds which are disbursed annually and not large enough to support this organisation, however, the participant was more open to accepting CSR funds over the government.

"*It's very difficult to work in such circumstances so we thought of not using government money let us work and make it as a public project ...there are other reasons also so for not taking funds from the government… in CSR you know only once a year the amount which we want to run [organisation name] so we have expenses of teacher's salary stationaries and the food we provide to the children all those have some cost. So, no funding no CSR have that huge amount of money…so we get not in big forms but of course in small forms we definitely get the CSR supports*" [P2, Bhopal]

Other participants have described alternative funding structures, which have been instrumental in keeping their organisation operational. Participant P1M, generation X, self-

identified social entrepreneur, explained how individual contributions and crowdfunding model of raising funds along with the foundation's contribution had sustained the organisation for years. The participant shared the kind of civil society support that the organisation has generated was the main reason where people have sent donations without reaching out to them and helped in organisational sustainability.

"*Distribution of funds… that flow from individual, from crowdfunding from people who are from foundation… half of half of it is individual. Fifty per cent is individual okay it has been this for the last almost decade fifty per cent comes from individual these are not wealthy very wealthy as you say high-income kind of people they must be rich people but ordinary people …and also a lot of people just send us just thousand-rupee kind of thing, a lot of people*" [P1, Mumbai]

Participant P2M (generation SG), the externally identified social entrepreneur, described how a considerable amount of funding came from aboard (the USA and the UK) through fundraising events. Another source of were from foundations. The participant shared how foundation funds were becoming scarce since 2008 and got substituted later by CSR funds and contributions from high net worth individuals. However, as discussed earlier access to CSR funds and high net worth individuals are limited to a very small section of practitioners based on their social networks.

"No actually fundraising model we don't have these kinds of event-based fundraising in India ..we are not in favour of the impact investment model either and subsequently we have not gone into events based in USA, UK and so on we work with foundations a lot although it looks like foundation money is drying up these days or has gone down post-2008, but it may come up but high network individual money seems to be growing the CSR money has raise" [P2, Mumbai]

The analysis indicates that despite the presence of several funding institutions available in the country, practitioners irrespective of generational cohort or self-identified/externally identified social entrepreneur preferred non-governmental funders. For generation SG cohort, there was a greater dependency on international funds, private foundations and high net worth individuals. This was due to low social funds available public or private during their time; hence social networks played a significant role in raise funds. In the case of generation X cohort, were predominantly caught between a transitional phase of funding bank greatly on non-governmental grants and funds along with crowd-sourced funding model. Lastly, generation Y has a more clear revenue model for their organisation and strategic plans to raise funds. They are not based on grant model but keener on developing a social business

model of funding structure. This group has been exposed to a period where government impetus has been on developing entrepreneurship; diverse funding institutions are ready to invest in the social sector. However, across generational cohort participants with better social networks and belonging from urban, English speaking, the middle-class group were more likely recipients of these funds. Thus, generation Y, shows more market-oriented funding structure aligning with technocratic social enterprise discourse, while generation X and SG bank on traditional grant funding or community-funded projects resonating democratic paradigm of social enterprise discourse.

The following table.7 maps the discourses generated by three generational cohorts across the four dimensions of operational management.

Generational Cohort	Management Dimension	Discourses
SG X Y	Venture Model	SG- Communitarian, Empowerment X- Communitarian and towards business model Y- Business model
SG X Y	Intervention Design	SG- Social Mission X- Social Mission towards revenue model Y- Revenue model, scale, sustainability and impact
SG X Y	Balance social and commercial	SG- Lacks clarity X- Blurring clarity Y- Clear division
SG X Y	Funding Structure	SG- International funds, grants from foundations and High Net Worth individuals X- Crowdfunding, grants from non-government agencies and CSR funds. Y-Social business model, Venture capitalist, Social impact investors

Chapter 6

Typology of strategies adopted by practitioners to navigate tensions of normative and operational discourse/s

Chapter- 5 explained the normative institutional discourse(s) of social enterprises and chapter- 6 discussed dis/identification of practitioners with the practice of social entrepreneurship. This chapter will delve into discussing how practitioners discursively use these dis/identifications as a tool to steer the tensions between normative institutional discourse(s) and grass-roots, operational discourses in order access legitimacy and resources.

Thus, this chapter sets out to discuss the role of impression management (IM) and 'tactical mimicry' (Teasdale) employed by practitioners to navigate tensions between grass-roots, operational discourses and normative institutional discourse(s) of social entrepreneurship to steer power relations, resource mobilisation and access legitimacy in the Indian context.

The rational choice perspective overlooks the sociological explanations for manifesting IM strategies. On the other hand, institutional theory perspective helps to explain the IM strategy using broader socio-cultural context and acknowledging its layers of complexities. Since institutional perspective takes into account complex socio-political environment, it helps to surface the nuanced nature of IM strategies. This nuanced nature of IM is not just limited to the socio-cultural environment but extended to motivations and decision-making within the organisation (i.e. founder/manager) embedded in their context. Discussions in social enterprise literature develop an understanding where external factors pushed practitioners to adopt IM techniques as a result of isomorphic pressures however by adopting a nuanced lens helps to identify internal driving factors to adopt IM and tactical mimicry where the motive is far more complicated than mere access financial resources.

Furthermore, the recipients of IM strategies have interpreted it differently and executes isomorphic pressures embedded in their socio-cultural context (Nicholls and Paton, 2010).

Drawing from the similar body of work this chapter will discuss how the tensions between normative institutional discourse(s) and operational discourses of social enterprises were discursively managed using impression management and 'tactical mimicry' techniques (Teasdale, 2010) by Indian practitioners. Such strategies employed by practitioners in earlier

work (Dey and Teasdale, 2016; Steiner and Teasdale, 2016) was attributed to resource mobilisation. This rational choice explanation tends to ignore a much detailed and nuanced understanding of the strategic implementation of practitioner motivations through IM and tactical mimicry techniques.

Findings from a study in London by Steiner and Teasdale (2016) revealed how social entrepreneurs portray an image of 'heroic change-maker', which fits the normative idea of social enterprise practitioner to access financial resources. The study also highlighted that social enterprise support systems were designed to work in favour of 'privileged social entrepreneur' rather than promoting marginalised community practitioners (Steiner and Teasdale, 2016). Similarly, in the Indian context, a prominent incubator manager stated:

'But it is still the English speaking well-read, connected organisations which are funded' [PI4, Mumbai]

Most often network creation to generate financial resources precedes venture formation stage. These pre-venture formation networks are not just crucial in the early stages of venture formation; however, studies have indicated support from such formal networks and customised network supports are crucial even during development stages of the venture. Thus, the network adds the native factor in venture creation (Haugh, 2007). About formal networks, the culture of Hubs forms the bedrock of social networks for social businesses to attract funding (Steiner and Teasdale, 2016).

Steiner and Teasdale's (2016) study showed that social entrepreneurs access formal and informal sources of funding in the early stage of their venture. In cases where the practitioners were not connected with resourceful individuals (i.e. family, social networks) faced more significant challenges of raising funds. Thus, networks serve as a pivotal factor than the actual skills of the entrepreneur. Consequently, this resulted in constituting a clique of entrepreneurs configured of white middle-class male (Steiner and Teasdale, 2016). Similarly, prominent incubators and accelerators in India are present in capital cities (i.e. Intellecap, Villgro, Dasra, UnLtd, Shujog, Germany's GIZ, the Asian Development Bank, and British Council); these institutions have published reports on social entrepreneurship landscape in India (Intellecap, 2012a; GIZ, 2014; Villgro and Okapi, 2014) and indicated the a converging narrative of growing importance of social enterprises (British Council, 2015).

Consequently, a large portion of social enterprise activities does not have access to such incubators, distant from policy reach, educational institutions and social impact investors. Hence, social enterprises in mega-cities, which have not been incubated in prominent incubator /educational institution or not funded by impact-investor both groups face more challenges of raising funds and more likely succumb to pressures of external institutions. In order to manage their organisational identity, they use strategies to steer through these normative institutional discourse(s). Incubated social enterprises organically adopted the normative institutional discourse; however; they too need to negotiate the tensions between normative and operational discourses based on the stage of development of their organisation. Such patterns in Indian context resonates with findings from studies from the west.

However, in the Indian context, the findings from interviews indicate this back and forth association and rejection of normative discourse(s) by practitioners was much complex process and not necessarily, which might not necessarily be directed towards financial resources.

As explained by the incubator manager, social entrepreneurs who displayed identification with normative discourses of social enterprises from the west received preferential treatment in terms of legitimacy and funding. This preferential treatment extends beyond the entrepreneur's social networks to their social class. The incubator manager clearly describes the exclusive nature of social enterprise sector in India, this classification of social entrepreneurs are based on geographical location of the entrepreneur (Tier I, II, III or rural), self-presentation (style of clothing) and official language of communication (English/Hindi or native language). The preferred entrepreneur most likely to enter the exclusive clique of social entrepreneurs were the ones who reside in tier I city, fluent in spoken English and clads in power dressing (western or ethnic), this image rightly fits the normative idea of 'hero-entrepreneur' in the Indian context. Interestingly, this clique of entrepreneurs are most likely to get absorbed in incubators and receive funding, however there several other cliques of entrepreneurs who operate in the sector and have created their alternative space. This makes the demographic profile of social entrepreneurs in India very diverse.

"*Social entrepreneurs from an incubator from west led models [...] I come to an investor like you I am able to position my product, my passion and I have accessibility to you and I am able*

to represent myself in conferences with confidence. I am an easy fit, you understand me I understand you, you will give me big money and you will hand hold me…I am certain rookie I have not have any great education some access to internet, got those skills and I get into the system... I work in a village I don't have internet I have no competition...I have never heard of incubator centres by default everybody else wiped out.." [PI 4, Mumbai]

There is a diverse profile of social entrepreneurs operating in the sector despite social class, network-driven factors making the sector more exclusive. The findings from the interviews indicated some practitioners dis-identification with the normative discourse(s) (Ch-6). On asking, a practitioner who chose to stay out of this clique shared that this group promotes normative discourse(s) in the country, which has been a replication of discourse(s) of the global north. He further implies that this group has limited knowledge of the grass-roots issues of the country.

"'The …money, corporate culture everybody thinks educated people can decide what is good for others and I am completely against that… (R): So do you think social enterprise sector is filled with only educated …? I mean that's how so it looks like you know...this mentally is a reproduction of adopted foreign language" (translated from Hindi) [P2, Mumbai]

Social incubation manager provides further insight into the funding pattern by stating how the social enterprise sector has become a niche sector consisting of a group of people who represent the normative intuitional discourse(s) who are most often the recipients of funds.

"You…so now you think…there are these programs which happened within the social enterprise space…so lots of money started coming in…but there weren't enough takers…they are the same guys shows in hundred competitions and win fifty per cent of those competitions because they didn't have anybody else to give the money" [PI 4, Mumbai]

On asking a practitioner regarding funding skewness in the sector, he too had a similar experience to share.

"I haven't interacted with many but I have seen one hop from one conference to another and from one start up meeting to another and the impact somewhere is lost on ground nothing much is happening it's all about social media on ground lot of times the reality is completely different so I would say we need more local heroes bottom of the pyramid rather than somebody from outside…right now what is happening few of them meet in the conferences do like a challenge and then they choose something and then few people come in this ecosystem but we need to do more of those stuff in the communities in the local rather than just doing it in this fancy places" [P3, Mumbai]

This study presents a nuanced understanding of IM. The findings of this research indicate such strategies go far beyond mere resource mobilisation and needs further investigation to understand the complex motivations embedded in the reality of their context. The following

three themes (association-isolation, collaboration and adaptability) refer to three mechanisms by which practitioners strategically employ (standalone or in combination) IM techniques different stages based on their organisational need.

This chapter will discuss the findings of how practitioners manage/resist normative institutional discourse(s) using IM and tactical mimicry to manage and navigate tensions between normative institutional discourse(s) and grass-root operation discourse(s) of social enterprises. The findings indicate how managing and resisting techniques employed by practitioners benefitted and protected the interest of their organisation.

In the following inductive analysis process, the meaning drawn from the text was nuanced due to complexity of the phenomenon under study, its participants who were not native English speakers; thus it was essential to capture the essence of the text and its embeddedness in the context.

6.1 Isolation

Through this strategy, practitioners position their organisation as a unique venture, addressing a social problem using innovative interventions. They communicate to external stakeholders their unique position in the social sector, which demands investors to adopt a unique lens to understand and interpret their organisational value. By creating this unique position and convincing external audiences about their organisational need in the social sector helps practitioners gain better-negotiating power and refrain from adopting normative institutional discourse(s). During an interview, a practitioner mentioned:

"We have stepped into the field of the content we want to create the best content available to understand more about disabilities and mental health issues" [P3aB and P3bB, Bhopal]

In many cases, the nature of interventions were not unique but similar to activities in the same segment. Thus, it is a marketing narrative to acquire a legitimate space in the social sector, which will consequently derive funds for the organisation.

Practitioners strategically enter geographical areas or sectors, which has less competition helping them to establish themselves as knowledgeable and operational experts thus leveraging better negotiation powers over normative institutional discourse. Alternatively, practitioners entered these niche areas purely based on the needs of the community, especially for those, excluded from the developmental agenda. Practitioners position them as

a premier organisation, which do not align with normative institutional discourse(s). Lastly, the transformation in the social sector in India has contributed to a certain degree of un/intentional isolation of a few practitioners. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the involvement of multiple actors (i.e. impact investors, incubators/accelerators, CSR) have transformed the social sector and led to an exclusive clique of practitioners organically excluding certain other groups. Furthermore, few practitioners have consciously chosen to opt-out of being part of this new group hence rejecting their normative discourse(s).

Participant, P2M had operated in the urban sector and has been a pioneer in Indian social sector for many years; however, he explained that over the years the urban social sector have transformed were different and new actors have entered this sector. Consequently, this has led to competing for similar funds and more competition among similar organisations. Moreover, this competition for funds has shifted focus from addressing social needs and more emphasis on positioning one's organisation unique at the same time aligned with normative institutional discourse(s). He also mentioned such practice in the development sector would not serve to be fruitful. A participant explained, in such a competitive scenario, he opted out from convincing external stakeholders about the value of his venture and isolated the organisational interventions in rural areas where such interventions and investments have remained significantly low.

"The field is getting so crowded it is a little difficult so unless you have something unique that you are doing… NGOs, social entrepreneurs, foundations and everybody basically saying the same thing that, I am better than the other person so we decided to withdraw in many cases to say we are better than everybody else or sitting around a table with a government officer say I am better and so it's not useful. We started seeing the rural model is a cleaner model work urban was much cluttered" [P2, Mumbai]

Such strategic decisions for organisations was possible to execute by practitioners as he worked and proved a successful model in the social sector. Furthermore, over the years these practitioners have created and influenced individuals (i.e. high net worth individuals, individuals in high positions in the private/public sector) from other sectors as champions of their organisational purpose and derived their organisational legitimacy without negotiating with normative institutional discourse(s).

