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Methodological Issues in Social Entrepreneurship Knowledge and Practice

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Methodological Issues in Social Entrepreneurship Knowledge and Practice

Satyajit Majumdar and Edakkandi Meethal Reji

1.1 Social Entrepreneurship: A Paradigm in Development

In the last decades, new wave of economic development has become the world order and hence the scholarly attention. The gaps or distortions due to 'this order' were also noticed and reported to become a major provocation for searching newer ways for inclusive growth. At the same time, global issues related to climate change and sustainable development were also added to the academic debate. This was felt necessary due to the severity of poverty, hunger and basic health and sanitation-related issues the world over. This search for newer ways of the development was obvious, wherein 'social entrepreneurship' provided a new hope.

Social entrepreneurship is a new discipline in scholarly research despite fair amount of advancement in practice. Considering the need for a balanced approach with three developmental principles (social, economic and environmental), the development professionals and scholarly community feel motivated to consider it as a new paradigm for human development. Making people capable of participating in the market lead system and building their capacities by facilitating linkages with the market with timely credit and information seem to be the new approach of this paradigm. In this new discourse, the developmental funding is increasingly seen as social investment, whereas social mission and social change are not the only objectives of investment but financial sustainability of such initiatives is also considered to be critical. Thus, social (environmental inclusive) and financial returns on investments are becoming the indicators of sustainable development.

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Social entrepreneurs are the professionals to manage investments of financial and social capital to bring social change through market-driven mechanisms. Despite that, this method is equally pursued by the governments from across the globe as a driver of innovation to solve complex social problems; the social entrepreneurs as individuals experiment and innovate at micro-levels to find out relevant and sustainable solutions to the problems the governments are not able to address efficiently. Now, we agree (a) social entrepreneurship as an alternative to the existing economic order that maximises financial returns on investment while considering the market dynamics and opportunities, (b) social entrepreneurship emphasising on sustainability and (c) social entrepreneurship addressing the needs of scattered society and struggles among various sections and communities. Due to its inherent nature to deal with complexities in reasonably sustained way, social entrepreneurship has been gaining acceptance to be an innovative and game-changing approach for development.

1.2 Scholarly Inquiry

It is natural that social entrepreneurship as a discipline draws valuable attention among academicians and researchers because it provides new knowledge in the possibility to encounter several socio-economic gaps created by the traditional models of economic development in the wider context of market lead growth mechanisms. Significant amount of faith and hope have generated in this field due to the historical evidences in the countries like India with wide geographical spread, diversified culture and varied economic development constraints. Academic programmes in this field emerged from multiple disciplines—social science, management, public policy, health system and technology are to name a few. Though the practice of social entrepreneurship (especially in India) is not new, the field is new as scholarly and research inquiry.

Research aims at 'knowledge' creation. Knowledge creation is about the advancement of the body of knowledge, and we need new knowledge because it always evolves with time. While knowledge can be absolute, it can also be derived from practices. It can be intuitive and experienced depending on the intellect, intelligence and attitude of the researcher, which may be verified later through experiments. But sometime, it can only be experienced by the individuals and hence left to the choices of a certain group of people to accept it as truth.

Knowledge is experimented and established using the some methods. New knowledge creation is not aimed at proving the established knowledge wrong, and hence, we are not in agreement of the logic that new knowledge is about the falsification of the established ones; rather, we submit that attempts in exploration or search for knowledge adds value to human welfare and the planet ecosystem.

The current research in social entrepreneurship is largely at a stage of exploration (of knowledge), mostly creating themes or constructs, and documenting and conceptualising the (existing) practices that add value (Short et al. 2009). Scholars are adding new phenomenon, concepts and variables to explain the concepts. Due to variations

in the context we suspect that established knowledge may not be adequate to move forward. Due to this reason, there have also been efforts by the academic and practice professionals to document case studies and to derive theoretical perspectives.

1.3 Theory in Research

The body of knowledge which has meaning and value is 'theory'. Theory provides lens and perspective to see the future (body of knowledge) almost like looking into the open sky through a window. The body of knowledge is the limitless open sky with enormous possibilities, while theory is the window to define what to see, which direction to see, etc. This is also about the contribution to the body of knowledge in a context.

Theory makes the scholarly research community humble, and we candidly acknowledge—what is already known (in the existing body of knowledge) while remaining vigilant and informed, with objectivity, what is yet not known.

Concepts and constructs are the foundations of a theory. We have referred literature to explain them, in brief. While concepts are abstraction and they progress over a period of time, constructs are specifically chosen or developed concept(s) to explain a phenomenon. Construct can be simple with one concept or a complex combination of several concepts. Hence, one can expect a higher degree of abstraction and explanation power in constructs. Scholarly research expects construct validity by clearly establishing the dependent variable capable of capturing the concept and the operational measures to match the concepts before making any attempt to establish a theory.

The process of construction or contribution to theory is 'theorising'. It is cyclical and consists of both inductive and deductive loops. They do not follow either/or logic; rather, they work in coordination with each other and in simultaneous mode. Hence, any debate on qualitative versus quantitative research is undesirable because any robust theory demands both. We will deal with this aspect in the context of social entrepreneurship research in the later part of this chapter.

Theorisation involves intuition, reflection and personal and unique experiences which sometime is not experienced by the others. Greek mathematician Archimedes' physical law of buoyancy is based on his personal experience of feeling about a buoyant force in the bathtub. We do not need further explanation on the utility of this profound law which transformed the water transportation system and several other disciplines.

There is no reason to argue whether theory follows practice or practice follows theory. We are of the view that the process of theorisation follows several cycles as the theory matures to become universal in nature. Some theories do not stand to the test of time and the context of universal relevance and hence remain local or context-specific, while the others progress ahead. Theorisation certainly involves observation of practice and immersion in the context and phenomenon. Newton's gravitational law was first established based on the observation which we popularly

call inductive reasoning. Scholars draw deeper meaning based on the observations and then validate them in different experimental settings.

As stated, we are not in agreement that theory building is about the falsification (of theories) because this perspective of theory building does not add much value. As stated, theories evolve; hence, finding methods for the advancement (of theories) is the way forward to refine the existing knowledge or propose a new one.

1.4 Research in Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship has been one of the most sought-after academic disciplines among the scholarly researchers. Several approaches on theory building in entrepreneurship have been attempted by the scholars from different interest groups. It has progressed from the discourse of David McClelland's idea of achievement motivation (McClelland 1961), to enterprise creation and opportunity exploitation (Shane and Venkataraman 2000), to entrepreneurship as process (Schumpeter 1934; Weber 1947; Hartman 1959; Bruyat and Julien 2000; Moroz and Hindle 2012). Sarasvathy and Venkataraman (2010) proposed entrepreneurship as method. It also cuts across the disciplines of innovation (Schumpeter 1934; Burgelman and Hitt 2007), growth (Wiklund et al. 2003; Majumdar 2008; Majumdar 2010; Majumdar 2013) and strategic management (Shanley 2007; Foss et al. 2008). Social change (Wiklund et al. 2011) is comparatively new area associated with entrepreneurship with allied concepts like self-employment, livelihood and development alternatives.

Though this chapter is not much about review of research on entrepreneurship, we are somewhat curious to know—how is the scholarly writing progressing in the last few years in this discipline. We did not aim to present a detailed bibliometric study; rather, we wanted to refer to the highlights on research in this discipline in the past two decades or so. We refer research article titled 'What's Hot in Entrepreneurship Research 2018?' authored by Andreas Kuckertz and Alicia Prochotta and published in Hohenheim Entrepreneurship Research Brief (No. 4–February 2018–ISSN 2568-4388). The article presents survey of 225 entrepreneurship researchers who have published during the period 2014 to 2016 in reputed journals—Journal of Business Venturing, Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice, The International Small Business Journal, The Journal of Small Business Management, The Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal, Small Business Economics, Entrepreneurship & Regional Development and the International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal. The authors have reported that the most popular (or relevant) themes of research are entrepreneurial process, social entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial behaviour and psychology in/of entrepreneurship. Several have detailed sub-themes. The popular concepts within entrepreneurial process include growth, human resource management, value and venture creation, business models, and cooperation and networks. The related and emerging concepts are venture performance and development, exit and entrepreneurial failure and entrepreneurial marketing. The other concepts of interest to the scholars are entrepreneurial behaviour (entrepreneurial intention and action), entrepreneurial

decision-making and work-life balance of entrepreneurs. The scholars also found 'social entrepreneurship' as the most discussed and explored area of research in the recent past. They have reported it to be the area which has drawn the most attention ('the hot topic') among scholarly community as well as the practitioners. The focal areas are general description of social entrepreneurship, determinants of social entrepreneurship and scaling of social enterprises. In parallel are the concepts related to psychology in/of entrepreneurship especially cognition, emotions and the entrepreneurial team process (Hadad 2017).

In the study above, the scholars see potential in both qualitative and quantitative methods. They, with the support from empirical data, emphasised the need for 'configurational' approaches (as against single case study) such as qualitative comparative analysis (QCA). They argued this to be 'new or neglected method with the potential to produce new insights'. They reported qualitative methods as paradigm with examples like case study analysis or ethnography while the quantitative method like multilevel modelling as basic research method. On the importance of research methods, they submitted that research methods can generate radically new insights which also apply to ethnographical approaches.

1.5 Research in Social Entrepreneurship: Some Highlights

Scholars are almost in agreement that social entrepreneurship is a new and multidisciplinary field of academic inquiry (Short et al. 2009). Scholars are using the theoretical frames of other disciplines to advance the knowledge and to explain social entrepreneurship. Often, we encounter a debate on whether we really need specific theory/ies in social entrepreneurship. At this point of time, we cannot answer this, whether it would emerge as independent discipline with or without independent theories. Neither do we intend to answer this question because the scholarly research in social entrepreneurship is yet to achieve that level of maturity.