Interviews with practitioners working on grass-root social issues displayed some amount discontent towards urban-educated, English-speaking, private sector controlling and deciding

the developmental agenda of the country. Participant P1M uses isolation strategy by referring to the unique organisational operations, based on empowering people to decide their developmental agenda and the organisation playing the role of a catalyst. This strategy resonates with claims of interpretivist research which reclaimed agency at the centre for sense-making of social enterprise discourse to highlight individuals might not identify with 'prescribed' norms (Jones and Spicer, 2009). Individuals as entrepreneurs 'discursively' resist the normative idea of social entrepreneurship and align with 'competing meanings' (Sanders and McClellan, 2014) and make sense of it through their logic embedded in their world reality (Cohen and Musson, 2000).

"So, in this particular thing [organisation] people are deciding on their own.. I think this is one very rare initiative where you are asking someone what you need otherwise all the development agenda…it is always driven by the people who wear good clothes or who have money or who think they are skilled or who think they can solve the problem because they know the problems so" [P1, Mumbai]

At the same time, practitioners use their internal moral compass to evaluate how the funds might affect their venture and chooses alternative sources. On asking a participant (practitioner) whether CSR funds comes with baggage, the participant explained that depends on the entrepreneur, referring to himself he explained he would not accept CSR funds that were not aligned with his organisational vision. He further rejects the hero discourse, efficiency discourse promoted by incubators, as it perceives social interventions as a product with a potential to be monetised.

Moreover, emphasised on the need to develop grass-roots champions and create small but high impact organisations. The hero-entrepreneur discourse of social enterprise in India has been used to label those who were part of exclusive social enterprise clique who predominantly aligned with normative institutional discourse(s) whereby social enterprises were incubated under prominent incubator or part of fellowship program of educational institutions and emerged to become financially successful. In this context fellowship institutions and institutions organising social enterprise, awards have put them in a position of authority of recognising hero-social entrepreneurs. As a consequence, grass-root social entrepreneurs or social entrepreneurs emerging from communities have taken a backseat. This group consequently operates in its niche in the social sector based on their organisational logic.

Participant P3M has been working on grass root social problem and driven to develop community leaders which very different normative institutional discourse(s), in the later part in his interview he shared while maintaining the organisational logic he has learnt to build his organisational narrative better for access to more funds. Thus, despite rejecting normative discourses, he adopts it in normative organisational narrative and not operational narrative.

"Baggage I won't say if there is a baggage, if doesn't align with our vision I have never I have said yes to that …so what happens in terms of this incubation…most of the time it becomes a thing of what is your product. I personally believe scaling is scary in a lot of ways …these labs promote scaling up … you need to create more local heroes than somebody who becomes an icon so more grass-root organisation should be created in neighbourhoods in rural set ups what happens with lot of these incubators they see in scaling as your model what are your products how they can monetise.." [P3, Mumbai]

Participants have also derived their independent individual logic of impact and sustainability, which are vital operational terms in the social enterprise sector. Those organisations, which have been working in the social sector for more number of years (over ten years) have demonstrated their understanding of social enterprise as an organisation and discursively isolated themselves from normative institutional discourse(s). Participant P1M shared how certain groups of people have been authorised with the power to decide what is a social enterprise or social enterprise like activity. The participant explained the definitional fluidity of the word social enterprise had led many actors, ' especially for-profit enterprises to exploit the term. Furthermore, this group adopt the normative discourse of social enterprise, promote this framework, and delegated themselves with power to sanction what could be considered as social enterprise activities and grant them legitimacy. Such phenomenon fails to recognise the indigenous diversity of this sector. Thus, it has resulted in practitioners rejecting any professional label although officially (i.e. in conferences and awards, in media) identifying as a social entrepreneur.

"Social entrepreneurship also is one of the most abused words right now…instead of fulfilling needs it is creating needs… it has become a buzz word because there is no definition… what do we call ourselves and for me is absolutely immaterial... I remember in one of the award these guys started arguing that your model is not sustainable. I said we were about fifteen years old last fourteen years we have not only grown but sustained and grown… so now it is your bookish knowledge which says it is not sustainable and the practical aspect of it says it is sustainable so I think the entire thought process and ideology needs to be challenged right now around this" [P1, Mumbai]

In chapter 5, the predominant institutional discourse of social enterprises in India revolved around efficiency and scale. Individual practitioners shared in their interviews that they believed in restricting their size of work in terms of few beneficiaries and spanning across a limited geographical area, focusing more on quality and social impact. However, investors were more likely to fund projects, which had prospects of scaling up. Thus, participant P2D fleetingly discusses the tensions how investors look at a social project and his idea about his organisation. The participant also shared how he could make possible manoeuvre his way while keeping a self-check, which comes from the board of members. Participant implied that in daily operations, the practitioner might lose focus and adopt other means, and in such situation, it is the role of the board members steering and preserving the ethos of the organisation. In such case, the practitioner might become the front face depicting alignment with normative discourse(s) while other board members of the organisation can maintain operational isolation from normative discourse(s).

"I wasn't asking very much money because I wanted to keep it small you know incremental ..I can find ways around the law but I should not be caught doing anything wrong that's when who you choose as management ,your board of directors they have to be there for the right reasons … so that they can keep …The reality check in place" [P2, Delhi]

Practitioners develop their internal moral compass associated organisational moral practice of their venture. Although they were willing to manoeuvre their ways in their daily operations, they were also particular about the degree of moral flexing parameters for their organisation as it finally results in explicit isolation from other organisations competing for similar funds; this process of isolation, the founder, protects the interest of their beneficiaries and the purpose of the organisation. Practitioners have used this form of isolation technique to their organisational interest by generating more trust and credibility among beneficiaries.

" *I had said no to two investors and that time believe me I was in a very bad condition but I said no to them because I could gauge that their intentions were not right*" [P3, New Delhi]

In recent years, an increasing trend of CSR money potentially entering the social enterprise sector. According to Indian regulation (i.e. Companies Act 1959), CSR funds can fund the only traditional non-for-profit organisation. However, due to fluidity of definition and lack of appropriate policy framework grant-based social enterprises, which are very similar to the traditional non-profit organisation, compete for CSR funds. These social enterprises are more likely to receive as tactically project traditional non-profit operations, adopting efficiency and

scale discourse in their organisational narrative. Such narratives resonate with CSR fund holders and social impact investing community. The Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of the private sector with clearly earmarked funds and full-fledged action teams have played an essential role in sprucing up the image of Social Entrepreneurship. (Bulsara et al., 2014)

Isolation strategy demonstrated in accessing funds and how personal networks were employed to access funds and legitimisation process. In the Indian context, funds and legitimacy have been interpreted in a much more complex manner by which they were either treated independently of each other or interdependent based of the organisational strategy played out by the practitioner.

Practitioner's isolation strategy to preserve their organisational logic and not complying with normative institutional discourse(s) thus did not have access to social entrepreneurship funds (from government/private). Thus, they devise their fundraising models usually crowdsource funding while deriving cognitive legitimacy. Participant P1M discussed how by appearing on one of the most popular television programmes in India not only helped to raise fund for his organisation, but it allowed legitimising the organisation's operations across the country.

"There is no doubt about… i did expect some response out of (name popular Indian television show) but we didn't know that it is going to be so much and people who didn't even know us will start loving us" [P1, Mumbai]

Using a certain degree of exaggeration, the participant discussed receiving an international award, which created further credibility for the organisation. Hence, practitioners devise alternate methods to raise funds and isolates from dominant social impact investors, incubators/accelerators norms of funding. Thus, practitioners have devised strategies in which cognitive legitimacy preceded access to funds.

"I remember when Magsaysay award happened and in India specially in the rural India a lot of people who don't know us but just the fact that we got something international so people in villages celebrated and all that kind of things" [P1, Mumbai]

Participant P2M's organisation have been operating in the Indian social sector for 30 years and have several educational projects currently running. However, over the years, the preference of funders shifted towards vocational training from education at the same time funders started selectively funding specific education projects of P2M's organisation causing a skewed growth of specific education projects in P2M's organisation. P2M explained how

strategically resisted the normative discourse of funders by choosing different demography in the rural segment and isolating from the vocational training focus and overtly re-structured the organisation (in terms of its activities) while continuing with activities as before. This strategy also helped to grow all programmes of the organisation rather than preferred programmes of funders.

"Then 2006 onwards those onwards there was much more talk about vocational skills and a lot of our support from us especially felt that education primary is fine but really what are we doing about giving jobs to the people and I kept resisting that for a long time …so we started one interesting program called education for education it was a conscious internal organisational decision to integrate their various programs …I think we have to decide whether we want it or not, in fact, the funders often led to this to the segregation of all these programs" [P2, Mumbai]

Participants have also shared how their social networks in the private sector have helped in raising funds. Social sector organisation derives fund through corporate foundations from the private sector. In recent times in India, most of the foundations' money were diverted to CSR budget; nonetheless, the access to these funds was limited and restricted to specific type practitioners. Again, CSR budget recipients were those who have connections in the private sector.

In order to insulate the internal ideology of the organisation from external normative discourse(s) pressures, participants strategically used their social network, which helped to preserve the fundamental ideology of the organisation intact and at the same time generate more resources. Participant, P2M used personal networks from the financial banking sector (strategically choose resourceful individuals with limited knowledge of the development sector) and made him part of the board member, in turn, converting him into a champion of the practitioner's organisation that led the practitioner to further access to funds from the financial sector and high net worth individuals.

"So very early days I had to take a bet… gentleman named [name of two gentlemen] so there of HDFC, one of them [name of person] had set up Bombay's community public charitable trust the idea was to fund services for developmental work in Mumbai. [Name of a person] he was the chairman of ICICI bank he was the chairman and had given credit to a lot of businesses to grow from below, he agreed and joined the board and he became the chairman of [the participant's organisation name]… what that did was because he believed in what we were doing he started talking about what we were doing to other younger captains of industry" [P2, Mumbai]

On the one hand, there has been growing natural isolation in the social enterprise sector where a certain group of social entrepreneurs are driving the sector on the other hand institutions promoting normative discourse(s) of social enterprises have strategically attempted to bring-in traditional development sector practitioner into social entrepreneurship institutional programmes. This strategy played a crucial role in promoting the 'hero-entrepreneur' discourse. Participant P2M shared his experience of being offered a place in the Ashoka fellowship programme (international social entrepreneurship programme started by Bill Drayton). Here, the practitioner was already a reputed figure in the Indian social sector by making him part of the fellowship programme the intention was to market the fellowship programme using the 'hero-entrepreneur' discourse. However, participant P2M refused this offer, but the participant also mentions the reason for not joining was not act of resistance, but he was offered financial support that was not adequate to grow the organisation.

"So [name of a person] very early days when we did not have any money and he was working for Ashoka at that time and he said if you apply .. he said I will give you some twenty thousand rupees I said I don't need that kind of money I need large money so I refused to go with that and that's the first time that I heard the word social entrepreneur I said what is this … I didn't care for that" [P2, Mumbai]

Finally, practitioners by default are isolated from mainstream normative institutional discourse(s) of based on the choice of their cause and beneficiaries. Practitioners who choose to work on indigenous social issues or with most marginalised sectors of society, for instance, P1D shared his deep commitment to cause eradicate caste-system, which plagued Indian society for centuries. Such initiatives did not fall within impact investing agenda as the rate of returns on such social initiatives are slow and politically volatile. Hence the practitioner operates in isolation with usually grants or crowdsourced funds.

" I started turning the prejudice history of India by rescuing the untouchables to fulfil the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi, now I can't leave the job after what happened after a small boy wearing red shirt was attacked by a bull, people rushed to save him, somebody shouted from the crowd that he was from untouchables colony, everybody left… we took him to the hospital and the boy died and I took a vow to fulfil the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi" [P1, New Delhi]

Similarly, participant P2B made a decision pre-empting some bureaucratic complexities and the type of projects that usually receives government funding automatically isolates their

projects from government operations while re-adjusting their organisational narrative, which would attract other forms of funding.

"[I]..not a penny from government till now… so fifteen years, organisation has been established and twelve years we are working on particular issue… we haven't taken any… not even a penny from the government … it's very difficult to work" [P2, Bhopal]

Participant P2M has been running the organisation for the last 30 years, hence refers to earlier trends in the non-profit sector to isolate their operations from the government in order operate without bureaucratic roadblocks, hence the trend was to work within a limited geographical area and a small number of beneficiaries.

"Generally NGOs were not in very much favour of working with governments and trend was towards doing small and beautiful not having big impact so everybody thought I will do my thing then if my model is good then the government will take it, and it's their business I am not responsible for it.. I mean that was a general trend" [P2, Mumbai]

This section presented how practitioners have used different techniques of isolation while associating with the social enterprise sector. This technique has facilitated practitioners to avoid conforming to normative institutional discourse(s). Firstly, practitioners across generational cohorts have drafted their organisational narrative as unique interventions to solve social problems and they being knowledge experts of that specific issue. Hence, through this, they derived greater negotiating power over normative institutional discourse(s). Secondly, the growing social enterprise sector has been an exclusive group (those aligning with normative discourse). Thus, practitioners who do not align opts to isolated by working in silos and discursively resisting normative discourse while maintaining a fluid organisational identity. Some practitioners are isolated from the social enterprise sector by default as a result of the cause they opt to work with, as those causes can be lead to a grant-based organisation with a prolonged return. In such cases, practitioners operating over ten years use personal networks from social enterprise sector for funds or government platforms for legitimacy and scale. Considering their experience of work in the sector helps them derive better-negotiating power over these external institutions. Practitioners have used their internal moral compass to accept/reject funds. On the one hand, practitioners who rejected significant funds and developed alternative methods of raising funds and derived their legitimacy from the community, providing them with greater negotiating power in the sector.

On the other hand, practitioners changed their organisational narrative to access funds but continue their original operational format.

6.2 Collaboration

The nature of collaborations was interpreted and executed differently by different practitioners, and they used it to facilitate organisational interests. The type of collaboration depended on many factors associated with the practitioner (i.e. social class, social networks, type of social issues)

Considering there has been no existing legal framework for social enterprises in India, and growing interest of multiple stakeholders (i.e. incubators/accelerators, educational institutions, impact investors) in social enterprise sector derive their understanding of social entrepreneurship in India. These understanding as well have been influenced by their socio-economic and cultural variation across regional context and regulatory system (state, centre governments) (Sengupta & Sahay 2018). The eco-system of social entrepreneurship has been a playground of the diverse profile of practitioners, with a long history of the traditional non-profit sector in India have also led practitioners from non-profit to enter the social entrepreneurship space. As the transformation in the social sector in India has made the social enterprise space more diverse at the same time as led competing discourses to exist in the sector.

Hence, social entrepreneurship construct has been a highly localised phenomenon influenced by regional practices (Sengupta & Sahay 2017a). In such a complex environment of various actors with competing discourses, regulatory fluidity, and socio-cultural diversity provide many opportunities to develop newer collaborations between actors. The findings from the interviews indicate firstly; collaboration can lead practitioners to adopt IM strategies to forward their organisational interest. Secondly, practitioners use their resourcefulness to build partnerships, which will leverage their organisational interest. Lastly, the skill or resourcefulness of the practitioner was subservient to practitioners having social networks to collaborate with key institutions.

Interviews with incubators/accelerators managers had revealed the pre-requisite to be part of their programmes/lab was to adopt their normative institutional discourse(s) without

much regard for the practitioner's ideology. On asking a social incubator manager what happens when they come across a practitioner who was not aligned with the normative social enterprise discourse, the manager mentioned it was their (incubator's) role to align practitioners back such discourse(s) as it would be strategically beneficial for the practitioners in growing their venture.

"So they learn to position it right which fits the.. Because in some way we shape them to always, fit. So can I position it better which is not untrue but it just positions it in that light." [P4, Mumbai]

Hence, incubators/accelerators were keen to form an association with a practitioner who was either aligned to normative institutional discourse or open to aligning their narrative with potential partners, which have been along the lines of efficiency, scale, sustainability and rate of returns (discussed in Ch-5). Some practitioners found it extremely hard to raise funds when their organisational operations and narrative are different from the normative institutional discourse(s). During that, stage practitioners usually depend on crowdsource funding/ grant funding. Participant P3M shared his experience where the transformation of organisational narrative aligned with normative institutional discourse helped him to access more opportunities and funds. However, operations of the organisations continue to remain the same; this indicated it was not about the daily operations of the organisation but how the organisation was presented on paper to external institutions.

"We did crowdsource funding then started writing grant proposal… so it has been difficult but lot of people heard from abroad and helped. We won google rise award last year and that has given some funds and nvidea also heard about us they wanted to partner so that's how we got funds …I have seen that the possibilities are there, somebody there to give them those facilities and somebody to mentor them this is where you need to look for this information. Now slowly it's getting better than what we were as like we are building our narrative better than yesterday and all of them are getting benefitted " [P3, Mumbai]

Moreover, the managers also mentioned these centres/labs provide a platform for practitioners to access some of the most vital opportunities by just associating with their brand; it provides networks, mentors and credibility to the practitioner crucial for future growth. As discussed earlier most of these centres/labs are located in mega-cities having the limited reach to Tier II, III towns; most board of members were from private sector thus this kind of Hub culture has contributed to exclusive groups promoting normative institutional discourse(s).

"So a lot of people apply to us just because of our name opens doors from networks to mentors to board members I mean a lot of people got their next board members from us, bring credibility, mentors experts to founders" [P4, Mumbai]

Based on such institutional culture, many practitioners shared that it was important whom they knew, the networks they had that helps in growing the venture. The stage of venture and practitioner's generational cohort (explained in Ch-6) were the driving factors for seeking strategic collaboration with external institutions (public/private). Generation Y practitioners were more consciously aligned with normative institutional discourse(s) at the same time in some brief moments during interviews indicated the reverse. Besides, this group of practitioners entered practice through such incubators/accelerators; hence the higher likelihood to align with the normative discourse, especially in the early stages of their venture.

Interviews with practitioners helped understand how they use their chosen social causes to align with normative institutional discourse (government) that would help their organisation in the future. Participant P1B (generation Y) works with Khadi[10] to promote self-employability of rural women.

The national significance of the fabric resulted in several central government schemes Scheme related to Khadi- At state level Khadi Vikas Yojna. KVIC (Khadi and Village Industries Commission) under the Ministry of MSME to promote Khadi. Funds allocated to promote the textile nationally as well as internationally. Hence, working with a product, which has national political importance, served as a vantage point for the practitioner to promote government agenda and create potential government partnership to access legitimacy and government funds. Furthermore, she refers that as a practitioner, she prefers government funds as these funds come with lesser liabilities than VC finance, which drives towards efficiency and pressure of revenue generation and less focus on social welfare.

"I got a lot of government support, as well in khadi, there are a lot of grants and funds that are available so I am also applying for that because it is always good to work on governments money than with the VC" [P1, Bhopal]

[10] Khadi – are a fabric of cloth with the unique property of keeping warm in winter and cool during summer. This fabric has a historical relevance with India's freedom struggle and politics (it was part of boycotting foreign goods and promoting Indian goods). Thus, the Indian flag is made of khadi and also known as the national fabric of India.

The government has passively promoted social entrepreneurship in the country by not directly funding but setting up and institutional bodies to the eco-system (Bulsara et al. 2015) as discussed in Ch-5. Participant shared how a combination of social networks with government official and personal resourcefulness (juggad) has worked for the government in partnership with the government, and such similar partnership can be challenging otherwise for any other practitioner. On asking the participant if accessibility such government funds was comfortable in the country, the participant (P1B) stated it was her family background and personal connections with government officers that helped in accessing those funds. In the absence of such a scenario, it would have been tough to access those funds. Hence, collaboration was only possible not by adopting normative institutional discourse(s) but by demonstrating relevant social networks.

"its difficult I will not lie its pretty difficult because in India juggad[11] works and connections and networks work so you know today when I speak to the IAS officer its not only because of my work…because the family that I come from it becomes easier for me to reach out to such kind of people but for a normal person its difficult and obviously lot of you know corruption and stuff so" [P1, Bhopal]

A combination of practitioner skill and resourcefulness, along with social networks, have helped in collaboration also in the private sector. Social networks have also helped practitioners associated with private sector professionals and employ their rationality in the interest of their organisation. These kinds of collaborations were particularly crucial for early-stage venture founders and young (generation Y cohort) venture founders who seek inputs from experienced professional not merely about funds but as knowledge partners in daily operational strategies.

"Mentors. I have been very lucky with mentors so I have been mentored by a learning development head in PWC then marketing head of big organisations cloud clusters in India then incubation centre IIM Ahmedabad so I think they have brought a lot of clarity they made me understand it's not the product it's not you but it's always the business model that works" [P1, Bhopal]

Few practitioners seek partnerships for legitimacy and opportunity in scaling their project in terms of reach. In the interview with P1D who worked on a historically persistent social issue of manual scavenging; his initiative involved working with a socially and economically

[11] Juggad- This is word which has an Indian origin. The Oxford English dictionary officially added this word in their list which refers to 'a flexible approach to problem-solving that uses limited resources in an innovative way

marginalised section of the society. The government initiatives in such areas found it extremely challenging to penetrate in remote areas to cater to such section of the society. Thus, practitioner being a knowledge expert was a right fit for government partnerships and at the same time acquire grander scale and legitimacy. These practitioners, as a result, had better-negotiating power over government officials as overtly they take government agendas forward they are strategically gaining legitimacy which would help in future partnership with other sector and scale-up their programme to reach more beneficiaries.

"*he (government official) was member of the committee also he said if social program cannot be implemented by the government or NGO alone let them work together so find out an organisation which can work with the government that is how 'name of organisation' was founded on 5th March 1970 at the time of dissolution of this committee. He asked me to come for that meeting and Chief Minister asked about the organisation who could work for this scavenging work so he asked me to stand up and said this boy formed this organisation was and in the same meeting ' name of organisation' was recognised*" [P1, New Delhi]

Practitioners entered collaboration using strategic resourcefulness to access legitimacy and greater negotiating power. One of the normative institutional discourse associated with social entrepreneurship has been scale for both public and private. Participant P2M shared despite experiencing disharmony in working with the government; stakeholders view working with the government as an essential credential for any organisation. Thus, participant P2M was one of the pioneering educational organisation in the Indian social sector to demonstrate a new way of collaboration. In this situation, the practitioner used government partnership to scale up their program. Consequently, the organisation demonstrated alignment with ongoing normative discourse, acquired legitimacy and above more negotiating power over government initiatives around education.

"we were working with the government in many ways so there was friction it was not always good collaboration …so actually gradually then more and more people started talking about working with government to achieve scale … I think we sort of paved the way in doing that an NGO or whatever you call it then just working for yourself is not good if you want to achieve scale and which you should everybody talks about scaling these days then you must work with the government which means that you will also influence the government" [P2, Mumbai]

In another case, practitioner used similar strategy not with the government but with wider civil society. Practitioners lacking social networks in the public and private sector are in the backseat in terms of legitimacy and access to funds. However, practitioners use alternative strategies of collaboration to regain their negotiating power. Participant P2B explained how

the organisation involved civil society as a critical stakeholder; thus, the organisation derived its legitimacy from the civil society.

"very difficult to work in such circumstances so we thought of not using government money let us work and make it as a public project so that the citizens of the country get involved the city get involved and the country get involved and take the ownership of this model so it should not be any one man show it should be everyone's project and there are other reasons also for not taking funds from the government" [P2, Bhopal]

Thus, practitioners use collaboration and overt adoption of normative institutional discourse to promote the internal organisational goal, although they maintained their organisational logic. On asking participants about their understanding of the nature of operational autonomy experienced while working with private sectors/Universities vis-à-vis government, they explained there were greater flexibility and operational autonomy with the private sector than with the government. Moreover, they mentioned that association with private sectors helps to form social networks not merely from the point of view of funds but more importantly, for human capital. The participant's explanation indicates collaboration is strategically devised based on organisational need and partnering opportunities that come their way based on which they manoeuvre their approach. As young entrepreneurs their organisational need has been to demonstrate efficiency thus private partners were preferred. As and when the need for scale will arise they will approach government.

"Yes!… because they (private sector) will know what autonomy means …I am not saying that government organisations don't but just on paper, bureaucracy and everything is more than private firms and plus the timeline of completion of any project is lesser with private firms than with government because in government there is a lot of approval process … it's not just about getting funded it's about making contacts with people and networking with people and that kind of helps us a lot in shaping up our products for people […] because a venture with government stands really nice but then it comes with its own setback… you don't get autonomy …so we are still kind of debating if such an opportunity comes along should we take it or not. We are definitely like to be on board with making things available for wider population and government seems to be one of the best things to get their but then we are still like thinking about the business aspect of it" [P3a and P3b, Bhopal]

On asking a participant whether the reason for public-private-partnership model (PPP model)[12] for his organisation was a conscious organisational decision to increase scale and

[12] PPP model- It is a method of making public infrastructure and services of government available in partnership with the private sector. In a formal manner India's PPP model started since 2006.

impact, participant P1D explained how all decisions were not strategically devised. The practitioner had no plan scaling or finance, but it was sheer co-incidence where two agencies collaborated to fill each other's operational gap that served the interest of both parties. Many practitioners working on grass root social issues and do not conform with normative institutional discourse(s) finds it difficult to establish their legitimacy and access funds. These practitioners have depended on such circumstantial collaborations, which have often come their way at the right time based on their organisational need. Most of them have referred to such a situation as divine intervention or act of destiny.

"yes of course because land and finance given by the government and we created and we maintained so that is a combination of both … I did not have plan I didn't have money that they give so it's a combination the government agency they are not successful in maintaining, private are so that way I had gone to very well" [P1, New Delhi]

Another collaboration technique based on the skill of the practitioners marked by the ability to empathise with the beneficiaries; as it helped practitioners garner trust and legitimacy within the community.

"I sort of became a part of them, I lived with the farmer's families, I ate their food…and tried to understand their problems slowly... I started like that … I just never stopped I just never gave upon them they never gave upon me and I think firstly they accepted me because … people there are very closed" [P3, New Delhi]

Practitioners have also demonstrated a combination of the skill of projecting empathy and resourcefulness. Practitioner P2B explained how they optimised human capital and gained trust from the community. In order to involve the community practitioner decided to develop teachers from the community, which in turn pushed parents to send their children for the education program.

"*so we told don't worry we are taking a teacher from your nearby slums only who are educated girls from the same slums.. we are taking them as our teachers whom you also know and you know where we are taking the children what we are they are doing you will come to know when they come back from the teachers or the children …we got another organisation called I-partner in the UK, I - partner came to know about us from one of the article which was published in business standard*" [P2, Bhopal]

The collaboration was enhanced when practitioners worked on their organisational narratives more aligned with normative institutional discourse(s), such practice helped practitioners to develop networks, access to organisational growth opportunities and funds. Generation Y cohort practitioners were keener to partner with the private sector as practitioner skill and

resourcefulness were valued in the privative sector. They avoided partnerships with government sector due to bureaucratic complexities, which tends to slow down organisational growth. Although in both cases of partnerships (public/private) social networks of the practitioner played an important role, based on social network helped practitioner accept/resist normative discourse(s). In the process of collaboration with the private sector, the practitioner's goal is to knowledge partners for their organisation, thus requires practitioners to demonstrate overt alignment with normative discourse(s). Practitioners of this cohort while seeking government partnership strategically chooses a product or cause aligned with government agenda. However, a practitioner from the senior generation used government collaboration as a mechanism of legitimacy and scale. They too found it difficult to work with government, however instead of aligning with normative discourse(s) they worked with government as knowledge partners, which gave them greater negotiating power. Within this group of practitioners, those who lack social networks used their skill to collaborate with community and civil society to acquire legitimacy and protect their organisational logic.

6.3 Adaptability

The lack of definitional consensus and fluidity in conceptualising social entrepreneurship (Alter, 2007; Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Choi & Majumdar, 2013; Dacin, Dacin, & Matear, 2010; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Hoogendoorn, Pennings, & Thurik, 2010; Perrini, 2006) has resulted in understanding and interpreting social entrepreneurship, which is not restricted to academic work but also in practice (Grenier, 2008; Martin & Osberg, 2007; Nicholls, 2010; Teasdale, 2012).

Practitioners use this fluidity to their advantage based on the growth strategy of their organisation. In the interviews, many participants deliberately avoided identifying themselves with a particular organisational type (i.e. social enterprise/traditional non-profit/for-profit). The complexity of this phenomenon heightened when practitioners in the social sector avoided associating either with social enterprise or traditional non-profit. Participant P1M's organisation founded in 1999 Social enterprise activity in India 1999[13] during that time, the

[13] During this period, there were hardly any academic discourse around social entrepreneurship phenomenon (Sengupta and Sahay, 2018). There was not much evidence (i.e. media reports, news, university courses) which related to social enterprise activity in India.

organisation was portrayed as a traditional non-profit on official social media platforms and civil society. The organisation grew with the support and financial contribution from civil society. The success of the organisation helped the name of the organisation become a brand in itself and the founder (the participant P1M) a social-hero by social enterprise eco-system builders in India. The official website does not refer to the organisation as a traditional non-profit or social enterprise; however, the founder (participant P1M) has been identified by external agencies as a social entrepreneur. In contrary to this participant, P1M explained their organisational position in the interview. Although the organisation was legally registered as NGO, the participant stated that the organisation was not like a traditional NGO. The fluidity of the sector helped the participant to switch positions of the organisation in the social sector frequently. The participant drew upon legal registration not being the defining identity of the organisation; rather, it was the approach of work. Moreover, the participant suggested that the approach of NGO's resembles his organisation's approach, however, clearly avoided aligning with any organisational type.