The interest among the scholarly community to pursue research on various aspects of social entrepreneurship has drawn attention of many. The number of research articles published up to February 2014—Journal of Business Venturing (83), Entrepreneurship and Regional Development (80), Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice (57), Journal of Business Ethics (56), International Small Business Journal (53), Small Business Economics (53), Research Policy (33), International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal (31), Organisation Studies (28) and Organisation Science (21)—has increased from 54 in 2003 to 381 in 2014 (Rey-Martí et al. 2016). We have also found a number of bibliometric[1] analyses on various aspects of social entrepreneurship research and practice.[2] We have not attempted to

[1] Bibliometrics deals with the creation and usage of (quantitative) measures and indicators for science and technology-based bibliographic information (Van Leeuwen 2004).

[2] We have included and appropriately referred them in this chapter.

scan through the field of practice as such, our attempt was to find the conceptual as well as empirical scholarly and published research papers.

The predominant area of scholarly research has been to establish a common ground and define social entrepreneurship wherein we do not find universal definition(s). One of us (Satyajit Majumdar with doctoral student Nia Choi) submitted an argument in the Journal of Business Venturing (Elsevier) titled 'Social entrepreneurship as an essentially contested concept: Opening a new avenue for systematic future research' (Volume 29, Issue 3, May 2014, Pages 363–376) that social entrepreneurship is a cluster concept and no single definition would work for the future research. We are of the view that social entrepreneurship has to cross over multiple disciplines. It has to deal with the complexities of the constructs and the related concepts which may call for fresh review on the research methodology. Here, we do not propose any new research methodology per se, but we are keen to know about the appropriate research methodologies with the potential to develop the theory/theories of social entrepreneurship. Sassmannshausen and Volkmann (2013) also explained that definitions, constructs and framework dominated the research in social entrepreneurship, followed by processes, social value, social impact and other performance measures. They reported sharp rise in social entrepreneurship research publication in several journals from the year 2000. During this time, the scholars were also writing articles to develop themes, constructs and concepts by reviewing literature from the other disciplinary areas (Sassmannshausen and Volkmann 2013).

But during the years before the scholarly communities started writing on the themes of social entrepreneurship, other literature (beyond journal papers) have already gained substantial attention and became valuable source of knowledge. Consequently, during the initial years among the top ten cited documents[3], only three were journal papers, whereas others were books, mostly based on specific cases explaining the emergence of new patterns in the area of entrepreneurship and social change. It is evident that documentation (books to be specific) based on the unique entrepreneurial stories was the basis of establishing the discipline of social entrepreneurship in the academic field. Also, several organisations were also set up to promote activities of social entrepreneurship or social enterprise creation. The early authors were from different areas of expertise and hence submitted varied explanations on social entrepreneur, social enterprise and social entrepreneurship.

[3]The ten most cited authors in order of highest citations have been Dees (The meaning of social entrepreneurship, 1998), Bornstein (How to change the world: Social entrepreneurs and the power of new ideas, 2007), Borzaga (The emergence of social enterprise, 2004), Deakins and Freel (Entrepreneurship and small firms, 1996), Leadbeater (The rise of the social entrepreneur, 1997), Mair and Martí (Social entrepreneurship research: A source of explanation, prediction, and delight, 2006), Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern (Social and commercial entrepreneurship: same, different, or both? 2006), Yunus (Creating a world without poverty: Social business and the future of capitalism, 2009), Peredo and McLean (Social entrepreneurship: A critical review of the concept, 2006) and Eikenberry (The marketization of the nonprofit sector: civil society at risk? 2004) (Source Sassmannshausen and Volkmann 2013). This is an indicative list based on one bibliometric study and does not depict popularity of any particular author as compared to the others.

1.6 Research Methodology in Social Entrepreneurship Research

As referred earlier, there has been a continuous debate on the merits and demerits of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. We do not find academic value in such debate, also because it is generally not an a priori choice scholars make before initiating the research. Rather, the choice of the research methodology depends on the nature of the research question(s) and the research agenda. Seemingly mutually exclusive, the qualitative and quantitative methodologies complement each other. While we need data to test or verify theory (quantitative), we also need to develop concepts and constructs (qualitative) from observation of real-life cases. They together establish and explain the phenomenon and the interrelationships of variables to draw deeper meaning. In both the cases, we deal with data but the approach, process and method of data collection and analysis are different. As such, data do not speak for themselves; the researchers draw meaning from them and explain the phenomenon, derive insights and hence advance the theory/theories, thereof. The data are viewed differently in qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. However to deal with the complexity and the evolving nature of social entrepreneurship as research domain, research methodology needs to be flexible and adaptable; the context is also critical, and action research can be one such method which would help the scholars to develop better insight to unfold the concepts (Tasker et al. 2010).

Social entrepreneurship being a new discipline which has drawn substantial attention among the scholars from across the world is in the process of bringing new concepts wherein the scholars are also drawing inspiration from different disciplines and referring various theories to propose new explanations and hence building up the constructs (Short et al. 2009). Hence at this stage while we expect more number of qualitative research methodology-based studies (Hadad 2017), we are also keen to know if and whether newer methodologies have been attempted.

In the one hand, the interest in research in the areas of social entrepreneurship has been the reason for several research seminars, conferences and discourses by the experts; we also notice a 'cry' for large data-based studies so as to draw universal patterns to seek possible generalisation. We know that at this point of time, quantitative research on social entrepreneurship is limited to measuring social impact or assessing social venture financing (Sassmannshausen and Volkmann 2013). We are also sensitive to the fact that before claiming any generalisation based on large data, we need enough evidence or case-based studies to define the broad agenda (Short et al. 2009). This volume has taken a position to act as a 'bridge' to provide such needed research direction. The papers on social enterprises and their patterns and the case studies are good sources to form the basis for the desired large data-based studies of the future. This volume has attempted to provide new themes such as finding opportunity for social enterprise in problem including livelihood and indigenous entrepreneurship. Specific studies on micro- and green finance, community and cluster approach and the process of social enterprise creation provide valuable insights

to pursue the future research. Technology adoption for social value creation is yet another area this volume has aptly dealt with.

1.7 About This Volume

In this volume, the research methodological discussion is presented in the form of parts and chapters and we leave the scholarly community to reflect and engage in further investigation. Exclusive discourse on 'research methodology' is a deliberate exclusion in this volume because we want our readers to take their own critical position and reflect themselves on the suitability of the specific research methodology and create their own understanding. Such scholarly freedom is essential for the advancement of social entrepreneurship in knowledge and practice. Probably, ours is the only chapter with exclusive focus on research methodology with a purpose to orient our readers and to ask them to remain sensitive on research methodology in social entrepreneurship research and practice.

We present in this volume 13 chapters in three broad thematic areas—Research Dimensions in Social Entrepreneurship, Research on Social Entrepreneur and Social Enterprises, and Perspectives from Practice Methodologies.

There are five chapters in Part I dealing with various research dimensions. In Chap. 2, Satyajit Majumdar and Usha Ganesh explained with the help of research papers the merits and contribution of case study-based research methodology. They argued about the need for case-based research to develop concepts on social entrepreneurship. Prince C. P. wrote in Chap. 3 about the methodological challenges in applying grounded theory. He submitted that with careful planning and commitment, the researchers can reduce the limitations of this research methodology and to make it a powerful approach in social science studies in general and social entrepreneurship and innovation studies in particular. Chapter 4 is about the use of semiotics in studying the impact of cultural diversity in knowledge sharing in multicultural team. Sumita Mishra and Rajen K. Gupta explained that semiotics was originally developed as an interpretive tool for analysing linguistic symbols and later applied in organisational studies, structural anthropology and sociology. Their study validated the use of semiotics as a method for analysing the data for providing an emic insight on the impact of cultural diversity in knowledge sharing. Sushanta Kumar Sarma in Chap. 5 wrote about the process approach to study failed social enterprises. He is of the view that failures are seldom celebrated and hence very little is known about failures. As a result, scholarly research in this area also becomes challenging. He argues that failures can provide important insights about success. This chapter looks into epistemological standpoints of using process and variance model in studying failures in social enterprises. Distancing from the current thinking on failures as outcome, Sushanta argued for treating failures as organisational change. In Chap. 6, Sruti Kanungo and Anintida Chakraborti presented insights on intra-generational occupational mobility of goldsmiths in Odisha and West Bengal, India. They used multi-sited ethnography to unravel how the changing market and

regulations brought transformation in the traditional occupation and influenced the mobility of the artisans.

Part II focuses on Research on Social Entrepreneur and Social Enterprises spread in four chapters. Balram Bhushan in Chap. 7 examined the motivational aspect of social entrepreneurs. This chapter uses the stimulus–organism–response model for understanding the motivational model of social entrepreneurs. He explained three types of social entrepreneurs and their engagement process for social value creation. In Chap. 8, Preeti Tiwari, Anil K. Bhat and Jyoti presented social entrepreneurial intention among students from technical education. They used Shapero's environment event model (SEE), one of the earliest models in studying entrepreneurial intention to explain that emotional intelligence, empathy and perceived social pressure shape social entrepreneurial intention among students. N. Barnabas, Ravikumar M. V. and Ramesh Narasimhan illustrated how and why social entrepreneur alliance could harness shared value creation. In Chap. 9, they with the help of a case study on social entrepreneurship alliance presented propositions for further scholarly investigation. In Chap. 10, Neeti Singh used the capability approach for analysing the quality of life of the beneficiaries of two social enterprises—Industree Crafts Foundation and Maya Organic, both located in Bengaluru, India. She draws inspiration from the seminal works of Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen to demonstrate how social entrepreneurship links well-being and life experience of the beneficiaries.