"I don't know what is traditional NGO, I think the way we are different is that for sure we don't have donor- beneficiary but stakeholder for sure we are not talking about charity and for sure I think these are certain differences with some voluntary organisation… you know many organisations they might be registered as volunteer organisations but they are doing the job the way we are doing and to be honest even we are registered as an NGO. So, NGO is not about how we register ngo is about how we are working and what is the approach though that approach I think many institutions which are registered as not for profit have that we have" [P1, Mumbai]

In the interviews, participants shared their fluid association with social enterprise and traditional non-profit organisation. There have been organisations, which were officially identified as social enterprises in social enterprise conferences, media events and awards. An interview with the founder of such an organisation revealed practitioners did not resist such portrayal, however, claimed such practice meant to label a practitioner; which, according to the practitioner was immaterial.

In Ch-6 it was discussed awards and media have acted as a source of legitimacy and subsequently helps to access funds. Hence, maintaining this fluid identity has helped practitioners to ensure sustainability and growth for their organisation. Participant, P2M was apprehensive about referring to himself as a social entrepreneur claiming that was not the intention during the inception of the organisation. Moreover, he explained the reason for

accepting social enterprise award, as according to him, organisational identity was irrelevant as long as external bodies understand the merit in their work. P2M has been a prominent social activist for having founded one of the highly reputed non-profit organisation in the field of education in 1994 during a time when social entrepreneur as a concept in common parlance in the social sector. P2M built his organisation and its credentials over time, making his organisation a role model for in India non-profit education sector. Thus, over time the name of the organisation was intertwined with the cause, and organisational identity was insignificant. An official website like Wikipedia refers to the organisation as a non-governmental organisation and founder (P2M) as a social activist and entrepreneur while Skoll refers to the organisation as 'innovative learning organisation'. Lastly, in the interview, P2M addressed themselves as 'street fighters' which practically in the Indian context would relate to grass-roots field social workers.

"I don't know how to answer that question whether we are social entrepreneurs these are labels, I don't know… I didn't start out to become social entrepreneur […] well all these organisations have given us awards and I don't think we applied for any ..award for leadership, second award was skoll for social entrepreneurship, good!… so they thought we were entrepreneurs Gravis thought we were leaders…people find merit in this or that, they decide that we should be given award …so how do we see ourselves as 'street fighters' you know we are not very sophisticated" [P2, Mumbai]

Hence, IM and tactical mimicry have played out in a much complicated and multi-layered from where practitioners project-specific aspects based on the audience not necessarily for funds but future diversification needs of the organisation, as seen in both cases of P1M and P2M. Moreover, the growing social enterprise eco-system building institutions promote their narrative, promoting prominent social sector practitioners despite these practitioners operating on grass-roots community discourse.

In the interviews, participants have shared their internal organisational logic, which is separate from the overt projection organisational identity. As much as the internal organisational is clear, making a precise balance between social development and revenue model, the overt projection remains fluid. Participant, P1B responded by stating there was a degree to which entrepreneurship tactics that were employed to generate more business, which was justified as the greater goal was to generate more employment for rural women.

The participant here was part of a social enterprise incubation program, thus making it obligatory to display substantial revenue-generating model and sustainability model in the organisation's daily operations. Furthermore, the participant expressed that in initial days of the organisation, there was a greater need to demonstrate alignment with the normative institutional discourse(s); which might change in later phases of organisational growth. However, it was not very clear whether that transformation would move towards traditional non-profit, grant-based or for-profit entrepreneurship.

"I think that clarity is there we don't want to do unethical business but sometimes certain things obviously you have to mend it a little bit with diplomacy … but we make it clear that we are not lying to yourself as we are giving employment to the women so that is very clear… so once I am talking to the designers and all other people I will try to sell what we have" [P1, Bhopal]

Participants described some partnerships works well when strategically devised that it benefits both parties in some ways. Participant P1D explained how government partnership works well for scaling the project but understanding each other's working style filling the gap. In this case, the practitioner refers that the government was willing to pay for construction of public toilets by not willing to pay for maintenance; the practitioner's organisation would fill in this gap of maintenance. On the hand, he would also derive funds from the private sector (CSR funds) to diversify their organisational operations into related areas, which became their revenue-generating source. Thus, the practitioner continually oscillated between social welfare approach when dealing with government entities and social business approach when dealing with private sector entities.

"so if something would go wrong we rectify free of cost neither the government will pay neither the beneficiary. I have to do that so this worked very well in this country and now apart from government we are working with some hundred companies under CSR corporate social responsibility that way the model of running the organisation. It got changed from grant to self-reliant now we work with creating household toilets , public toilets and sweeping and cleaning in hospitals and government buildings so they are the main source of revenue of roughly a billion dollar per annum and about fifty sixty thousand people working in this organisation…so since the beginning I say I am a sociologist and a social reformer they social entrepreneurs (laughs) why because we have become successful but because this is successful so social entrepreneur" [P1, New Delhi]

Lastly, adaptability could impose a degree of limitation for the practitioner. On asking, a practitioner about the extent to which she was ready to re-strategise her organisational goals based on the demand/expectations of potential external partnerships. The practitioner explained:

"somewhat yes I should not say no to it of course yes we have to also think that how our model will actually work, because we work on our model, we build our concept so it should have some space to fit in what they want because it should not be what they want and we change everything according to them that will be difficult for us because we in a different way. So, if we need to change only to do the partnership I think we haven't done that so difficulties will be there I don't know in future we may have to…" [P,Bhopal]

Practitioners, particularly from senior generation cohort who operated in the Indian social sector for long (over ten years) maintained a fluid organisational identity. These practitioners have witnessed the transformation in the social sector with the emergence of social enterprises. By maintaining this fluid identity, they have been making a smooth transition into the social enterprise sector, and by anticipating any further changes because of regulatory systems, this fluidity can work in their advantage to appropriate opportunities in the interest of their organisational sustainability. Although these practitioners entered the social enterprise space, they refrained from adopting the normative institutional discourse(s) of the sector and continued to operate on their grass-root operational discourse. On the other hand, social enterprise institutions like fellowship programs or incubators have embraced these practitioners as champions in the social enterprise sector to forward their normative discourse(s). Practitioners from generation Y cohort expressed the clarity of their internal organisational logic and referred to adaptability as a practice for organisational growth. These practitioners were more likely to adopt normative institutional discourse(s) as they were in a part of incubators, the early stage of the venture and lacking grass-root working experience.

Conclusion:

The findings from this analysis indicate that IM techniques can manifest itself in a much complex form, which was multi-layered, and a nuanced phenomenon as opposed to how the literature presents it. Social enterprise literature has also looked at IM as a technique for accessing funds and counter isomorphic pressures. However, the finds in this analysis indicated that IM could go beyond rational choice and understood from an institutional perspective of legitimacy. IM techniques used in Isolation, Collaboration and Adaptability strategies by practitioners were internally driven for organisation's legitimacy and sustainability in the sector.

Social enterprise studies in England about IM and tactical mimicry also indicated a neat divided between projected images of practitioners from their operating logic. However, in the Indian context, this phenomenon manifests in a more complex and nuanced manner; that has been the case due to socio-economic and cultural diversity of the nation, the long-standing social sector undergoing a transformation and lack of policy/regulatory framework for the social enterprise sector. In the past decade, India witnessed the re-emergence of social enterprise activities, despite not having a policy framework for social enterprises; many eco-system builders (i.e. impact investors, incubators/accelerators) have been operating in the sector. Moreover, there are young social entrepreneurs, practitioners (self-identifying as social entrepreneurs), practitioners (externally addressed as social entrepreneurs) and practitioners from traditional non-profit sector all operate within the same space; as this has resulted in competition discourses among a diverse profile of practitioners.

The findings also indicated a generational aspect of how practitioner navigate tensions of normative institutional and grass-roots operational discourse(s) using skills, resourcefulness and social networks. Skills and resourcefulness of practitioners have been equally useful in leveraging legitimacy and funds as much as practitioners having social networks leverage.

The social incubator/accelerator culture has resulted in an exclusive community of social entrepreneurs; however, it has not affected dampening operations of other profile of practitioners in the social sector. In such cases, these practitioners have maintained fluid organisational identity and used normative discourse(s) for their organisational benefit. Some practitioners were excluded because of their choice of the social cause; in such case, they operated in silos and discursively resisted normative institutional discourse.

External isomorphic pressures to an extent have not been successful as even if practitioners overtly identified with normative institutional discourse(s) of social enterprise, internally, they insulted the daily operational logic of their organisation.

Chapter -7 Discussion and Conclusion

This research applied a social constructivist and inductive approach to examine how the social enterprises are constructed in India. The findings are presented in analysis chapters 4, 5 and 6. These analyses draw on personal narratives of individuals related to the field of social entrepreneurship. The following section will discuss the core findings from each analysis chapter, which is addressing each of the three research questions, this will be followed by a discussion on the contextual implications on the findings of this thesis. Subsequently, highlighting the limitations of the research and implications for the policy- makers and practitioners. Last section will discuss the implications for future research.

7.1 Core findings

The primary goal of this research was to conduct an exploratory investigation of how discourses of different actors led to the construction of social enterprises against the backdrop of majority world context (i.e. India). The Indian context is significantly different in terms of its socio-cultural aspects, economy, size, demography and public welfare provisions. This contextual setting makes the social enterprise a unique case. Apart from the social complexity and diversity of the Indian subcontinent, the country witnessed a history of rich welfare mix since the post-colonial period. Thus, social enterprises that are anchored within the third sector too have a long-standing history in India. Although in the past decade, there is a meteoric rise of social enterprise activities (British Council Report, 2016), India has a long-standing history of similar activities, as discussed in chapter 1- Introduction. This thesis offers a starting point for a qualitative inquiry of social enterprises in contemporary India due to a considerable paucity of literature in critically understanding the social enterprises in the region. The following three research questions of this thesis initiated an investigation to critically understand how social enterprise has been constructed in the region.

The first research question:

How normative institutional discourse/s of paradigm building actors play a role in constructing social enterprise paradigm in India?

This question delves into the understanding of social enterprise paradigm in India constructed through discourses of key paradigm building actors. The analysis drew on narratives of

institutional actors, which included government, incubators/social impact investors and educational institutions. As indicated in the literature review chapter-2, social enterprise presented as a fragment of neoliberal meta-narrative of social entrepreneurship where 'social' and 'economic' were merged seamlessly (Dey & Steyaert, 2010). Entrepreneurship discourses applied to social entrepreneurship and practitioners in the UK adopted the values and claims of this political rhetoric to articulate their realities (Parkinson & Howorth, 2008). Moreover, international institutions promoted neoliberal ideas and policies, which have transcended and 'mutated' itself differently in a local context (Peck and Theodore, 2010). As a result, based on context, different political parties drive 'normative ideologies' inferring differently from such ideas even within a country and paradigm. Hence, policy paradigms are not constant and unable to manage 'normative ideological differences' or persistent friction arising from conflicting/competing ideas (Nicholls & Teasdale, 2017).

These work in literature, which represents social enterprise discourses in the global north, proposed social enterprise as a neoliberal construct. The analysis of narratives of different paradigm building actors (government, educational institutions, incubators and social impact investors) in India surfaced that their discourses lean towards similar discourses leading to a technocratic paradigm of social enterprises. The neoliberal political ideology of the present government marked a shift in the discourse of political actors from rights-based paradigm (democratic paradigm) to technocratic paradigm. The political discourses envisage the importance of promoting entrepreneurship to address issues related to employability and livelihood and gain a comparative advantage among emerging economies, as the cascading effects of entrepreneurship would in turn benefit social entrepreneurship.

Consequently, the political discourses indicated its affinity towards efficiency discourse of social enterprise over the communitarian discourse of traditional non-profit organisations. The convergence of discourses of paradigm builders of the global north and the majority world resulted from institutional and individual actors' knowledge transfer. As the interviews indicated actors professional/educational backgrounds (i.e. worked/studied in the west), growing international events like Global Entrepreneurship Summit, partnerships with UK Development Fund and the growing role of international development fund in Indian social sector led to the accelerated transference of global north discourses in the Indian context.

These convergences of discourses cannot be interpreted straightforwardly; the global north discourses positioned the social enterprise to fill in gap caused due to roll-back of state welfare provision. However, in India, the emphasis on market-led, efficiency discourse of social enterprise promoted by paradigm building actors positioned social enterprise to replace traditional non-profit as lacking efficiency and social impact. This contesting efficiency of traditional non-profit led discourse gained acceptance among stakeholders, due to the past exposure of financial frauds in the traditional non-profit and its inability to address massive social change that maligned its image among civil society and other stakeholders. Over the years, crony capitalists in the country have portrayed the role of traditional non-profits in social action and advocacy as anti-establishment and undesirable for the nation's progress. Thus, replacing the traditional non-profit has systematically put into action to counter opposition for economic developmental projects. As explained in Montgomery's (2016) paper, the advocates of technocratic paradigm advance neoliberal ideology by instilling new institutional "hardware" (Peck & Tickell, 2002), thus, social innovation servers as another space for neoliberalism to operationalise and acts as a part of 'political project to reengineer the state' (Bockman, 2012).

Although this technocratic paradigm of social enterprise discourse promoted through political rhetoric was explicit, however, it was little more complicated in operational terms at the regional level of the country. There was evidence of such discourses being prominent at central government level, which delegated entrepreneurship promotion responsibilities to the state by promoting partnership with the private sector, in turn, emphasising on adopting market-based solutions to social problems. However, due to lack of appropriate state machinery (i.e. either policies or implementation agency) between the centre and the state its purpose remains diluted. Besides, with the growing power of regional political parties and state government having a better understanding of local context, initiated projects with a communitarian approach along with projects mandated by the central government. Therefore, there was an overall development of the technocratic paradigm with undertones of democratic paradigms operating in regional levels.

The development of the technocratic paradigm of social enterprises in India is a result of a favoured discourse of resource-rich actors. As in the literature, Nicholl's (2010) work, took on establishment of social entrepreneurship as a field through 'key actors, discourses and

narrative logic'. This work also highlighted the reproduction of dominant discourses acts as a legitimisation tool for 'resource-rich actors in the process of reflexive isomorphism'. These clusters of paradigm building actors act as an imperative component in shaping discourses, narrative logic and archetype organisational model (Nicholls, 2010).

In the case of India, paradigm building actors represented a specific section of society characterised as urban, educated, English speaking, upper/middle class who likely to have gained academic or professional experience in the west. As a result of knowledge transfer and common social networks led to the convergence of discourses. Also, it led to holding of important positions in institutions dictating a singular social enterprise discourse resonating with global north discourses.

Interviews revealed the trend of growing diversification of funding structure in the social sector, however, access to these funds largely depended on the social networks of the venture founder. Interviews also revealed that social impact funders were a close-knit community; hence, the novel institutional partnerships were more likely to take place between the resource-rich actors sharing a similar normative logic of social enterprises. In this process, resource-rich actors sharing similar institutional logics represented by a specific section of Indian society managed to eclipse grass-roots discourses and subjected traditional non-profit organisations to 'isomorphic pressures' to adopt their dominant discourses which seamlessly align technocratic political discourse of providing public service faster and cheaper. As a consequence, this has resulted in dis/association of venture founders with social enterprise discourse or adoption of impression management techniques ('tactical mimicry') to navigate normative discourses of social enterprises.

These findings may have more profound implications for the Indian social sector. Due to the lack of concerted drive by the government to promote social enterprises which is evident from the lack of policy framework can make this a temporal phenomenon. Since there has been clarity on how social enterprises should be promoted, as a trickle-down effect of promoting entrepreneurship; nonetheless there is a lack of clarity on outlining outcomes of this trickle-down effect in terms of addressing welfare needs particularly in health and education sectors.

Considering social networks play an essential role in the social enterprise sector, lack of regulations can lead to the domination of the field by a limited group of resource-rich actors. Additionally, there were far too many actors operating within the Indian social sector involving multiple stakeholders and beneficiaries without clear operational guidelines. Henceforth, this can lead to mismanagement of funds and forfeit the trust of beneficiaries.

The narratives indicated social enterprises as the way forward for the Indian social sector; however, taking into account the magnitude of welfare needs in the country, social enterprises cannot serve all aspects. Thus, it is crucial to understand the potential role of different social sector organisations (NGOs, CBOs, Co-operatives, Self-help groups) and how the operations of these can be optimised and complimented to achieve broader social impact.

The second research question of this thesis:

How practitioners dis/associate with the discourse of social enterprise?

The discourses of social enterprise in literature revolve around 'functionalist ideals (Grant and Parren, 2002), economics (Sarasvathy and Venkataraman, 2011), individual heroism (Williams and Nadin, 2013), masculinities (Calas et al. 2009) and instrumental reason (Gibson-Graham, 2006)'. Issac Lyne's myth-busting investigation of social entrepreneurship phenomenon as a political event preceded by a set of socio-cultural events (Dey and Marti, 2016) having adverse effects (Scott and Teasdale, 2012) as opposed to a 'straight forward, uncontested and ideology-free activity' proposed through 'western common-sense' (Essers et al., 2017). The majority world literature presents the role of social enterprise as a tool to counter the nation's social challenges, as in developing/transitional nations emergence of social enterprise was due to ambiguous economic goals (Yujuico, 2008). In the Indian context, social enterprise has situated itself in the developmental discourse which relates to developing social capital of bottom of the pyramid population, social justice (Singh, 2015) and to bring about inclusive development by infusing innovation with social entrepreneurship (National Innovation Council, 2013). As a result, the social enterprises believed to have a massive opportunity of tapping into this area (Singh, 2012).

As earlier section of findings implied social enterprise paradigm building actors construct a technocratic paradigm marked by market logic discourse. The findings from chapter 5 explain Indian venture founders from three generational cohorts discursively dis/associated with

social enterprise discourses. These practitioners from three generational cohorts were either a self-identified social entrepreneur or externally identified by institutions which also played a role in the manner in which they dis/associated with social enterprise discourse.

Drawing from Dey and Teasdale's (2013) identity work of practitioner's dis/identification, the following table maps dis/association of Indian practitioners with social enterprise discourses (see Table 2). Practitioners discursively put forth dis/association through operational discourses relating to management style (i.e. venture model, intervention design, balancing social and commercial goals and funding structure of the organisation). The findings from these dimensions are enumerated in the table and discussed below.

Table. 8

Generational cohort	**External/Internal identified social entrepreneur**	**Dis/associate with social enterprise discourse**	**Discourses' affinity to democratic/technocratic paradigm**
SG (1950-69)	External	Counteridentify- 'private irony' Disidentify- displacement	Democratic
X (1970-84)	Dominantly external	Fluid identification Enthusiastic engagement to reflective endorsement	Fluid Overt- Technocratic Operational- Democratic
Y (1985-)	Internal	Identify- Enthusiastic engagement	Technocratic

Most of the practitioners from generation SG were part of a long history of traditional social sector and currently find themselves in a transitional phase where the social sector is increasingly becoming more competitive and marketised. Thus, these practitioners either counteridentify through private irony or disidentify through displacement. Most of the participants in this group were externally attributed (by institutions) as a social entrepreneur.

These external institutions employ the 'hero-entrepreneur' discourse for such venture founders to legitimise social enterprise organisations. The narratives SG group of practitioners resonate more with the democratic paradigm of social enterprise discourse.

Most practitioners from generation Y cohort who witnessed the growing buzz around the phenomenon of social entrepreneurship showed 'enthusiastic engagement' with social enterprise discourses. This group discursively related to the dominant discourse of the technocratic paradigm and self-attributed themselves as a social entrepreneur. Lastly, generation X cohort who witnessed the transition, marked by the legacy of traditional non-profit followed by facing strong criticisms in the '90s based on inefficiency and fraudulent activities, associated with the communitarian discourse of social sector while neither completely identifying as a social entrepreneur nor a social worker thus engaged with social enterprise discourse through 'enthusiastic endorsement' and some through 'reflective endorsement'. This group tried to maintain a fluid identity while few attributed themselves as a social entrepreneur by being part of an incubation programme or avoided of being viewed as pure a for-profit enterprise while attributed as a social entrepreneur by external agencies. This group leaned more towards the democratic paradigm.

About the relevance of a professional label, the participants indicated a deliberate attempt to ignore professional compartmentalisation between social entrepreneurs, non-profit or for-profit. Participants used their rationality to make sense of social enterprise, and this was possible due to the lack of policy and legal framework in the country. The social enterprise eco-system played an essential role in 2001 that made social enterprise an 'umbrella' term, transformed funding structure and initiated international fellowship programs (Shukla, 2020); these external agencies identified key social sector practitioners in India as a social entrepreneur to forward the 'hero-entrepreneur' discourse.

About management style, the analysis revealed that regardless of factors like generational cohort, self-identified/externally identified social entrepreneur or technocratic/democratic most of the practitioners were employing a certain degree of hybridisation based on their rationality in terms of their organisational structure and function. On the one hand, P1B and P1D with a horizontal organisational structure displayed more communitarian traits, rejected the 'hero-entrepreneur' discourse of social enterprise, on the other hand, working on government contracts operating on logic efficiency and scale indicated links with social

enterprise discourse. In another case, P1M and P4B implied their allegiances with democratic paradigm at the same time adopted the dominant discourse of commercial enterprise with organisation structure and performance review system that indicated affinity to efficiency discourse of social enterprise. The subsequent section will discuss other aspects of management in terms of venture model, intervention design, balancing social and commercial goals and funding structure of the organisation which will imply how the generational cohorts relates with the social enterprise discourse.

Generation SG, with organisations operating over 25 years, described their venture model by describing the projects and programmes undertaken by the organisation and they remotely related with venture model idea. They endorsed developing a bottom-up approach to work with communities by realising their real needs. This narrative resonated with the democratic paradigm, unlike technocratic paradigm that operates on the logic of public service as a product delivered to civil society (consumers) (Osborne and Gaebler 1992; Hood, 1991; Le Grand, 2006) faster and cheaper. However, there was some evidence of an existing venture model within these organisations, which resonated with social enterprise discourses that practitioners counteridentified through 'public opposition'. On the other hand generation Y group of participants, with organisations operating for five years or less were clearer in articulating their venture model, most of these participants had social networks in the private sector and were inclined to partner with them; as a result, they adopted discourses of the private sector. This group was more exposed to incubation programmes and the hub culture and related to business management school discourse projecting 'enthusiastic engagement' with social enterprise discourse, consequently relating to the technocratic paradigm. The third group of practitioners' (generation X), running organisations for 15 years or more, vaguely described their venture model, they worked in a less structured environment and indicated more flexible approaches based on the needs of the communities. Thus, developed operational models and strategies like 'a work in progress' mode. Their models were ground-up resonating with democratic paradigm and operationally dis-identifying with dominant discourses. Their description of the venture model referred to projects/programmes operating on the ground and their operational ideas identified with traditional non-profits similar to generation SG.

With intervention design, the generational aspect played an important role for practitioners to dis/associate with social enterprise discourse/s. Generation Y participants linked intervention to organisational revenue model and sustainability and social impact in quantitative terms, i.e. reach and numbers. Thus, revenue and scale played a critical role in associating this narrative with efficiency discourse of social enterprises. However, generation X did acknowledge the importance of revenue model but emphasised more on the qualitative nature of the intervention (social change and benefitting the marginalised). This pattern was similar to generation SG's approach towards intervention and impact which were also driven by a deep-seated personal philosophy (a social mission) to work with the marginalised communities. Their idea of sustainability was not dependent on revenue model but being committed to the cause.

Balancing social and economic goals, generation Y demonstrated an apparent division of expectations from the social and commercial aspects of their organisation. They have also shown the ability to make smooth transitions between the roles of a social worker and an entrepreneur. Hence, this relates to 'enthusiastic engagement' identification with the practice of social entrepreneurship. On the contrary, generation X described the personal priorities (social mission) of practitioners' remains the primary factor; there was lesser clarity that separated the social and economic goals of the organisation. Similarly, generation SG had their primary focus on the social cause of the organisation to which they were personally connected. Hence, there was no clear division between social and commercial.

In terms of funding, findings imply that despite the presence of several funding institutions available in the country, practitioners irrespective of generational cohort or self-identified/externally identified social entrepreneur preferred non-governmental funders. For generation SG cohort, there was a greater dependency on international funds, private foundations and high net worth individuals due to low social welfare funds available with the public or the private sector during their time hence social networks played a significant role in raising funds. Moreover, their organisational, economic model based on grant funding, hence they preferred such funding and avoided competing for funds.

In the case of generation X who were predominantly part of a transitional phase of the Indian social sector, preferred funding through non-governmental grants and also favoured crowd-sourced funding model. Lastly, generation Y having a more clear revenue model for their

organisation and strategic plans to raise funds, they were less likely to depend on the grant model but keener on developing a social business model of funding structure; this group was exposed to a period where the government impetus has been on developing entrepreneurship and where diverse funding institutions exists ready to invest in the social sector. However, across generational cohort participants with better social networks and belonging from urban, English speaking, the middle-class group were more likely recipients of these funds (i.e. government/private). Thus, generation Y, implied affinity towards market-oriented funding structure aligning with technocratic social enterprise discourse, while generation X and SG depend on traditional grant funding or community-funded projects resonating with the democratic paradigm of social enterprise discourse.

The interviews largely implied that the choice of funding partner depended on the practitioners' social capital. As Montgomery et al. (2012) notes, "much of social entrepreneurship appears, in fact, to be collaborative and collective, drawing on a broad array of support, cooperation and alliances to build awareness, gain resources and, ultimately, make change."

Such social networks help generate more 'trust' among other organisational members and benefit each other through knowledge transfer (Runyan et al., 2006). As explained, social networks have led to formation of an exclusive community within the Indian social enterprise sector where incubators and accelerators plays an essential role in forming these social networks. As data from reports (British Council, 2015,16; Villgro-Okapi, 2014) indicated most incubators/accelerators operated from urban areas, thus their accessibility was limited to a certain group of social entrepreneurs.

Moreover, it emerged from the interviews that generation Y venture founders were more likely to be incubated or mentored than generation SG and X. As a result generation Y expressed incubators helped in forming critical social networks, which was instrumental in accessing potential funders or board members. This generational group discursively associated with technocratic paradigm of social enterprise, which cascaded through incubators and the mentors.

The following table maps the discourses generated by three generational cohorts across the four dimensions of operational management.

Table. 9

Generational Cohort	Management Dimension	Discourses
SG X Y	Venture Model	SG- Communitarian, Empowerment X- Communitarian and towards business model Y- Business model
SG X Y	Intervention Design	SG- Social Mission X- Social Mission towards revenue model Y- Revenue model, scale, sustainability and impact
SG X Y	Balance social and commercial	SG- Lacks clarity X- Blurring clarity Y- Clear division
SG X Y	Funding Structure	SG- International funds, grants from foundations and High Net Worth individuals X- Crowdfunding, grants from non-government agencies and CSR funds. Y-Social business model, Venture capitalist, Social impact investors

The third research question:

How practitioners discursively operationalise these dis/identifications to steer the tensions between normative institutional discourse(s) and grassroots, operational discourses in order access legitimacy and resources?

The findings from analysis chapter 6, discussed the role of impression management (IM) and 'tactical mimicry' employed by practitioners to navigate tensions between grass-roots, operational discourses and normative institutional discourse(s) of social enterprises to steer power relations, resource mobilisation and access legitimacy in the Indian context.

The literature of impression management (IM) has been conceived simplistically. Organisational impression management (OIM) studies have explained IM as a strategy of internal organisational members to influence external stakeholders (Bolino et al., 2008). OIM justified as a rational choice behaviour guided by the logic of well-developed strategies to maximise utility and efficiency (Teasdale, 2009). Although OIM research emphasised on implementation of IM techniques was to counter challenges of organisational legitimacy; however, IM strategies concerning social enterprises were predominantly understood as a technique of resource acquisition consequently leading to legitimacy (Teasdale, 2009). The findings from this analysis indicated in Indian context IM techniques were adopted more dominantly for institutional legitimacy along with resources acquisition.

Furthermore, practitioners enabled access to resources through 'tactical mimicry' as a tactic. This tactic employed by third sector practitioners' led to overt identification with normative discourse/s of social enterprises to appropriate government funds but at the same time enhancing/gathering 'collective agency' in alternative space distant from the influence power (Teasdale and Dey, 2016). The interviews indicated these techniques/tactics are not always very straightforward neither are they mutually exclusive instead operates in combination, which serves the interest of organisations at a particular point of time. The manifestations of these tactics remain nuanced based on the context of operationalisation.

The findings offer three methods (i.e. isolation, collaboration and adaptability), as indicated in table. 8, below which employs these techniques of IM (tactical mimicry) to navigate tensions between normative institutional discourses and grass-roots operational discourses for legitimacy and resources based on the need of the organisation.

Table.10

Isolation	**Generational Cohort**
Working in silos	SG, X
Isolation branding	SG, X, Y
Isolation through association	X
Collaboration	
Private sector collaboration	Y
Social networks	SG,X,Y

Strategic choice of products & Services	Y
Achieve Scale	SG
Knowledge Partner	SG
Partner with community/civil society	SG,X,Y
Adaptability	
Fluid organisational identity	SG
Adopt normative discourses as consequence of being part of incubators	Y
Rejecting professional label	SG, X

Interviews indicated growing exclusivity in the social enterprise sector. Practitioners who did not align with normative social enterprise discourses; isolated themselves, operated in silos based on their operational logics and discursively resisting normative discourse while maintaining a fluid organisational identity. Some practitioners were isolated from the social enterprise sector by default as a result of the cause/sector they choose to work. These areas were not financially rewarding and challenging to develop an economic model around such areas; hence they consciously choose to opt-out rather compete for social enterprise funds and depend on grant funding. Such kind of isolation is possible for successful social ventures, which have demonstrated measurable social impact in the past through grant funding. Findings indicated practitioners mostly from SG and X generational cohort operating over ten years usually resort to such isolation by employing their social networks from social and commercial sectors for mobilising funds or reach-out for government schemes for legitimacy and scale. Considering their rich experience of the sector along with organisational success stories, helps them derive better-negotiating power over institutional discourses to operate on their terms.