Part III of this volume deals with practice methodologies and the related perspectives. It contains three chapters. In Chap. 11, Archana Singh and Satyajit Majumdar used Phenomenology for examining how country-level contextual factors shape entrepreneurship. The settings of their study are South Asian and Central Asian countries. This study opens up agenda in the form of propositions for the future research in the area of 'context in entrepreneurship' which can also help in theorising nation as a context. Edakkandi Meethal Reji and Samapti Guha in Chap. 12 explained the role of social innovations in technology and extension services for the small and marginal farmers in India. Drawing insights from three cases, their study concluded that small and marginal farming can be profitable and productive if the farmers are provided with access to quality extension services and market linkage. Grass-roots innovations are also critical for these cost-effective services. The final chapter of this Volume is authored by Kishore Bhirdikar and Samapti Guha. They in Chap. 13 submitted a critique of empowerment process using ethnography-based research. They studied an organisation located in Durgapur, West Bengal (India) named SHREOSHI which engages in the empowerment of tribal women. The study is about the insights of the authors on social value creation through collectivisation.

1.8 The Way Forward in Social Entrepreneurship Research

We have remained conscious that this volume does not merely present the methodology as a stand-alone subject. Rather, the focus is on demonstrating that different methodologies can be used to derive new and deeper meanings for advancement of

theories (Short et al. 2009). Research methodology as a field has its own importance; however, we are of the view that the results of the methodologies in social entrepreneurship research are the key of good research.

Though the themes on social entrepreneurship research are particularly influenced by the authors' perceptions and preferences, using empirical examinations and the body of literature can lead towards more systematic approaches on reviewing the status of research (see Tranfield et al. 2003). We find that the bibliometric analyses presented by Sassmannshausen and Volkmann (2013) highlight the predominance of single case study, narrative and/or exemplary cases as good practice in the forms of empirical research to explain the theoretical concepts of social entrepreneurship. Now, we need comparative or contrastive cases with theoretical sampling for theory building and advancement (Eisenhardt 1989; Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007). The usage of narratives would also improve the field (Sassmannshausen and Volkmann 2013). Also, 'Developing quantitative measurement instruments in social entrepreneurship is one of the most current research challenges' (Short et al. 2009 in Sassmannshausen and Volkmann 2013). Setting agenda for quantitative research can also be an independent area for the future research.

In this volume, we emphasise on the need to set clear direction(s) on the research methodology at the intersection of disciplines and also with the broad framework of sustainable development because social entrepreneurship is also fast emerging as an effective way to sustainable development (Hadad 2017). We hope that social entrepreneurship would then demonstrate the potential to become an independent body of knowledge and hence a research area.

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Part I
Research Dimensions in Social Entrepreneurship

Chapter 2
Qualitative Research in Social Entrepreneurship: A Critique

Satyajit Majumdar and Usha Ganesh

Abstract Social entrepreneurship is multi-disciplinary area of scholarly enquiry. Being a new area of research, this is yet to emerge fully. Scholars have been studying cases in search of concepts to explain social entrepreneurship. Attempts have also been made to theorise the phenomenon and to develop theories thereof. Hence, it is obvious that research on social entrepreneurship in the last decades has been mostly qualitative and case study based and the scholars have been mostly focusing on developing concepts to explain functions and processes while reporting the impact. Case studies have also been used to explain similarities and differences between social and commercial entrepreneurship. Qualitative research provides strength to unfold the concepts and allows enormous possibilities to open up new dimensions. In this chapter, critique on case study method of qualitative research provided us the way to present different phenomenon to theorise which eventually would provide sound basis to construct theory on social entrepreneurship.

Keywords Case study · Case study method · Social entrepreneurship · Themes in social entrepreneurship research · Theory building

2.1 Social Enterprises and Scholarly Inquiry

Since the 1990s, social enterprises aiming to address access and affordability challenges faced by underserved communities and underserved markets have captured the attention of academic and practitioner research across the fields of entrepreneurship and other disciplines. Rooted in the twin bases of philanthropy and market economics, researchers across the world are attempting to develop typologies and the related discourses around the concepts of social enterprises and social

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entrepreneurship (Peattie and Morley 2008). They are raising research questions to know whether social entrepreneurship is an independent discipline or it is housed within the larger domain of entrepreneurship or social science.

Studies that examined emergence of social enterprises across regions found that their roots and key drivers are set in the specific context of a 'sector'. In order to understand and theorize them, there is a need for research that is based on qualitative and immersive assessment for developing the relevant construct(s). As the discipline of social entrepreneurship is nascent, there is a need to study the evidences to know how social enterprises evolve, what they do and how they operate. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the themes and the related variables of them with the help of deeper understanding of qualitative research especially the case study research. This, in our view, is also the first step in theory building.

This chapter is a critique on research in social entrepreneurship which is predominantly based on qualitative research with case study. This is based on our reflections on the concepts of social entrepreneurship drawn from the scholarly literature on case study-based research (Steyaert and Dey 2010). We present our critique on two major areas (of the subject we have chosen)—case study as a research method and case study research on social entrepreneurship. We have selected seminal work of scholars to explain their work on case study as a research approach, whereas subsequently our critique was to know what has been reported by the scholars of case study research methodology in social entrepreneurship research. Since social enterprise and social entrepreneurship is the canvas of our study, we have presented first the broad explanation of these disciplines and the brief history of their development in literature and practice. In our journey, we have been deeply engaged in search for unique and established concepts, and their meaning(s) in the specific contexts. We have paid adequate attention to the specific words used by the scholars to explain the concepts, to develop our meanings because words are used interchangeably or differently in cultural settings. This was important to extract the near close explanations and hence the 'themes'. To set the context of our work, we have taken broad view on historical development of social entrepreneurship as a practice area which has significant influence on general understanding of this phenomenon in different parts of the globe.

In her paper titled 'Main research areas and methods in social entrepreneurship', Hadad (2017) presented the status of research in social entrepreneurship with bibliometric analysis and reported that defining social entrepreneurship has been the core focus of research up to 2015 using qualitative research (96.9%) and case study method in specific (90.3%, wherein 87.1% papers used 2–5 cases) to present new concepts on definitions, characteristics of social entrepreneur and social enterprise, similarities and comparison between social and commercial entrepreneurship, functions, processes and impact of social enterprises and the predictors. Ours is an attempt to establish a theoretical base for further research in the area of social entrepreneurship in general and social enterprise in specific with focus on the concepts developed through case study method. We have taken a view that social entrepreneurship is the process of social enterprise creation and management where social enterprises are the formal organisational entities initiated by an individual or group of social

entrepreneur(s). This being a relatively new discipline for scholarly pursuit in which clear theories are yet to emerge, we have taken references from various related themes to develop a tentative frame of reference to study the different case-based research. Our study aimed to establish concepts as research themes which can form the basis for future research. In the initial part of this chapter, we draw patterns to explain social enterprises as they appear and work in different parts of the world while in the later part we developed typologies based on the cases, to establish the theoretical bases thereof. We have drawn insights from research papers that have adopted the case study methodology. The selection of papers is not exhaustive or random. Instead, we have developed a purposive sample of papers to explore the range of findings and approaches as well as geographic representation.

2.2 Social Enterprises in the Developed World

In Europe, the social enterprise movement has been closely linked to the cooperative movement. This has grown from a context of non-profit movement for creating employment for all, which is rooted in welfare economics. Governments have taken enabling roles and developed policies and laws to support social enterprises. We notice proliferation of social enterprises since then (Defourny and Nyssens 2014). In July 2018, the European Parliament passed a resolution suggesting creation of an EU-wide legal status for social enterprises. While in UK, the law prescribes adherence to social objective and reinvestment of profits, and places restrictions on redistribution of profits amongst investors. This was necessary for defining social enterprises that have been adopting a range of legal forms including cooperatives and non-profits.

In the 1990s, the issue of livelihood has gained focus in Europe and 'work integration social enterprises' (WISEs) emerged. In response, social enterprises sought to help unemployed people, particularly those who find it difficult to be in the workforce group, while providing them some productive work. Eventually integrating the marginalised group into the labour market has become one of the major driving forces for social entrepreneurial activities in the region.

During the same period, social enterprises also garnered attention in USA. The country had emerged from cutbacks in federal funding and welfare retrenchment of the 1970s and 1980s wherein the non-profits were feeling pain in funding support to work forward (Kerlin 2006; Salamon and Anheier 1999). In response, they (non-profits) began exploring ways in which they could augment their funding through provision of goods and services related to their mission, for a price. In parallel, a number of support organizations, consulting firms as well as networks (such as Ashoka Changemakers) emerged to provide institutional and structured support to social enterprises. To provide trained talent to the social enterprise sector and respond to demand from students, several universities have also started offering social enterprise-focused programmes and courses. Private foundations provided strong funding support to these initiatives and, hence, have driven and shaped much of the discourse on social enterprise in USA.

2.3 Social Enterprises in India

India has a long history in social entrepreneurship inspired by the Gandhian philosophy seeking to pursue economic self-sufficiency and dignified life. The early models were based on philanthropic ideals and selfless service to the community. Around the mid-1970s, social entrepreneurs like Dr. V. Kurien (who spearheaded the Amul movement for building India's milk self-sufficiency) and Mrs. Elaben Bhatt (who set up Self Employed Women's Association—SEWA) built viable micro-entrepreneur led models that inspired others to replicate.

The 1990s saw a number of developments that triggered entrepreneurship in India. Early in this period, the balance of payments crisis and the subsequent economic reforms beginning in 1991 freed up private enterprises to grow. Recognizing the potential of small businesses, the government established supporting institutions such as the Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI). Other developments include the IT revolution in the late 1990s and several initiatives by government and private organisations such as the National Innovation Foundation (NIF) and Grassroots Innovation Augmentation Network (GIAN). More recently, the government also established ministries, departments and programmes to facilitate support in terms of technology and financing for micro and small enterprises. Social enterprises are also considered to be an important vehicle for employment generation.[1]

Estimates from two independent studies of 2016 conducted by Ennovent for the British Council and the Aspen Network for Development Entrepreneurs, respectively, report a population of around 2 million social enterprises working in different parts of the country.[2] These and other research by practitioners and consulting firms have found that a number of social entrepreneurs emerged from within the local communities, having themselves experienced 'gaps' to develop sustainable, affordable and accessible solutions as social enterprises.[3] Increasing number of young Indians are turning into social entrepreneurs to pursue a 'social mission' and to address the challenge faced by communities (Fig. 2.1).