The second type is isolation branding, where practitioners use different discursive techniques of isolation while associating with the social enterprise sector. This technique has facilitated practitioners to avoid conforming to normative institutional discourse(s). This technique operates across generational cohorts, where they drafted their organisational narrative as a unique intervention to solve a particular social problem and being the knowledge experts of that specific issue, thereby positioning away from other practitioners in the same area. In this

manner they derived greater negotiating power over normative institutional discourse(s) while operating on their organisational logics.

Data gathered through interviews indicated practitioners isolated through association by using their internal moral compass to accept/reject funds, thus rejecting institutional discourse. In such cases, practitioners rejected significant funds and developed alternative methods of raising funds while deriving their legitimacy from the community, thereby achieving greater negotiating power for future funders (mostly employed by generation X cohort). On the other hand, some practitioners indicated their flexibility to customise their organisational narrative to funder making them sound unique and match the rationale of the funding agency, however, they continued to operationalise based on their organisational logic, again mostly employed by generation X cohort.

Collaboration technique helped practitioners work on their organisational narratives more aligned with normative institutional discourse(s), such practice helped practitioners to develop networks, access to funds and opportunities for organisational growth. Generation Y cohort practitioners were keener to operate using this technique as inclined to partner with the private sector where practitioner skill and resourcefulness were valued. They avoided partnerships with government sector due to bureaucratic complexities, which tends to slow down organisational growth. However, across generational cohorts adopted collaboration technique in different ways in potential partnerships, whether private or government. In both partnerships social networks remain the bedrock, practitioners use these networks to choose appropriate partner by consciously aligning with their normative discourse or leverage the network to overtly align with the discourse while internally operating on their logic. The former is common among generation Y while the latter is common in generation SG and X. Practitioners have used collaboration technique to further their organisational interest. Generation Y, strategically chose products/sector which favourite choices for private funders or on government agenda. As young practitioners, this strategy helped them in accessing benefits from government schemes and a higher degree of legitimacy for their organisation. Practitioners from the senior generation used the government collaboration as a mechanism to achieve scale. They avoided aligning with normative discourse(s) instead worked with the government as knowledge partners, which gave them greater negotiating power. Across generational cohorts, the practitioners' those lacking social networks used collaboration

technique by partnering with communities and civil society to acquire operational legitimacy and protect their organisational logic.

Findings indicated how practitioners used adaptability as a technique not just to steer normative discourses but also sustain their organisation during the transitions that took taking place in the Indian social sector. Practitioners, particularly from senior generation (SG) cohort who operated in the Indian social sector for long (over ten years) maintained a fluid organisational identity. These practitioners have witnessed the transformation in the social sector with emergence novel institutions/players, i.e. CSR, social enterprises and diversification of development funds. By maintaining this fluid identity, they have been able to make a smooth transition into the social enterprise sector, and by anticipating further transformations by regulatory systems. Hence, this fluidity acts in their favour to appropriate opportunities in the interest of their organisation and ensure sustainability. Although these practitioners entered the social enterprise space, they refrained from adopting the normative institutional discourse(s) of the sector and continued to operate on their grass-root operational discourse. On the other hand, social enterprise institutions like fellowship programs or incubators have embraced these practitioners as champions in the social enterprise sector to forward their 'hero-entrepreneur' discourse.

Practitioners from generation Y cohort referred to adaptability as a technique for organisational growth. These practitioners were more likely to adopt normative institutional discourse(s) as they were part of social enterprise incubation programmes. Considering these practitioners were in their early stage venture founders, they lacked the experience of strategically manoeuvring discourses. In the interviews practitioners from generation SG and X implied using adaptability strategy by denouncing the importance of a professional label of social entrepreneur/social worker and raised the question as to what is a social entrepreneur but did not object to the fact of being referred as a social entrepreneur by external institutions.

7.1.1 Operationalisation of Context

This thesis premised on the contextual aspect of social enterprises. A line of work investigating social enterprise as a contextual phenomenon has been restricted to

institutional factors resulting in its regional 'hybridity' (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2012; Kerlin, 2013, Sepluveda, 2015). Although context plays a vital role in understanding the social enterprise phenomenon; there were seldom work in this area. Some studies have focused on social, cultural and historical factors shaping entrepreneurship (Jones & Spicer, 2005) leading to the emergence of approaches based on economic sociology and the sociology of enterprise (Zafirovski, 1999). It is 'the complex products of its milieu,' i.e. a constant interaction between individuals and situations, and social variables of class, ethnicity and morals (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982, Zafirovski, 1999), institutions, language and ideologies (Fletcher, 2006) and networks and rules (Jack & Anderson, 2002). This thesis has drawn on the broader socio-cultural and political-economic context shaping the generational identity of Indian practitioners in the social sector along with interpreting the narratives of paradigm-building actors embedded within this context.

Chapter-1 introduced the socio-political and economic background of the subcontinent shaping the social sector and positioned social enterprise within this space. Chapter 2 presented the concept of generational identity followed by the discussion in chapter 6 analysing the narratives of practitioners categorised in generational cohorts leading them to dis/associated with social enterprise discourse. This section will further discuss the implications of context on these findings.

Generation SG's (1950-1969) engagement with social projects in India was determined by the socio-political and economic phase of the nation, which led to adopting more communitarian social projects. Most social sector practitioners (also implied in the findings of this thesis) strongly associated with Gandhian philosophy. As discussed in chapter 1, the Gandhian NPOs (Non-Profit Organisations) grew out of government contracts (Sen, 1992) consequently solely dependent on government funds (Seth & Sethi, 1991). Generation SG carries the legacy of such social sector values. This generation witnessed the rise of several co-operative movements in the agricultural sector; with the rise of the co-operative movement, there was an emergence of NGOs funded by international organisations. The urban professional middle class formed these NGOs. Furthermore, Community Based Organisations (CBOs) formed with the help of NGOs, NPOs, corporate and government funds (Sen, 1993). The economy was

closed 'Licence Raj'[14], slow economic growth and massive spending on social programmes. However, welfare policies failed to address needs of poorest of the poor, and the co-operative movements in the agrarian sector increased incomes for a specific agrarian class at the same time resulted in lack of food/work among others (Palriwala & Neetha, 2009). Against this backdrop, of unmet needs of the marginalised led SG generation associated strongly with Gandhian philosophy (communitarian ideology) which become the premise of their organisational mission or communist ideology coming from a background of trade unions movements. They belonged to educated Indian middle families with some social networks in the government. Their projects received government support in terms of funds and achieving scale and their projects worked with real marginalised communities receiving many accolades from civil society, government and other international bodies that helped them legitimise their organisations. Thus, findings imply participants from this generational cohort disassociate with social enterprise discourse instead emphasised their philosophy that evolved with their organisation. Their approach was communitarian that continues to depend on grants. It was also interesting to note that these social champions self-identified as social workers, but accepted social entrepreneur awards by external agencies that pushed 'social hero' discourse.

By 1960s the efficiency aspect of Indian NGOs came under severe scrutiny by the government and civil society. Murthy and Rao (1997) explain how limitations were imposed on the current role of the NGOs post the audit conducted by the Council of Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) in 1966. The audit revealed that 2000 NGOs that CAPART supported out of its 7500 NGOs mismanaged their fund worth Rupees 50 crore ($ 10 million) and 300 fake NGOs were operating. Moreover, Bava (1997) mentioned 26 NGOs engaged in criminal conspiracy and other fraudulent activities. Against this backdrop, the middle generation, which corresponds to the western concept of generation X (1970-84), experienced rapid political and economic transformations. Several economic reforms initiated by relaxed business regulations simplified foreign investments and check on bureaucracy, expansion in the telecommunication industry, space program, software industry

[14] License Raj- India's 'model of socialism' where licenses were needed that regulates all market activities of the private sector (i.e. starting a new company, production capacity, laying off, shutting down and import tariffs) (Available at: http://indiabefore91.in/license-raj

and information technology (Erickson, 2009). The state introduced the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) in 1976 and Financial Act in 1983 a guide for the code of ethics for NPOs.

Moreover, National and State Council was set up for the state and rural voluntary agencies (Sen, 1993). The Financial Act revoked tax exemption given to industries investing in rural development (Kothari, 1986) and all income-generating activities of NGOs. Moreover, during this time, another significant economic transition marked by structural economic reforms drove towards promoting big business (Corbridge, 2009), resulting in a focus on economic growth while curbing operations of NPOs in terms of operations and funds.

In the findings, many of the practitioners from this generational cohort implied that organisational label (NGO/social enterprise) being irrelevant; however, they adopted discourses of social enterprises while operating more like traditional non-profits; this could be attributed to their transitional generational identity against the backdrop of a stigmatised non-profit sector and growing impetus on economic growth. As a result, they wanted to dissociate from the inefficiency discourse of traditional non-profit and associate with the efficiency and revenue model discourse of social enterprise. In the narratives, it was also evident that this generational cohort experienced the politics of developmental projects in India. They strongly condemned how selected urban educated having personal resources dominated the nation's developmental agenda without much regard for the actual needs of marginalised communities. It was also highlighted that the government over the years have failed to address many social issues (i.e. health, education, and livelihood) among many communities that still continues to escape government agenda and attention of the exclusive group of social sector actors. This generational cohort represents urban, semi-urban educated middle class with limited personal resources. Therefore, they primarily depend on grant funding from foundations or crowd-source funding. They overtly display identification with social enterprise discourse, but operational identify with traditional communitarian non-profits.

The third generational cohort corresponding to the western classification of generation Y was the most global generation as with technological advancement this generation experienced most (global and local) events. However, the manifestation of these experiences coupled with a host of other socio-cultural factors of the specific region like 'socio-economic background' of family, philosophy of parents. The generation Y in the Indian context demonstrates a high

level of 'aspiration' with the hope of prosperity in their personal life as they belong to an era that offers new wave of economic opportunity. They have a high level of ambition at par with generation Y in the United States, levying more value to financial gains and most of them displays entrepreneurial and business-like skills and inclination (Erickson, 2009). The findings of this thesis revealed that this generational cohort more actively associated with the discourse of social enterprise and self-attributed them as a social entrepreneur. Their discourses associated more dominantly with revenue-model of their organisation and a strong inclination to partner with the private sector, thus indicating their resonance with the efficiency discourse. The practitioners from this cohort were spread across urban, semi-urban upper/middle class, educated English speaking group. The interviews revealed most of them used their resources (social and financial) and had links with social enterprise incubation projects or social entrepreneurship fellowship projects operating in the country which led them to associate with social enterprise discourse directly.

7.2 Contributions: Theoretical, Empirical and practical

This thesis presents a critical understanding of the discursive construction of social enterprises in a local context while highlighting the dominant role of global north social enterprise discourses in a specific region. It surfaces the conflict/coexistence of normative and operational discourse/s in positioning social enterprises in Indian social sector. This work draws attention to how the fluidity of social enterprise phenomenon has operationalised in practice and appropriated by resource rich actors for its normative construction while practitioners making sense of it based on their own rationality. Previous reports (British Council Report, 2015; ADB Report, 2012; Intellecap, 2012) on social enterprise landscape in India has seldom been critical of government engagement in promoting social enterprises, however this thesis highlights the government's lack of clear pathway for social enterprise development as it expects the trickle-down effects of promoting entrepreneurship will lead to growth of social enterprises.

The element of context has been weaved in throughout the thesis by explaining the socio-economic and political backdrop of the subcontinent where the phenomenon is nested and the context of generational identity helped to embed discourses generated by practitioners. The following section will discuss the theoretical, empirical and practical contributions of this thesis.

The oversimplification of context has been re-examined in works of Welter & Gartner (2016) and Welter (2011) which proposed the multiplicity and intersectionality of context. They put forth the need to develop context theory in entrepreneurship research by not treating context as a singular variable but by adopting diverse sampling-across sectors, undertaking contextual research in different settings and from different disciplinary lens. Context in this thesis have been weaved from an institutional, organisational and individual level. In entrepreneurship literature context have been treated from a management school angle of 'when' and 'how' entrepreneurship happens. Context has also been treated as an external factor (circumstances/situations) to a phenomenon promoting or constraining it. By using a qualitative and inductive theory building approach this work has been able to surface the deeper and nuanced operationalization of context in social entrepreneurship research. It has been able to highlight the two-way (top-down and bottom-up) operationalisation of context which are often eclipsed in its simplistic interpretations in quantitative analysis.

Although literature indicates the contextual nature of social enterprises, the global north literature embarks on a simplistic conceptualization of converging concepts across regions. Many of the peer-reviewed literature presents the hybrid nature of social enterprises by seamlessly combining 'market' and 'social' dimensions. The contextual aspect of social enterprises is further explained by the interaction and spending of public and private, the legal structure and engagement of civil society. Social enterprise literature in India predominantly adopts the global north framework and presents social enterprise as a positive straightforward activity with the social sector without a much critical investigation. Furthermore, the western social enterprise discourse puts forth social enterprise as a neoliberal construct, this thesis puts forth how a neoliberal ideology cascades in a local context and how it is interpreted by political and non-political actors. Construction of social enterprises through neoliberal policy paradigm remains relatively constant across a specific region. However, operationalization of neoliberal ideology through discourses of institutional actors and practitioners provides better understanding of discrepancies within the neoliberal paradigm. In this study the construction of the social role of social enterprise demonstrated difference between central and state governments despite the centre adopting neoliberal ideology.

Furthermore, this thesis in lines with Parkinson and Howorth (2008), Cohen and Musson (2000) and Dey and Teasdale's (2011) work that practitioners do not simple absorb discourses

rather appropriates, re-interprets and negotiates with them. This work indicates such action of practitioners were embedded in their context (generational identity) and their struggle with these discourses depends on their position within society (between the local community and the government).

The empirical findings of this thesis contribute to demarcate few areas for future research. The findings implied younger (Y) generation leaning to towards 'technocratic' paradigm of social enterprises which paves a path for research in this area as to the implications of such construction on the Indian social sector in the future. This work has been able to highlight regional differences which is not representative of the whole country, thus regional qualitative enquiry can further our understanding of the diverse models existing in the subcontinent and possibly arrive at archetypes of social enterprise models. The diversity of institutional structures (centre and state government, government departments promoting social enterprises, educational institutional, funding bodies) indicated in this work demands an institutional context driven/historical institutionalism driven work to understand the emergence of social enterprise, its future position in the social sector and contribute to context theory of social enterprise research where context effects social entrepreneurial processes and the later influencing institutional structure (Welter, 2010).

On the practical aspect, this thesis has been able to reveal the extent to which policy-makers and other institutional bodies (think tanks, policy administrators who direct industrial tax breaks, disburse funds and resources) can create awareness, encourage and incubate social enterprises. Based on the findings, policy-makers need to set out a clear policy framework for social enterprises. Based on the current political expectation- that the trickle-down effects of promoting entrepreneurship will benefit social entrepreneurship which will fetch limited outcomes. Moreover, the fruition of such expectations will lack measurable outcomes or social impact. Since, the government is depending on private institutional bodies (i.e. incubators, accelerators, foundations and educational institutions) to promote social entrepreneurship there is a need to improve its support by laying down specific compliance guideline and monitoring systems/agencies catering to social enterprises, rather than generalised compliance and monitoring system applied to a wide range of private sector enterprises.

Furthermore, a special provision could be set-up by the government directed towards initiating programmes for skilled human capital, capabilities building and promote rural/micro social enterprises through training and capacity building at rural levels and develop policies relating to subsidies for setting up of rural/micro social enterprises.

For industry practitioners which includes social entrepreneurs (all three generational cohorts), mentors, investors, advisors, incubators and innovation managers; this thesis provides an understanding of the skewed funding (based on preferences of government agenda and social impact investors) in specific sectors resulting in a vacuum in others. Though accessing funds remain a challenge for grass-roots social entrepreneurs, it also provides them with opportunities to develop innovative self-sustainable financial models. Moreover, this thesis informs social enterprise sector comprises of a selected group of people in the country which adopts a top-down approach, deciding the social development agenda for the country. In this case, social entrepreneurs have the potential to reverse this model through community emancipation and ownership model of development projects largely.

For advisors and mentors of entrepreneurs, this thesis offers an understanding of how venture founders from three generational cohort dis/identify with the practice of social entrepreneurship and the existence of conflicting discourses. Thus, it is important for advisors and mentors of social entrepreneurs to help venture founders achieve a balance between their organisational mission and dual objectives (social and economic). There is a need more than ever for mentors and advisors from traditional non-profit sector to come in, rather than mere commercial sector actors playing an active role in driving social enterprises. This balance of driving social enterprises could be reflected in the composition of board members of social enterprises. Since mentoring is urban-centric practice, there is a need to for such services in remote locations.

A concerted drive from government, incubators, funders and social entrepreneurs dedicated to empower local communities and develop self-sustainable models have the potential to address social issues which are highly localised in India context.

7.3 Limitations of the research

Purpose of this research has been to create an understanding of the social enterprise as a product of its context. In Indian context, the social enterprise phenomenon has remained 'highly understudied topic' regardless of the country witnessing a growing number of social entrepreneurs working towards projects at the grass-roots level (Tiwari et al. 2017). Furthermore, taking into account the lack of literature critically examining the phenomenon and the exploratory nature of this thesis, this research can only provide an initial overview of the phenomenon in terms of being discursively constructed in the region. Further research is much required to complement, widen and contest the present findings presented in this thesis. The following section will highlight a few limitations of this research and measures undertaken by to mitigate those limitations.

Lack of policy framework concerning the social enterprises in India has positioned it in the provision of registering companies under Section 8 of Companies Act, 9156. This section is extensive ranging 'commerce, art, science, religion, charity or any other useful object' and has no mention of social enterprises. Therefore, this has led multiple stakeholders of social enterprises to construct its meaning in India (Sengupta & Sahay, 2018). The empirical data in this thesis depended on the discursive interpretation of the phenomenon by multiple actors. It takes into account the fact that personal narratives can be subjected to exaggeration, personal biases, emotions and passion. Therefore, the inability to triangulate or cross-compare the personal narratives leaves some degree of the data to be subjected to exaggeration, personal biases, emotions and passion. However, a personal narrative driven research also has robust ontological and epistemological grounds (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). This line of work gives value to oral and written text language as a reproduction of 'reality' (Bruner, 1986 & Polkinghorne, 1988). Such data provides substantial insight into context sometimes mistaken as bias, emotions and passion instead it can bring a better understanding of 'life and social relations' (Riessman, 1993; Gummesson, 2006; Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2015).

The data for this research was collected through purposive sampling (Patton, 1990), to select interview participants from three distinct geographical areas (i.e. Bhopal, Mumbai and New Delhi). Considering the vast size of the country and budgetary constraints interviews were limited to three different geographical sites. Thus findings of this research cannot be

generalised to the entire nation; due to regional diversity of institutional practices and socio-cultural and economic contexts in different regions of the country. The premise of selecting locations based on the levels of social enterprise activities, region-influencing policies (New Delhi), site where most social impact investors operated (Mumbai) and how these practices influenced another site which was equidistant from New Delhi and Mumbai (Bhopal). Despite the drawback of lack of generalisation, this research aids in developing a sense of how social enterprises are constructed within a specific region in the country which can play a dominant role in constructing a normative idea of the phenomenon for the entire nation.

The interview participants were part of two groups; the first group consisted of participants who belonged to social enterprise paradigm builders (i.e. government, incubators/accelerators, social impact investors and educational institutions). The second group consisted of venture founders in the social sector/social enterprise sector. These practitioners were operating in diverse areas (i.e. education, indigenous textile, health and sanitation, rural development). Participants in both groups were identified based on past work in the field (5-10 years) through purposive sampling and few participants were part of the sample due to snowballing. Due to which few interview participants shared common social networks and were more likely to resonate similar ideas regarding the phenomenon. However, this research has been able to surface this close-knit social network-based characteristic of the sector dominated by urban, English-speaking, upper/middle class possessing institutional networks that aids in maintaining its exclusivity.

Another limitation was language; English is the official language in India as a result it is widely used in daily operations. Nonetheless, there is a need to take into account that the interview participants were not native English speakers, and participants differed in terms of English proficiency levels. In contrast, some participants were very proficient in articulating their ideas while some expressed their ideas in native language (Hindi) finding their comfort with the language. Information shared in the native language was translated while keeping the essence of statements intact. Some participants were great storytellers, which naturally makes them more convincing; their arguments legitimate and gives them the ability to exaggerate the information shared. However, in another sense such personal narratives can be viewed as nuanced, embedded in the cultural context. In this case, my familiarity with the cultural context helped in mitigating this limitation to a certain extent.

Another possible limitation can be the quality of the researcher; as I am conducting doctoral research for the first time. Although, I possess the knowledge of the development sector in India, however conducting skilful interviews holds the key to such research. In order to mitigate this risk, I undertook doctoral courses on qualitative research, moreover applied professional skills from the Indian social sector to document each step of the research.

7. 4 Future research

This thesis is exploratory, which sets the stage for an overall understanding of the construction of social enterprises in India through a qualitative inquiry. Findings from this research and also stated by Sengupta and Sahay (2012), that there is growing entrepreneurial activities in the region with an emphasis on a 'social' angel, there is a heightened need to cross-compare social enterprise case studies from different parts of the region. Moreover, there is immense scope for future research based on ethnographic practices of social enterprises to develop better conceptual understanding of 'market orientation' and 'social value creation', 'entrepreneurial qualities', 'scalability' and 'sustainability' in the Indian context.

Literature has highlighted the contextual nature of social enterprises based on broad global regions (Kerlin, 2010). Empirical and conceptual literature too acknowledged novel dimensions of social enterprise across local/national/regional contexts (Peredo &McLean, 2006; Dacin,Dacin & Matear, 2010; Doherty, Haugh & Lyon, 2014; Sengupta & Sahay, 2017). Thus, social enterprises are a product of socio-economic, political and historical context. This research has taken this premise of context forward by contextualising social enterprises in a local context. It has also used a generational identify lens to practitioners associating with the phenomenon. Therefore, there is further scope for contextual research from a historical institutional perspective, which can delve into present conceptualisation in a specific context.

Moreover, a contextual study of self-identity versus social identity of social entrepreneurs can provide richer insights into how social enterprise construction takes place in a region.

In the Indian context, future research can be undertaken in the area of the complex interaction of multiple funding models, international development funds, CSR funds that will affect the social sector and position social enterprises vis-a-vie traditional non-profits. The potential role of government and private sector in reducing regional and sectoral

discrepancies of social enterprise activities. Moreover, this research mapped the Indian social enterprise paradigm against two paradigms (technocratic/democratic) further research can inquire another possible paradigm (e.g. circular economy) which might be in its nascent stages.

Lastly, this research surfaced the close-knit social network-based social enterprise sector which was exclusive dominated by urban, English-speaking, upper/middle class possessing institutional networks. Hence, this open doors for further research around the role of social capital affecting grass- roots/micro social enterprises in India.

The researcher plans to take up these inquiries in future years to understand how context shapes social enterprises in a region and future of social enterprises in India.

Appendix – I

The interview guides prepared for different interviewee groups

Founder of successful social enterprises/personnel working in successful social enterprises

Guide	Explanatory Notes
Introduction	Researcher describes how the interview will flow, followed by the participant information sheet and the consent form.
History of the organisation	• Motivation of starting the venture • The focus areas and goals • Activities • Outcomes • Impact • Strategic plans for the next 5 years
Funding	• What are their sources of funding • How they have managed to access them • What are challenges of funding that they face • What are their future plan to make their funding system more robust
Partnerships/Collaborations	• Does partnerships help better prospects of funding • What kind of partnerships are more preferred and why?

Founder of grass-root social enterprises/personnel working in grass-root social enterprises

Guide	Explanatory Notes
Introduction	Researcher describes how the interview will flow, followed by the participant information sheet and the consent form.
History of the organisation	• Motivation of starting the venture • The focus areas and goals • Activities • Outcomes • Impact • Strategic plans for the next 5 years
Funding	• What are the primary challenges of accessing funds • What are roadblocks in the systems which prevent to access funds • What strategies are used to access funds • What are the types of funding sources that are preferred?
Partnerships/Collaborations	• Does partnerships help better prospects of funding • What kind of partnerships are more preferred and why?

For Govt. officials:

Introduction	Researcher describes how the interview will flow, followed by the participant information sheet and the consent form.
The Government Department	• The purpose of the department • The focus areas and goals • Activities • Outcomes • Impact • Strategic plans for the next 5 years
Funding	• Do they have enough fund to promote social enterprises in the country • What kind of social enterprises they intend to promote and why? • What are the 5 year plans for promoting social enterprises • Will social enterprise able to meet welfare challenges of the country • What will be the role of NGOs, how will grass-root organisation will access to better funds
Partnerships/Collaborations	• Will private-public partnership help boost social entrepreneurship in the country • What kind of partnerships will work for the future

This interview guide consists of the outline of the semi-structured interview which for:

Founder of incubator/accelerator, personnel working in incubator/accelerator

Guide	Explanatory Notes
Introduction	Researcher describes how the interview will flow, followed by the participant information sheet and the consent form.
History of the organisation	• Motivation of starting the venture • The focus areas and goals • Activities • Outcomes • Impact • Strategic plans for the next 5 years
Funding	• Nature of funds that are accessed from • Challenges of funding • How they decide to which organisation to fund
Partnerships/Collaborations	• What kind of partnerships are preferred and why?

This interview guide consists of the outline of the semi-structured interview guide for impact investors:

Guide	Explanatory Notes
Introduction	Researcher describes how the interview will flow, followed by the participant information sheet and the consent form.

History	• Motivation of starting the venture • The focus areas and goals • Activities conducted • Outcomes • Impact • Strategic plans for the next 5 years
Nature of funding	• How do they make a decision whom to fund • How government policies impact their decision of funding • How does social impact shape their decision to fund a particular project
Partnerships/Collaborations	• What kind partnerships are preferred and why?

Appendix – II

Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: Construction of Social Entrepreneurship in India: legitimisation of social enterprises in Indian social economy

Researcher: Ms. Kasturi Bose

ERGO number: 3067

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I am a post-graduate researcher in the department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology (SSPC), University of Southampton. This post-graduate research is part my PhD programme, which will study the construction of social entrepreneurship in India. I want to understand the reasons for growth of social entrepreneurship in India, what are kind of social enterprises are emerging and receiving funding from private funders and government. Who (people/institutions) promoting social enterprises in India. My study will also delve into understanding the strategies adopted by grass-root social enterprises to access funding and recognition from institutions to maintain their sustainability.

Why have I been asked to participate?

The participants of this research are individuals from different groups. There are social entrepreneurs (having their own social enterprise) within the age group of 25-70 years. Personnel working in a social enterprise for 3-5 years within the age group of 25-70 years. Personnel working in a social enterprise incubator/accelerator for 3-5 years within the age group of 25-70 years. Private funder/personnel working in a private funding organisation for social enterprises for 3-5 years within the age group of 25-70 years and government officials working the Department of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Department of Livelihood, Department of Small Medium Scale Enterprises (SMSE's).

You have been chosen because you belong to either one or more than one group described above. Moreover, you are located in the area where I am doing my research. Moreover, you have completed the screening questionnaire and met all the requirements for my semi-

structured interview sampling methods. I think you are in a unique position where you are directly/indirectly linked to social entrepreneurship sector in India. Your support in this research will be valuable and we wish to benefit from your rich experience.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part in this research, I will ensure to book a prior appointment with you or through your assistant/secretary to take part in the interview with me. The interview will last not more than 1 hour. The venue of the interview will be in your office or any space in your organisation during your working hours and on a working day. However, the venue must be quiet space in your organisation. The interview questions will include your demographic background, the description of your job (role in the organisation), motivation to start a social enterprise, fund social enterprise, what kind of social enterprises do you support and why and what is the role social entrepreneurship in India. The interview will be recorded using a recording device only for the purpose of transcription and data analysis. All the information you provide will be anonymous and confidential. The interview will take place once with no follow-ups. However, I might book another time with you in case I need some for supplement information, which were not captured in the initial interview. In such case, I will contact you via phone and get your consent before the re-visit. Post the interview, if you agree, you will participate in a focus group discussion at a later point in time (not later than 1 week from the date of interview). The focus group discussion group will consist of 5-7 members, which will last for two hours. You will be informed about the venue during your interview. The focus group discussion will take place on a Saturday or Sunday in a centrally located place in your city. You are free to take part in the interview and opt out of the focus group discussion without any penalty.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There is no direct benefit to you, other than you can share your experiences and find this process interesting. However, your sharing of experience will be instrumental in helping us understand the construction of social entrepreneurship in India. Your contribution will help future policymakers to boost social entrepreneurship in the country and it will serve as an impetus for grass-roots social enterprises take their venture to the next level.

Are there any risks involved?

There are no risks involved. You are free to inform me at any point of time in case you feel uncomfortable or distressed during the interview. You have the complete right to refuse answering any question or suspend the interview at any point of time; you can also withdraw your interview with no penalty. I will ensure to preserve your right at all times of the interview.

Will my participation be confidential?

Yes, your participation will remain confidential. I will ensure that all the information you provide remain confidential and anonymous. All the information you provide will be securely stored in password protected files in a password-protected computer. My supervisors and I will access this information. Information that can be identifiable with your identity or identity of an organisation or any person you refer to will be made anonymous. For later research output like paper presentation in conferences, dissertation, journals or any other offline or online publications, pseudonyms will be used. This research is under the approval of the Ethics Committee in the University of Southampton, UK, and is in line with UK data protection laws.

What should I do if I want to take part?