[1]Though the number of people living in extreme poverty (UN's Sustainable Development Agenda defines that people with income below $1.9 as extreme poor) among India's over 1.3 billion population has declined dramatically, they continue to face income inequalities and encounter issues in accessing the basic services. Nearly 70% of India's population lives in rural areas with limited access to basic sanitation, healthcare and electricity. Statistics relating to access to education and livelihoods are also not very encouraging. While 65% of India's population is of working age, only 5.5 million new jobs are created annually against the requirement of 12+ million jobs.

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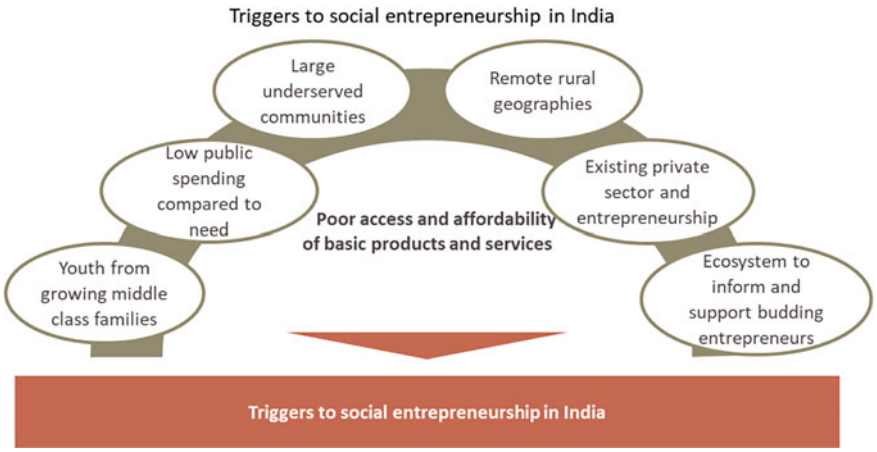

Fig. 2.1 Triggers to social entrepreneurship in India. *Source* Analysis and representation by authors

2.4 Activities Undertaken by the Social Enterprises

Since early 2000s, researchers (Nicholls 2006; Mair and Marti 2006; Kerlin 2006; Steyaert and Hjorth 2006) have attempted to describe social enterprises of specific regions. Defourny and Nyssens (2017) in their paper continued to emphasise on context specificity of the social enterprises considering different countries and the respective historical contexts.

In the developed as well as the developing countries, social enterprises have come into existence as non-profit entities and cooperatives of various structures. European social entrepreneurship was triggered by changes in public funding (both in form and volume). In a bid to augment funding, they looked at means to improve their earned incomes. Public policy has been dominant to disseminating the concept of social enterprise. In contrast, in USA, the discourse was shaped by the foundations that funded the social enterprise movement; they focused on identifying social entrepreneurs (changemakers) while helping them develop strategies to improve the earned income of their enterprises. Market is seen as a means for disseminating social enterprise models.

The European concept of social enterprise focused more on achieving their mission wherein the non-profits develop commercial components in their support model, while the US approach has been more into mission-driven business models as proposed by Bill Drayton (Founder of Ashoka) as well as Dees and Anderson (2006). This entrepreneur-focused concept focused on innovations in terms of new products and/or services, new methods of production or service delivery, new resources, new markets and consumers and new forms of organisations. It moved to discussing social impact, social outcomes and not so much the incomes.

In India, we see a blend of these two models, possibly because of strong UK and USA influences drawing from its colonial past and the current investment

environment. India is also a hub of grassroots entrepreneurship which is unique about the region as it seeks to eradicate poverty through sustainable models. Social enterprise in India also associates with the presence of multiple stakeholders and the inherent tensions that emerge from their collaborations (Hoffman et al. 2012; Smith et al. 2013).

While there is limited discussion of scale in the European concept as it primarily happens through public policy, this has been a concern in USA and India. This is viewed from the perspectives of growth of a single enterprise or by replication of a model to create a ripple effect of impact to draw higher funding and to attract better talents. Strong reliance on the private sector and market mechanism was also the core to this approach. With this background, we find Sengupta and Sahay (2018) and Tiwari et al. (2017) proposed framework of social enterprises in India useful to move forward our research (Fig. 2.2).

With the emergence of social enterprise as strong possibility to address the gaps in the socio-economic systems, academicians within public and private domains noticed a new discourse. They considered engaging in research to not only prepare case studies, but also to develop fresh concepts and theories. In the last 15 years or so, social entrepreneurship has strongly emerged as one of the most sought after academic disciplines for scholarly pursuit.

Being a new discipline, theories and frameworks from various other fields were pulled out for construction of this area. Due to inherent nature of multi-disciplinarity, social entrepreneurship does not have one common definition and is considered as a cluster concept (Choi and Majumdar 2013). Despite disagreements, scholars are making efforts to develop theories on social entrepreneurship.

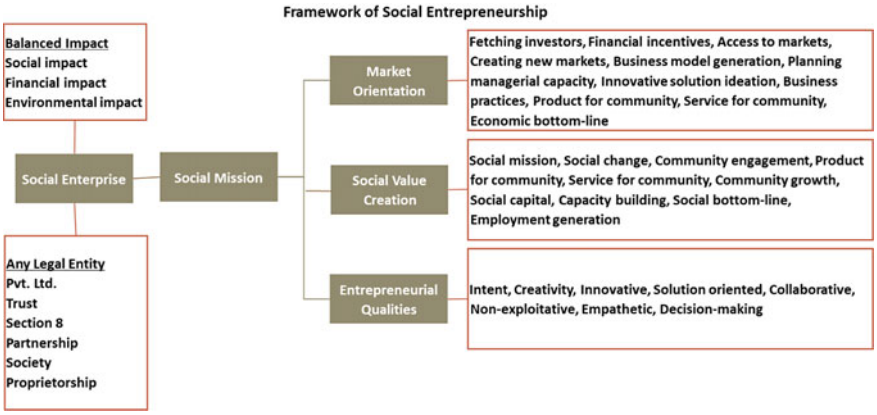

Fig. 2.2 Framework of social entrepreneurship. *Source* Sengupta and Sahay 2018

2.5 Theory Building and the Emergence of a Discipline

Theory building in emerging fields such as social entrepreneurship essentially deals with what is the phenomenon, how do they work and what do practitioners do (Dubin 1976; Lynham 2009; Shepherd and Suddaby 2016). Considering the variety of organizations and the associated variables, researchers advocate use of multiple case studies and inductive approaches to move towards generalisation and theory development described as 'coherent description, explanation and representation' of how different phenomena occur (Gioia and Pitre 1990). Lynham (2002) defines theory building as 'the purposeful process or recurring cycle by which coherent descriptions, explanations and representations of observed or experienced phenomena are generated, verified and refined'. She adds that good theory building should result in two kinds of knowledge: outcome knowledge, usually in the form of explanative and predictive knowledge, and process knowledge, for example, in the form of increased understanding of how something works and what it means. Hence, good theory is about relevance (Lynham (2002) and rigor (Marsick 1990), and validity and utility (Van de Ven 1989).

Theory in applied sciences, therefore, is built iteratively and cumulatively. On this, Carlile and Christensen (2004) explained theory as a 'body of understanding that researchers build cumulatively' with some steps and phases of theory building. They outlined a process of theory building that related to data, methods and theory. They proposed a three-step, two-stage process that researchers adopt to build theory (both as individual and community of researchers' levels). According to them, theory building occurs at the descriptive and the normative stages. Within each of these stages, it moves through three steps, namely observation, categorisation and association, iteratively and repetitively. The framework assigns an important role to 'anomalies' that can emerge and addressed for validity. We find other scholarly explanations to it in similar lines. Reynolds (1971) stated that theory building is approached by two prevalent strategies: research-to-theory and theory-to-research. Lynham (2000) refers to it in applied sciences as an 'ongoing process of gathering evidence and refining and adapting existing theory'.

Christensen's approach has 'observation of phenomena' as the first step. On the other hand, in the 'research-to-theory' strategy, Reynolds (1971) suggested the following steps: selection of the phenomenon, listing of characteristics in various situations, analysing the data and determining if there are any patterns. If there are patterns, to formalize them in terms of theoretical statements or axioms as called by Bacon. This Baconian approach works under two conditions—that there are few characteristics to study and few significant patterns to be found in the data.

The 'theory-then-research' strategy (Reynolds 1971) refers to the theory more explicit through repeated interaction between theory and research. Here, steps include development of explicit theory first. The researcher selects a statement generated by the theory to map against empirical evidence and designs a research to test the statement. If the theoretical statement matches with evidence, she selects further statements for verification and finding limitations of the theory. If the statement

does not match evidence, the researcher would correct the theory accordingly and continue with research. Lynham (2000) refers this as 'interactive, inductive–deductive' approach which is more suited to behavioural and applied sciences.

These approaches to theory building, strongly intertwined with practice and evidence, also lend themselves to supporting frameworks for examining the quality of theoretical contribution. Corley and Gioia (2011) have proposed a 2 × 2 matrix to examine a theoretical contribution along the two axes of originality and utility. They emphasized practice-oriented utility and an orientation towards prescience that can impact the organizations and societies that are being studied. They also submitted that much of organizational research relies heavily on anecdotal evidence as there is little 'scientifically codified' knowledge on the subject (Fig. 2.3).