I will be contacting you or your organisation staff with information about the research requesting for an appointment with you. If you are interested in participating in this research you can directly inform me or through you assistant/secretary. In case you have heard about this research from your colleague or other sources, you can directly contact me. If you meet the participant criteria, I will confirm your participation in the research via e-mail.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw from the interview at point of time during the interview or during the research process with no penalty.

What will happen to the results of the research?

I will send you the research summary along with the findings of the research through e-mail or phone call based on your preference. Also, the final dissertation of the research will be available in the Hartley Library at the University of Southampton. The research data will be stored for staff and postgraduate research students for minimum 10 years as per University of Southampton policy.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If something goes wrong, you are unhappy with the process or have some concerns, or complaints regarding this research you may contact the following person who is not directly involved with this research.

Head of Research Governance

University of Southampton

rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk)

+44 (0) 23 8059 5058

Where can I get more information?

If you have, any further questions concerning this participant information sheet or about this research, please contact

Ms Kasturi Bose (Researcher)

+44 7407210133; k.bose@soton.ac.uk

Dr. Pathik Pathak (Academic Supervisor)

+44 (023) 8059 2578, p.pathak@soton.ac.uk

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You can also write to us at:

Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology (SSPC)

Faculty of Social and Human Sciences

University of Southampton

Southampton, SO17 1BJ

Thank you for your time.

Appendix – III

CONSENT FORM

Study title:

Researcher name:
ERGO number:

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (*insert date /version no. of participant information sheet*) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw (at any time) for any reason without my rights being affected.	
Add as required	

Name of participant (print name)……

Signature of participant…….

Date…….. ……..

Name of researcher (print name)……

Signature of researcher ……

Date……..

Optional - please only initial the box(es) you wish to agree to:

This should be used for any statements that are not mandatory for the participant to take part in the research.	
Add as required	

Appendix – IV

Profile of institutions of paradigm building actors

Participant Code	Profile of Organisation	Contextual Background
P1 (I/A)	An organisation founded in 1999, which promotes incubation of NGOs in India by enhancing their scale and maximizing their social impact. With more than 100 individuals in their team the aim is to drive collaborative (Non-profit – Philanthropist-Government) initiative to drive social change. The organisation closely work with philanthropist, corporates, foundations to direct revenue in the India social sector. It has also published over 70 research reports.	Since 2000, there has been a growth of impact investing in the country in different sectors namely renewable energy agriculture, food processing etc. These investments are not purely are not purely restricted to social enterprises however, this growing area indicates a growing public and private sector interest which is dragging social enterprises too in the process. Reports show India has attracted 5-2 billion dollars since 2010 (Intellcap Report, 2018). Similar trends are also seen in case of growth of accelerators and incubators.
P2 (I/A)	Founded in 2007, the organisation supports early stage social entrepreneurs across different sectors to grow their venture into high impact organisation. Its incubation program includes coaching mentoring, peer-learning, assist to identify funding sources and accelerating growth of the organisation. It also promotes	

	exchange of knowledge, experience and learnings of social entrepreneurs in the UK and India.	
P3 (I/A)	Founded in 2001, this organisation adopted a 'venture capitalist methodology' of intervention. The organisation brings together knowledge, capital and networks to help entrepreneurs to address the needs of 3 billion marginalised population. The operations of the organisation is spread over the subcontinent, south-east Asia, Africa and United States. The organisations financial ecosystem includes equity funds, a venture debt vehicle, a microfinance and advisory business including investment banking.	
P4 (I)	The organisation was founded in 2006 which is sector agnostic. It has around 450 venture capitalist who invests in 'vertical markets'. It has invested in 17 sectors in 6 countries in 130 companies	
P5 (I)	(To be decided which interview to include)	
PG. 1	This institution is an integral part of the central government of India. It acts as a think-tank of Government of India. It provides critical knowledge, innovation and entrepreneurial	

	support to the country. It is mandated to monitor , co-ordinated and ensure implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals. It also undertook the extensive exercise of measuring India and its State's progress towards the SGDs for 2030.	
PG. 2	Same as above.	
PG. 3	This institution is at the state government level handling entrepreneurship at a state level. The institution manages budget disbursed by central government for entrepreneurship ecosystem development at the state level	Government of India is promoting entrepreneurship through policies, budgetary allocations, special committees, schemes, programs and implicit initiatives. These initiatives are not specifically directed to social entrepreneurship. However, to promote social entrepreneurship the government has simplified certain processes on patent and introduced few subsidies. Such trends in this area are more visible in the actions of the government elected in 2014.

PE 1	The institution was established in 1936. Since, its initial days the motto of the institution has remained dedicated to excellence in higher education that remains sensitive to the social realities through the development and application of knowledge. The institution values have remained to be people-centred, ecological sustainability and promoting and protecting dignity, equality, social justice and human rights for all. It offers higher education in diverse area of social sciences, developmental studies, developmental communication, human resource management, disaster management and social entrepreneurship.	The higher education framework of India consists of colleges and Universities. These institutions offer courses in different disciplines and professional courses. Although there are academically premier institutions in the country, there are a host of institutions which still needs accreditation from legitimate bodies. The Indian educational system (curriculum) has been higher influence by the British education structure. Thus, Indian education is a reflection of the colonial legacy.
PE 2	Founded in 1958 , the institution provides higher education in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics. The primary objective of the institution to develop facilities of studies in a variety of specialized engineering and technological science. The entry to the institution is highly	

	competitive and a similar culture is promoted in the institution and adequate facilities for postgraduate studies and research was kept uppermost in mind in the founding years.	

Appendix – V **Brief profile and contextual background of participants**

Location: Bhopal

Personal Profile	**Brief Background**	**Context**
P1B, 25 years, Female. Was born and brought up in a small village in Madhya Pradesh named 'Kishunganj'. She comes from a *zamindar family* (upper caste, land-owning family). Having completed schooling from International Public School Bhopal and graduation from University of Delhi, she also did a diploma in fashion from an institute in Bhopal. She has spent 7 years in social work and 3 years in design Sector.	She is positive and optimistic about her venture. There is a lot of clarity about the structure and operations of her organisation and her plans for her venture. She could clearly articulate her thought in English. She aligns with certain Gandhian values on developmental agendas at the same time also combines such philosophy with her modern business ideas. She is strong network with other social entrepreneurs and governments officials. Her organization works with women weavers in rural areas creating livelihood opportunities.	Chose to work with a product (fabric) 'Khadi' that has historical and political significance and strong association with Mahatma Gandhi's Swadeshi Movement during the British rule in India. The central government has several schemes to promote this product, which remains symbolic of Gandhi's efforts to promote indigenous manufacturing.
P2B, 44 years, Female. She was born in Bhilai (a small town in one of the most backward but industrial township in	She is very dedicated to the cause and empathetic towards the children with whom she works. She has developed good rapport	She chose to work in the area of education, which is based on her experience during her B. Ed. Training (It is graduate professional

central India). After being married, she and her husband have been residing in Bhopal where her husband started an incubation cell for social enterprises. Her organization is a part of the same incubation cell. She is a mother of two. Her son too is a social entrepreneur in Bhopal.	with the slum communities around and have managed to earn their trust. She has also been supporting her husband running the incubation center. They jointly invested their personal savings to start the incubation centre. Her organization provides remedial education services in public museums to children from marginalised communities.	degree for individuals entering work as teachers in school). She wants to provide better quality education to marginalised children who goes to public schools where the quality of education significantly poor.
P3aB, 21 years, Male and **P3bB, 22 years**, Female P3aB- was born in a small town called Sehore. From the age of two, he suffers from Dyspraxia, which is a developmental disorder. It took his parents nine years to diagnose his disorder. After completing schooling, he enrolled for Bachelor's in Computer Application but dropped out in his second year and subsequently started working on his current venture.	Both Co-founders met online (via facebook) while P3aB drives the technology side of the business; P3aB drives the creative and content side of the business. Both have similar ideologies about the issue of mental health and people with physical challenges; however both have very different personalities. However, both represent the typical spirit of high aspirational millennials. While P3aB comes across as very strong about his	Both the co-founders come from different family backgrounds however both have personal experience of the issues they are currently working on. Though both have not belong from prominent mega cities of India however with the momentum their organisation has gather over time have given them the exposure to national and international funders. This has raise their level of confidence and become

P3bB- Co-founder of two social enterprises. Completed graduation in Mumbai University and started working on her current ventures one of them with P3aB.	political views and opinions, his speech also tends to slur due to his developmental disorder. On the other hand, P3bB is calmer and empathetic while expressing her viewpoints and more open to other perspectives. Their organization have developed an AI to detect developmental disorder among children and works on the issue of mental health in India. Their organisation have received international funding and listed in Forbes 30 under 30.	more aspirational regarding their venture.
P4B, 28 years, Male He is from Gwalior resides in Bhopal with his family. After completing his graduation from Institute of Technology and Management, he started with his current venture in Bhopal.	The idea of his organisation emerged as he was volunteering with his friends during his time of graduation where he and his friends taught children from marginalised community. He started developing a deep sense of satisfaction from this volunteering activity and decided to take it up as a profession. Currently, his organisation work with orphan children in shelter	He comes from a middle class family and his father was completely against him choosing his current occupation as it does not have regular source of income and stability. Over time with his dedication towards his work and few successes in his professional journey has helped him to convince his family.

	homes by providing them education and vocational training to make them more employable.	

Table 2: This section will provide a brief contextual background of participants

Location: New Delhi

Personal Profile	Brief Background	Context
P1D, 75 years , Male Born in Patna in Bihar, India, he comes from an affluent upper caste family. His father was a doctor. He graduated with sociology and earned his masters and PhD degree from Patna University. He has won several national level and high profile awards and has authored several books. He continues to be a well know speaker in conferences related to his field.	He has been associated with the cause for several years and continues to experience the same degree of passion till date. His work has brought him fame and respect but he remains very humble about his achievements. Despite being busy person, he discusses his journey and work at great length. He is clearly driven by strong Ghandhian values, which is also reflected, in his attire (crisp cotton and khadi kurta). He runs his organisation with a personal touch; more like a family. He articulates his thoughts in English with a Bihari accent and his speech is muffle due to age.	He started his developmental work as a part of government initiative. During that time, either government or NGOs, which too were government funded, or private grants drove developmental work, the word 'social enterprise' was never heard off. He worked on an issue, which was long ignored by people and government. He work with section of society who remained highly socially and economically discriminated and marginalised section for centuries in Indian society.

P2D, 44 years, Male He comes from an affluent India family and had access to reputed school and college in India. He always had strong inclination towards news and started his career as a journalist in his early years of career. His personal network from work with high profile senior journalist and his admiration towards her work led them to start their current venture. Apart from his current venture, he is also a co-founder of another for-profit commercial venture.	His current venture is an online news channel, which runs on public subscription model and not on advertisement-funded model. His belief stems from the fact that when the public pays news it serves public interest and not funder's interest. Being a journalist, he is very articulate and proficient in English and supports his statement with facts and arguments. In his interview, he shared some interesting anecdotes in support of his views.	P2D resides in the heart of the national capital and had close experience of national level politics and journalism. His strong inclination towards politics and governance led him to associate himself with a non-profit working on RTI (Right to Information Act). The forerunner of the NGO later joined national politics. Later, P2D dissociated from the non-profit organisation due ideological issues with the forerunner. His impetus to start his current organisation is his deep dissatisfaction with the quality of news produced by Indian journalist and the issues regarding the freedom of press. He continues to be an activist at an individual level.
P3D, 35 years, Female She is born and raised in the national capital, after completing her schooling and graduation; she pursued higher education in London	Her current venture works with women farmers in a remote village in (northern India). Her effort drives to create awareness of the role of women farmers in food	She has lived in the national capital having access to good quality education and opportunity to study abroad. Her exposure and sensitivity has led her start her current

and worked in London for few years as well. She is the first women in her family to have gone abroad for education. She has received support from UNDP and Ministry of Environment for her current venture. She has also received funding from British Council. Recently, she has been selected for world's top fellowship program for social entrepreneurs.	production and introducing effective post-harvest food storage and distribution system.	venture. Furthermore, her network with prominent social entrepreneurs and social enterprise association (national as well as international) has helped her to grow her organisation. Although she does not have anyone in her family with an entrepreneurship background, nonetheless she has received her family approval and support to work on her venture.

Table 3: This section will provide a contextual background of participants

Location: Mumbai

Personal Profile	**Brief Background**	**Context**
P1M, 49 years, Male An Ashoka fellow and winner of several international social entrepreneurship award. He completed his post-graduation in Mass Communication. He was born in Meerut a small town in India, P1M comes from a middle-class family his	Very energetic and hands on person within his organisation. He has deep understanding of rural problems and larger social issues of the country. He has very strong political views but keeps himself away from politics. He speaks with a lot of passion and has great	He started his organisation when the word 'social enterprise' had not become as popular as today in India. During this time, developmental activities were mostly undertaken by NGOs and CSR initiatives. His organisation started with a simple idea and gathered a

father was in the Indian Army.	convincing power. He articulates his thoughts clearly, in a mix of Hindi and English languages. His demeanor is simple yet powerful which makes people of different social background relate to him. He also displays great leadership skills.	lot of good will through word of mouth. Despite the apprehensions that prevails in the nation against NGOs in the nation, his organisation is well known for genuine work for the marginalised, which have helped them gather civil society support
P2M, 37 years, Male – After completing his schooling from Jharkhand (south-east India) he completed Bachelor in Arts in English from University of Delhi thereafter pursued education screenwriting and filmmaking. After working as an assistant in film projects, he started working on his independent short films. Currently, his venture is very different from the work entailed in filmmaking.	His organisation is working with youth (male and female) living in the slums of Mumbai who are severely affected by the real-estate developmental projects in the mega city. His has a good understanding of the community and their challenges. Over the years, he has gained the trust of the community. Moreover, this ideology reflects in his projects, which has a bottom-up approach where the community members are the centre of the plan.	P2M shifted to the US and subsequently made documentary film, which brought him back to India. The film received accolades in the US and later P2M moved back to Mumbai to work with the people on whom the documentary was made. Thereafter, he has continued to work with them, at the same time he retains his filmmaker identity.
P3M, 65 years, Male son of a political activist in Mumbai. He finished his schooling,	His organisation works with children with an aim to provide them with quality	He was deeply unhappy about the quality of education of India; this led

bachelors and master's from Mumbai and thereafter went off to do Ph.D. in Chemistry at a University in the United States. Before returning to India and working on adult literacy, he taught in two Universities in the United States. He was member of several national level educational governing boards in India.	education. He being an educationalist and his network from the education sector helped them to devise their own curriculum. His organisation also conducts research in education and does education policy recommendations. Over the years, his organisation has acquired recognition and legitimacy in the education sector and currently reaches out to a large number of children in different parts of India.	him to write to the then Prime Minister. Consequently, he was asked to contribute to solve the education problem in India. His political and other important networks from education and financial sectors helped him to put his organisation together. His goodwill and years of dedication to this cause has helped his organisation grow and acquire legitimacy.

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