Gioia and Pitre (1990) suggested the need to take multi-perspective view 'organization study can arrive at complementarity despite disparity'. Most organizational research especially the research on social entrepreneurship deals with gathering process knowledge (Dubin 1976) that improves our understanding of how social entrepreneurs behave and how they develop their businesses, etc. Researchers contributing to building this body of research have predominantly adopted the case study methodology for gathering evidence, deeper insights and the knowledge. In our attempt in the chapter, we have engaged ourselves to search and find explanations of the concepts and themes, variable affecting them and also the resulting theoretical underpinning created.

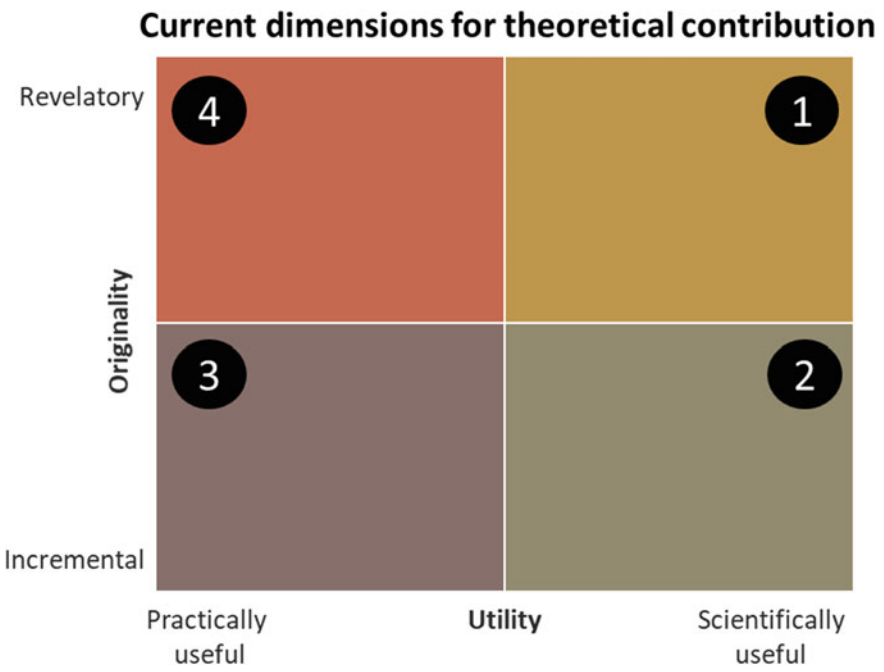

Fig. 2.3 Current dimensions of theoretical contribution. *Source* Corley and Gioia 2011

2.6 Case Study as a Qualitative Method for Theory Building

The earliest use of the case study methodology was seen (in 1900s) in the fields of anthropology, psychology and medicine, focused on individual cases and narratives of their experiences and condition, leading on to comparison and generalization. After the First World War, there was a wave of positivist and quantitative methods drawing from approaches adopted by research in pure sciences. The case study method, along with other qualitative methods, was widely criticised. In the years that followed, there was a clear divide between the scientific, quantitative and statistical analysis, and the casework and accounts of experiences and journeys (Johansson 2003).

During the positivist phase, case studies tended to be focused on stories, narratives and accounts related to individual cases. The second generation of case studies (after the 1960s) focused on discussing methods more explicitly. They particularly discussed and clarified areas that were earlier criticised (Johansson 2003). Researchers recognised that qualitative and quantitative approaches are not mutually exclusive; and instead, they can both be pursued with rigour and can both be applied, where suited, to strengthen the same study (Patton 2002).

Some of the key literature and theory on case study methodology has been written by Robert Yin (1984–2005), Robert Stake (1995, 2005) and Sharan Merriam (1998). We are referring them to build narrative on case study as research methodology. We explain the variations in their descriptions and aim to develop a perspective on this methodology as our process of critiquing. Our aim is to reflect and explain case study on social enterprises as a methodology in search of concepts on social entrepreneurship. Towards this, we draw out certain aspects of their work which are relevant for research on social enterprises and social entrepreneurship. The seminal works referred above provide direction to researchers as well as future case study theorists on the characteristics or definition of a case, how a case study should be designed and conducted, and how data should be gathered and analysed (Yazan 2015). We are presenting a summary as below. In the later part of this chapter, we will explain the case study methodology with special reference to social enterprises (Fig. 2.4).

2.6.1 What Is a Case?

While there is no single definition of a case, Yin (2002), Stake (1995) and Merriam (1998) have described some specific characteristics for it. Yin defines the case 'a contemporary phenomenon—a thing, programme, institution, person or a community'. The study of a case, according to him, answers the how and why of an issue. His definition focuses on the process of developing credible and validated case studies that conform to their structure and theoretical propositions.

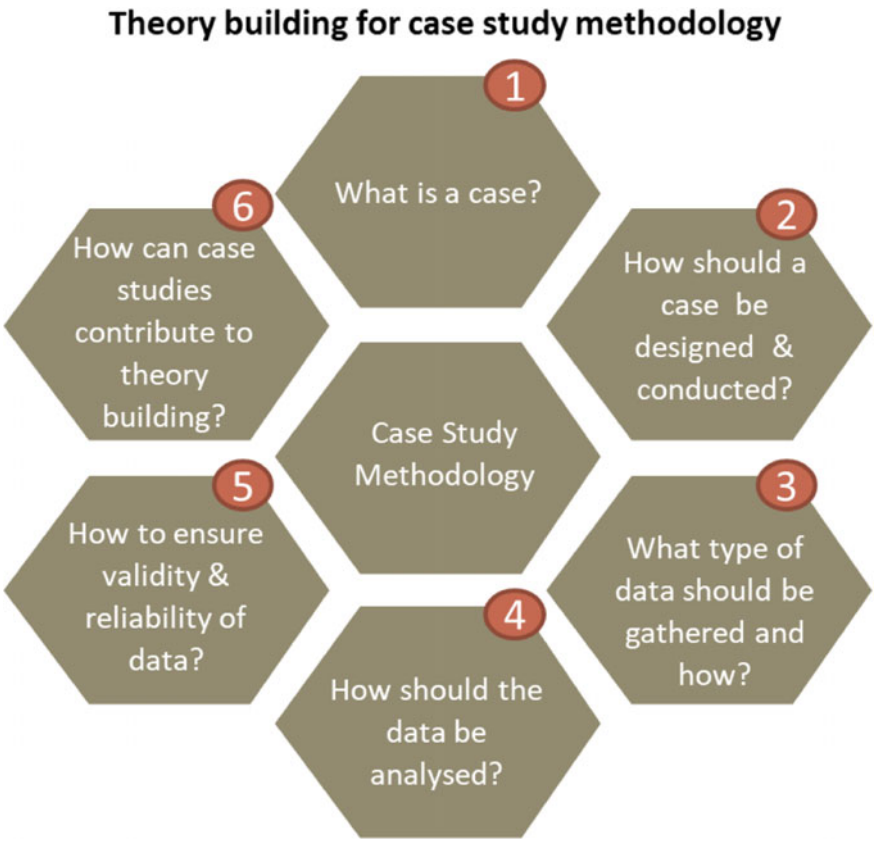

Fig. 2.4 Theory building for case study methodology. *Source* Analysis and representation by authors

Interestingly, all three methodologists highlight the fact that case studies are 'holistic'; that is, they encompass the phenomenon and its context. A case study in applied sciences, therefore, is seldom isolated from the context in which the phenomenon and issue exist. And because they include context or the environment, it becomes necessary for the researcher to scope the study and mark out what it will include and what would be excluded. The authors refer to cases as bounded systems, with boundaries and working parts. Merriam (1998) refers to it as a specific thing which the researcher can 'scope or fence in, and define boundaries'. After describing the relationship of the case with its context, Stake (1995) and Merriam (1998) also described the relationship of the case with the researcher. According to them, it is possible that different researchers would interact differently with the same subject. By explicitly referring to the interaction between the case/subject and the case researcher, they suggest that case study is an interpretive and constructivist methodology, where the researcher learns the subject through interaction and experience.

2.6.2 How Should the Case Be Designed and Conducted?

Yin (2002) reported that there is no book of design for case studies, which perhaps is also the reason why it is criticised as a methodology. He proposes four designs in a 2 × 2 grid framework. Case studies can be single and multiple, and they can be holistic and embedded. Stake (2003) differentiates between intrinsic case studies where the case is the most important and instrumental case studies where the issue is predominant.

Yin (2002) and Stake (1995) differ considerably in their approach to designing case studies in terms of structure and flexibility. Both, however, suggest that the researcher must develop some guiding statements. Yin proposes more structured approach to case study design, emphasizing the need to study existing theory and list 'theoretical propositions' to guide the data collection and analysis. In contrast, Stake (1995) suggests greater flexibility in design, and greater focus on the issues and issue questions as the conceptual constructs. These, he says, will force the researcher to study the 'complexity and contextuality' of the case. He recommends building out a long list of issue questions and narrows it down to a few.

Yin (2002) and Stake (1995) also differ in their approach to assessing the quality and the path of case study. Suggesting that quality of the case study design will determine outcomes, Yin suggests measuring the quality of the design against four criteria—"construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability". While minor changes can be made by the researcher. For major changes, he recommends revisiting the design from the conceptualization stage. Stake, on the other hand, argued that the course of the study cannot be charted in advance rather it unfolds progressively and is redefined along the way.

Merriam's approach to research design combines elements from both research approaches above. While she advocates flexibility, she also suggests purposive selection, which indicates some pre-research to identify the cases to be studied. In her book 'Qualitative research and case study applications in education' (1998), she also provides detailed instructions for each stage from selection to data gathering and analysis.

2.6.3 What Type of Data Is to Be Gathered and How?

As discussed, case study methodology emerged at the time where there was a preference for positivist, quantitative data analysis, proponents of the methodology also differed in the type of data that was to be collected for case study research. Yin (2002) advocated collection of both qualitative and quantitative data as both are instrumental in explaining the case. He emphasized that researchers should use multiple sources of data and also recommends a pilot case study to help refine data collection (Yin 2003). While Stake (1995) and Merriam (1998) are not averse to piloting, with flexible approach supports, they advocated only collecting qualitative data.

Yin's suggestion of multiple sources of data also relates to the focus on triangulation and rigor in ensuring validity and reliability, for which he proposes 'general principles'. In addition to multiple sources of evidence, he recommends that researchers gather a 'case study database' of evidence and a chain of linkages between the evidence, research questions and the conclusions drawn by the case study (Yin 2002).

Stake, on the other hand, recognized that researchers begin gathering data and impressions even as they first become acquainted with the case, and hence, there is no specific time when data gathering starts. As the case study effort is essentially a qualitative effort, he suggested adoption of observation, interview and document review for gathering data. Recognising the possibility that different researchers would perceive the case differently, Stake explains that the skills of the researchers impact the quality of research outcomes. He calls for 'sensitivity and scepticism' and the ability to recognize good sources of data, to test the veracity of the evidence and the interpretation as important skills in a good case study researcher (Stake 1995). Merriam (1998) also submitted observation, interview and document review as processes to gather data and provided instruction to researchers on how these can be effective.

2.6.4 How Should the Data Be Analysed?

Data collected through case study research can be analysed in different ways, ranging from the methodical to the intuitive. Yin suggests categorizing, tabulating, testing and combining qualitative and quantitative evidences to answer or validate issue questions or propositions. Aligned to his criteria of validity and reliability, these steps aim to lead the researcher to the 'objective truth'.

Stake's suggestion of forming patterns and meaning from different ways of looking at impressions and observations relies more on intuition and impression than sequential steps or protocols. As with the approach to gathering data, so also for analysis, he broadly suggests 'categorical aggregation' and interpretation in ways that work best for individual researchers. Merriam (1998) suggests 'consolidating, reducing and interpreting' what people have said, the researcher has seen and read to 'make meaning' out of the data. Like Stake, her suggested methods are aligned to categorical aggregation and pattern finding, while also resonating with Yin's suggestions. Importantly, she also recommends simultaneous data collection and analysis, which she sees as the key difference between positivist, quantitative research and qualitative research.

2.6.5 How Can We Ensure Validity and Reliability?

Despite differences in type of data gathered (qualitative and quantitative) and approaches to data analysis, all three scholars referred above emphasized on the need for data validation to reduce biases on account of source of data, researcher

perception and methodology. According to Yin, researchers must guarantee construct validity through seeking multiple sources of evidence, member checking and developing chains of evidence; internal validity by adopting analytic techniques such as pattern matching; external validity through analytic generalization; and reliability through case study protocols and databases. Stake (1995) suggests that researchers should ensure validity through four strategies for triangulation—data source triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. This can be achieved through multiple data sources, peer reviews and using alternative methodologies.

Merriam (1998) suggests six strategies to ensure internal validity, namely, triangulation, member checks, long-term observation, peer examination, participatory research and disclosure of researcher bias. For reliability, she recommends three techniques—explanation of the researcher's position in studying the particular case, triangulation of data and use of an audit trail that captures all sources for later validation. She also presents three techniques to enhance external validity. Researchers can use thick description, category-based research to ensure typicality and develop multi-site research designs to validate generalisation.

2.7 Case Study Methodology for Social Entrepreneurship Research[4]

Scholars consider the case study method as a suitable research strategy when the context is critical. The case in our hand is of social enterprises in different parts of the world. The subject matter is broad and complex which include double and triple bottom line, range of legal entities and underserved customer base. And we do not have robust theory available so far. Social entrepreneurship literature is yet to emerge which is also the reason for the absence of robust theory. It is imperative that case studies of wider variety are needed to develop the concepts. Case studies have the ability to incorporate the concepts of space and time, as well as allow the researchers to combine different approaches for triangulation (Groat and Wang 2002).

As social entrepreneurship is a relatively young discipline in academics and driven by evidence in practice, theory building will be iterative and cumulative, as several scholars independently or in collaboration develop and share narratives about different types of social entrepreneurship initiatives. As it is built from ground up, there is a heavy reliance on the role of the scholars and the quality of their observation and categorization of data. Consequently, scholars study social enterprise models across countries and sectors. They focus on enhancing the utility of the research, leveraging both, anecdotes of journeys as well as validated data, to draw patterns that can contribute towards useful knowledge gathering and possible theory building.

[4]In this study, we have used the terminology social entrepreneur to refer the person. While social entrepreneurship is about the process of social enterprise creation and management. Social enterprise is the organisational entity as articulated above.

Over time, social entrepreneurship scholars have also refined the case study methodology to improve their utility in terms of applying the knowledge so gathered. Equally importantly, they have improved their case study methodology to contribute in theory building. We observe remarkable shift that more case study-based research has made from narration and documentation of entrepreneurship journeys to description and analysis of methods of enterprise building, and interpreting 'the how and why' of enterprise development.

Here, we submit that in social entrepreneurship research, the case selection is often a complex issue while we know that case selection is purposeful and the cases should follow some degree of theoretical saturation. Hence, cases must provide opportunity for developing insights and hence allow the scholars to describe a spectrum of possibilities in the domain of research. As more scholars adopt the case study approach in social entrepreneurship research, it would add to refining the processes of case selection, validation of concepts, reporting anomalies and drawing factors for generalizations for theory building.

We support the argument on the inductive approach (Glaser et al. 1967) that conceptualisation is possible through case studies by building on data within a case. Large number of cases can result in generalisation and then the emergence of a theory. Grounded theory helps in finding something that exists in reality in a case and then visualise the patterns that possibly exist with more cases, thereby moving from facts of a case or many cases to a theory. Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) add that case studies can provide 'rich, empirical descriptions of particular instances of a phenomenon' and each case can 'stand on its own as an analytic unit' while multiple cases serve as 'replications, contrasts and extensions to the emerging theory' (Yin 1994).

We report that the case study methodology allows validation and triangulation of concepts. Scholars can not only draw upon the information sources and informants with diverse perspectives, but they also get opportunity to present data and information in formats that are easy to analyse. Over time, we notice increasing focus of case study researchers focusing on quality of validity and reliability. This is done through various methods of triangulation, to reduce biases arising due to data sources, researchers' unique perspectives and the methodologies adopted.

As scholars we often face the question on the ability of case study to draw generalisations, and if so, what would be their veracity. Modern case study methodology emphasizes on the development of constructs, measure and metrics and testable hypotheses. By doing so, case studies become a bridge between rich, empirical, qualitative narratives and testable propositions, and hypotheses and the statistical analysis. Case studies support the deductive approach, by forming propositions and then hypotheses defining expected findings and testing to see if they match expected findings to validate the hypothesis. Research that proves something that is true for one case and from one case on to many can provide validation of a theory (Yin 1994).

In the subsequent part of this chapter, we examine the nature of cases studied by the scholars in their research and the themes that they have developed to enrich the social entrepreneurship discourse. Scholars of social entrepreneurship and social enterprises have developed concepts, constructs and validated hypotheses based on

evidence provided by case studies of social enterprises in varied contexts, both geographical and sectoral (Fig. 2.5).

Key Areas of Case Study Research in Social Entrepreneurship

Our selection of research papers has been purposive to enable us to draw the key themes they have developed and reported. While this selection is not exhaustive, we have ensured a fair representation of research efforts by scholars across the world (Table 2.1).

Definition of social entrepreneurship and the social entrepreneur: Case studies of diverse social enterprise models ranging from non-profit to hybrids and for-profits have helped develop a robust set of definitions of social enterprise. Early case studies focused on differentiating between non-profit and for-profit models, which lead the debate around whether for-profits could at all be considered to be 'social'. With growing evidence from the research and practice, we are now almost in agreement that sustainability and social impact can be integrated into both for-profit and non-profit models. They converge to consider social entrepreneurship as a method to create 'social and economic value' also encompassing private entrepreneurial ventures. Along with documenting the journeys of social entrepreneurs and the social enterprises, case studies also defined 'social entrepreneurs', their motivations and drive to attempt the less travelled path.

Objectives and goals of social enterprises: As the concept of sustainability gained acceptance with growing evidence, social enterprises are successfully straddling dual bottom line commitments. Information and knowledge gathered through case studies

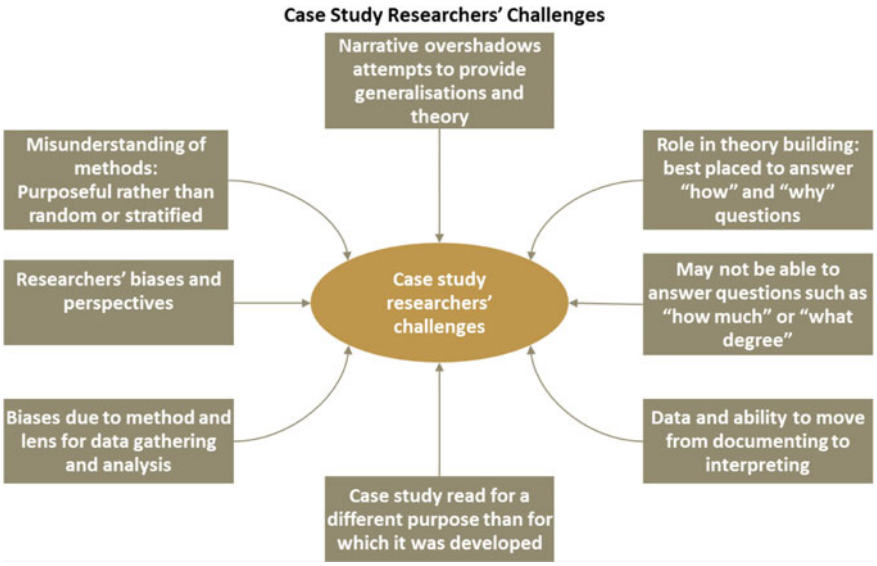

Fig. 2.5 Case study researcher's challenges. *Source* Analysis and representation by authors

Table 2.1 Key areas of case study research in social entrepreneurship

S. No.	Title	Author	Year	Theme	Description
1	Understanding social enterprise, social entrepreneurship and the social economy in rural Cambodia	Lyne, Isaac; Ngin, Chanrith; Santoyo rio, Emmanuel	Jul-18	Definition and description	Examines the contextual nature of social entrepreneurship in Cambodia
2	Dual-goal management in social enterprises! evidence from China	Yin, Juelin; Chen, Huan	Apr-18	Mission objectives and goals	Studies how social and business tensions manifest in Chinese nascent social enterprises and how they address them
3	Barriers to Social Enterprise Growth	Davies, Iain; Haugh, Helen	Feb-18	Barriers to growth	Examines barriers to growth that emerges from value differences, business models, and institutional norms, and theorizes strategies to overcome these barriers
4	Accessibility, Accountability And The Impact Of Social Enterprise	Karamoy, Herman	Jul-17	Impact and impact monitoring and measurement	Studies the relationship between social or impact value achieved and legitimacy and reputation of the social enterprise, and consequently, stakeholders' trust
5	The impact of social enterprise on food insecurity—An Australian case study	Lindberg, Rebecca; Mccartan, Julia; Stone, Alexandra et al.	Mar-19	Impact and impact monitoring and measurement	Study of a social enterprise that is able to improve access and availability of nutritious food to low socioeconomic families
6	Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment through Fair Trade Social Enterprise: Case of Divine Chocolate and Kuapa Kokoo	Doherty, Bob	Oct-18	Impact and impact monitoring and measurement	This case study focuses on the partnership between a social enterprise and a farmers' cooperative and how they contributed to gender equality and women's empowerment
7	Innovate Social Enterprise Models for Rural Healthcare Delivery	Madan, Poonam	Sep-14	Definition and description	Explores social enterprises that provide affordable and effective health care for all, particularly in rural areas through innovative business models

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

S. No.	Title	Author	Year	Theme	Description
8	Motivations for social entrepreneurship—Evidences from Portugal	Bragg, J. C.; Proenca, Teresa; Ferreira, Marisa R.	Feb-15	Definition and description	Identifies factors that motivate people to create, develop and maintain social enterprises, and studies the difficulties that social entrepreneurs face
9	Innovation and social entrepreneurship at the bottom of the pyramid—A conceptual framework	Pervez, Taimoor; Maritz, Alex; Gerrit Anton De Waal	Dec-13	Scaling and growth	Aims to identify key success criteria for innovations by social enterprises through case studies from across base-of-the-pyramid contexts, products and business model innovations
10	Social Entrepreneurship, Energy and Urban Innovations	Kummitha, Rama Krishna Reddy	Jan-18	Definition and description	Describes the innovative strategies, products and processes adopted by energy social enterprises to provide affordable access to energy to excluded and marginalised communities in India
11	Social Enterprise in Atlantic Canada	Lionais, Doug	Jun-15	Definition and description	Presents the landscape of social enterprises in Atlantic Canada and presents case studies to describe the diversity of social enterprise models
12	Which HR bundles are utilized in social enterprises? The case of social enterprises in Thailand	Napathorn, Chaturong	Mar-18	Human resources management	Identifies the different HR strategies that social enterprises adopt to hire, train and retain human resources, and differentiates them from that adopted by typical businesses
13	Contextual influences on HRM practices in social enterprises: the case of Thailand	Napathorn, Chaturong	Oct-18	Human resources management	Examines the institutional and cultural influences on HR practices adopted by social enterprises in Thailand

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

S. No.	Title	Author	Year	Theme	Description
14	How do social enterprises recruit workers? The case of social enterprises in Thailand	Napathorn, Chaturong	Oct-18	Human resources manage-ment	Examines recruitment channels and policies of social enterprises in Thailand to attract qualified people whose beliefs and attitudes are aligned with that of the enterprises
15	The stories of social entrepreneurship: Narrative discourse and social enterprise resource acquisition	Roundy, Philip	May-17	Scaling and growth	Explores the different ways that social enterprises use narratives to acquire resources. Differences in approaches and entrepreneur characteristics impact resource acquisition success
16	Venture legitimacy and storytelling in social enterprises	Margiono, Ari; Kariza, Alanda; Heriyati, Pantri	Mar-19	Scaling and growth	Describes how story telling is linked to venture legitimacy in social entrepreneurship
17	Balancing dual missions for social venture growth: a comparative case study	Siebold, Nicole; Gunzel, Franziska; Muller, Sabine	Dec-18	Scaling and growth	Studies the potential for mission drift as social enterprises strive for growth and sea ling their impact. Case studies demonstrated different ways that dual missions are selected and intertwined and how this leads to varying levels of mission drift
18	The evolution and growth dynamics of social enterprises: historical and contextual perspectives	Blundel, Richard K.; Spen	Jan-10	Scaling and growth	Studies the growth process of social enterprises and historical influences of entrepreneurial opportunities, resources and changing networks on the growth
19	Sealing-up social enterprises: The effects of geographic context	Doyle Corner, Patricia; Kearins, Kate	Jul-18	Scaling and growth	Describes scale-up to new geographical contexts as an important but little understood outcome of social entrepreneurship, and examines how this process is more difficult than it is for commercial enterprises

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

S. No.	Title	Author	Year	Theme	Description
20	Models of Franchising for Social Enterprise	Crawford-Spencer, Elizabeth; Cantatore, Francina	Apr-16	Scaling and growth	Explores the relatively new area of franchising as a market channel structure for social enterprises
21	Scaling up social organisation the case of Pratham Infotech Foundation in India	Singhavi, Chandan	Apr-18	Scaling and growth	Identifying scale-up as a key challenge in growing its impact and achieving sustainability, this case explores the role of ICT in expanding reach of this social enterprise
22	Growing the social enterprise: Issues and challenges	Hynes, Briga	Aug-09	Scaling and growth	Examines business growth of a social enterprise, and the challenges it encounters from multiple perspectives
23	Social enterprise scaling up strategy—franchise development	Ziolkowska, Marta	Oct-18	Scaling and growth	Examines social franchise as a business model and form of entrepreneurship, and how it can resolve social exclusion
24	Understanding the Diverse Scaling Strategies of Social Enterprises as Hybrid Organizations: The Case of Renewable Energy Cooperatives	Bauwens, Thomas; Huybrechts, Benjamin; Dufays, Frederic	Mar-19	Scaling and growth	Describes the diverse scaling strategies of Flemish energy cooperatives, and different orientations of social enterprises a nd their impact on scale
25	Sustainable procurement in social enterprises	Sahasranamam, Sreevas; Ball, Christopher	Mar-16	Scaling and growth	Examines how social enterprises in developing and developed country contexts integrate the triple bottom line goals in their procurement process

Source Compiled by authors

also highlighted the different goals and objectives that social enterprises aim to fulfil. Such research gave rise to typologies that provide a strong base for further theory building such as 'impact-first versus finance-first'. The other typologies are related to the cases where the social and financial goals are at odds and one must take precedence, and where 'general interest and mutual interest' hybrid organisations' impact is either limited to benefiting the stakeholders or to a larger group or issue such as the environment. In the case of for-profit social enterprises, the need for a stated mission and intent to focus on impact and for social enterprises to be 'mission-

driven' has emerged as a key differentiating criterion between the business and social entrepreneurship.

Organizational performance and efficiency of social enterprises: Another important area that case studies covered is the way in which social enterprises conduct their business to meet their objectives. Here, the role of the entrepreneur and the founding team, their collective management expertise, resources (often constrained) that they access and leverage and networks they build have been closely examined to assess the enterprise performance on the twin axes of impact and sustainability. Given that they address the needs of underserved communities and population often located in underserved and difficult geographies, social enterprises incur costs that traditional enterprises may consider inefficient. Yet, the social impact mission of the social enterprise drives the agenda forward to achieve viability through business model innovations. Business model innovations among social enterprises are predominantly based on case studies of such models, providing context-rich knowledge for others to theorize as well as to apply in practice.

Attracting, training and retaining talent in social enterprises: Case studies on human resource management in social enterprises make critical contributions, not only in understanding how social enterprises attract and retain talent, but also in understanding the different drivers that attract employees and partners to engage with social enterprises as opposed to traditional jobs. Many social enterprises also provide livelihoods to men, women and youth who would otherwise remain on the fringes of the labour market due to poor skills. They mobilise them, provide them with needed skills and offer employment or micro-entrepreneurship opportunities. They not only achieve impact but also address their own need for skilled resources in the relatively untapped markets. Case studies document their unique approaches to attracting human resources through alternate recruitment channels such as fellowships and internships, and part-time and flexible time options when they do not need or cannot afford full-time employees, which has changed work options for many. They also invest in providing on-the-job training, often having to eschew classroom training due to constraints as well as the capacity of the recruits. For retention, they rely more on recognition and intrinsic rewards such as good work culture, job satisfaction and appreciation.

Impact and impact measurement: Social enterprises commit to fulfilling social objectives including creating benefits for stakeholders and society at large, in addition to the financial goals. Several stakeholder groups are part of the social enterprise journey only because they get attracted to these social goals. As against enterprises becoming accountable for achieving goals to only to the investors social enterprises remain accountable and accessible to all the stakeholders. Case studies referred by us reported and documented different types of impact that social enterprises achieve, which enabled to develop impact metrics and methodologies for impact measurement such as triple bottom line, adapted or modified balanced scorecard for non-profits, social accounting and social return on investment, and the family of measures. These methods aim to combine qualitative representation of impact with quantifiable 'social value' and compare impact of enterprises in specific geographies or sectors. While

there is no ideal method to measure impact, case studies of social enterprises' impact have helped practitioners and researchers compare and select appropriate metrics and methods for further research.

Scaling impact of social enterprises: Most social enterprises begin small, aiming to resolve issues within communities. As they succeed, they consider scale and growth, as do their social and financial investors. Case study research scholars have examined social enterprises to understand the different scaling strategies they have pursued to improve their impact, given the limited resources and constraints on management bandwidth. These case studies have reported that social enterprises explore strategies such as social franchising and open-source knowledge transfers as means to disseminate impact models. This has helped develop the social enterprise growth discourse beyond the commonly referred business growth theories, to include outreach strategies deployed within and with outside the respective social enterprises. Consequently, new terminologies are created and are currently in popular use. They include 'scaling deep', 'scaling wide', 'scaling up' and 'scaling out'.

Barriers to social enterprise growth: Social enterprises encounter several barriers to growth. While some are commonly beset for all small and nascent enterprises, others are more specifically associated with models that seek to address the access and affordability challenges faced by marginalised, low income or remotely located communities. Case studies of social enterprises have helped identify and categorise them into individual, organizational and institutional barriers relating to differences in values, business model selection and institutional support and norms (or lack thereof). Several case studies highlight relative importance of internal and external factors affecting social enterprise growth, as many of them operate in sectors that are regulated by the government and often has government actors as service providers. These case studies have not only helped develop the discourse around factors affecting the organizational growth, but also helped practitioners advocate for greater institutional support and for stakeholders to provide the same. Growing number of social enterprise incubators, angel investor networks and research think tanks in the developing countries around the world are the evidence.

2.8 Conclusion

While considerable case study research has been undertaken and published to develop acceptable and robust definitions of the social enterprise and entrepreneur, we are of the view that more evidence are required to understand how social entrepreneurs and social enterprises build and grow. Some areas for further research we suggest, to contribute towards theory building are (a) evidence on impact measurement and reporting as that would improve legitimacy of the social enterprise concept among investors and funders who can support sustainability and growth; (b) types of social enterprise business models in terms of legal form (including but not limited to for-profits and non-profits), operating models (platforms, hub-and-spoke for better outreach); and

(c) scaling strategies to develop a typology of scale for social enterprises as well as tools and frameworks that can help social enterprises leapfrog stages of growth and support replication and creative benchmarking in other geographies and/or sectors.

Our study presented case study methodology highlights and the evidence thereof in terms of the progress made in research to present concepts and explanations. We have remained sensitive to the context of social enterprise as an entity and social entrepreneurship as a process. This, we submit, would make meaningful contributions towards theory building though we also acknowledge that more such research is needed, developed and disseminated. This would provide bases for further analysis and opportunities for categorisation to know about the cross-sector and cross-geography patterns for wide-ranging applications in theory and practice. Future scholars will have to ensure greater reliability of data and validity through triangulation in addition to engaging in narratives that serve to advocate for the growing ecosystem of support of social enterprises and inspire the scholarly community of social entrepreneurship.

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Chapter 3
Methodological Issues and Challenges of Grounded Theory in Social Entrepreneurship and Social Innovation Studies

C. P. Prince

Abstract Grounded theory (GT) is developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss as a qualitative research approach and methodology. Although it has been widely used in qualitative research, there are methodological contentions with regard to the use of this approach. This chapter discusses some of the methodological issues and challenges of using grounded theory approach in social entrepreneurship research. It is argued that while using this approach, the qualitative nature of the design need to be preserved, the objectivity from the subjective experience needs to be validated and also maintain equilibrium in resolving the differences and challenges in methodological issues.

Keywords Grounded theory · Methodological issues · Interpretivist agenda · Social innovation · Social entrepreneurship · Reflexivity

3.1 Introduction

Grounded theory (GT) is of late finding place in the disciplines of social entrepreneurship and social innovation. As a research methodology, grounded theory needs to accelerate momentum; nonetheless, this approach has been widely used in social entrepreneurship research. This chapter explores the methodological issues and challenges of using GT approach in social entrepreneurship research. The major contentions of GT are centred on positioning of literature review and the process of theory formulation. Unless these methodological issues are resolved, it will be challenging for the researchers in using this approach. The methodological challenges are discussed in the light of the doctoral research experience of the author and the issues emerged from the literature on the subject under study.

Social entrepreneurship is emerging as an approach for social change. It is believed that social entrepreneurship may become more important than business entrepreneurship in the future (Mair and Noboa 2003, p. 4). Social entrepreneurs are change

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agents (Drayton 2002; Light and Wagner 2005; Dees et al. 2001). It means, social entrepreneur is an individual who has a business interest in solving social problems (Boschee and McClurg 2003) and he tries to find out innovative ways to evaluate social problems and creates social values by seeking solutions to those problems (Perrini 2006; Drayton 2002; Austin et al. 2007; Weeravardena and Mort 2006; Zahra et al. 2009). Social innovation is also defined as responses to pressing social needs, which affect the process of social interactions and human well-being (Hubert et al. 2010). Social innovations including products, practices, services, or management models are sustainable in the long run and in the implementation stage, prove to be more efficient, and have a greater impact on the existent solutions to improve the quality of life of people living in extreme poverty (ANSPE 2013).

This chapter discusses the methodological challenges and issues of grounded theory in social entrepreneurship and social innovation research. The issues discussed are (i) the positioning of literature review, (ii) interpretivist agenda, (iii) reflexivity, and (iv) ontological and epistemological issues. Based on the above constructs, the research questions addressed are (i) What are the major differences in using the literature before and after? (ii) Why do interpretivist agenda a matter of contention? (iii) What are the ontological and epistemological issues and how reflexivity is a challenging problem in using GT approach? Founded on these research questions, the research objectives are (i) to find out various methodological issues in the application of grounded theory in social entrepreneurship and social innovation studies, (ii) to find out the differences of opinion in the use of literature prior and after study, (iii) to explore the problem of "interpretivist agenda", ontological and epistemological issues, and reflexivity, and (iv) to search and formulate an equilibrium in resolving the methodological issues and challenges at scholarly level.

3.2 Literature Review

The qualitative research approaches are emerged to meet the challenges posed by the quantitative research paradigm. Within the positivist paradigm, there is a tradition of testing hypothesis, whereas in the constructivist and interpretivist paradigm, there is a tendency for research to inform action. This is predominant in action research. Grounded theory was a response to the positivist doctrine that research should seek to test a hypothesis or theory, rather than to reveal new theory (Robson 2002). Having developed the grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967), the two originators subsequently disagreed regarding the direction of GT research (Glaser 1992; Strauss and Corbin 1990).

Glaser (1992), in Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis, criticised Strauss and Corbin's (1990) text listed above, and other contributions of Strauss since "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" (1967). Glaser pointed out that his motivation was to correct errors made by Strauss and Corbin with the purpose of setting "the average researcher back on the correct track to generating a grounded theory" (p. 6). Glaser had a conviction that his version is the "correct one" (p. 6), and he started

to delineate differences between his conception of grounded theory and Strauss and Corbin's version which according to him has deviated so completely from the original outlined in "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" that it indicates an entirely new methodology which he labels "full conceptual description". Thus, Glaser says that "it is now obvious to him that Strauss never understood grounded theory from the beginning and as a result two distinct methodologies have emerged: (a) his grounded theory approach, represented by several works including *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), *Theoretical Sensitivity* (1978), *and Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis* (1992); and (b) Strauss' method of full conceptual description traced from The Discovery (1967), Qualitative Analysis for Social Sciences (1987), and the Basics of Qualitative Research" (Strauss and Corbin's 1990).

3.2.1 Major Differences About GT by Pioneers

The chief differences between Glaser's and Strauss' versions of grounded theory focus on both epistemological and methodological gap between these approaches. To cite an example, Glaser emphasised principles and practices which are usually associated and could be termed as the qualitative paradigm. According to him, grounded theory has a more laissez-faire type of an operation that could be inherently flexible and was mainly guided by informants as well as their realities which are socially constructed. For him, the world of the informant should be emerged from the analysis naturally with little effort, however with detailed attention on the part of the researcher to process. Moreover, "Strauss' repeated emphasis on grounded theory retaining *canons of good science* such as replicability, generalisability, precision, significance, and verification may place him much closer to more traditional quantitative doctrines". Unfortunately, "Glaser's 129 pages of corrections to the Strauss and Corbin text do little to convince the reader that grounded theory is an inherently flexible methodology in which the researcher should simply code and analyze categories and properties with theoretical codes which will emerge and generate their complex theory of a complex world (Glaser 1992, p. 71)".

The major part of grounded theory analysis consists of three types of coding such as open, axial, and selective. The initial process in grounded theory is open coding in which the breaking down, analysis, comparison, and categorisation of data are being done. Incidents or events are labelled in open coding and further grouped together through constant comparison to derive categories and properties. The axial coding provides the explanation of hypothetical relationships between categories and subcategories. Finally, selective coding is the process in which categories are cross-related to the core category and becomes the basis for theory formation in the grounded theory. Considering the arguments that have been advanced so far, Glaser finds an exception to the guidelines systematically outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990) narrated in their text concerning the mode of operation recommend for all the three coding strategies. This fact is particularly evident in connection with Strauss and Corbin's treatment of axial coding which according to their perspective

is a process of putting "data back together in new ways by making connections between categories and subcategories" (p. 97). According to them, it is done by means of a conceptual elaboration of categories through coding paradigm denoting causal conditions, action/interactional strategies, context, and consequences. As per the opinion of Glaser, this process can lead to researchers missing the relevance of the given data by changing it into a preconceived framework. He considers that Strauss and Corbin's overemphasis on drawing detail from the data through a pre-structured paradigm results in full conceptual description at the cost of theory development or generation.

Glaser considers theory generation versus theory verification a major and recurring theme narrated in his text, giving a valid criticism of Strauss and Corbin's (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 1994; Corbin and Strauss 1990) repeatedly stressing on verification and validation of hypotheses and theory "throughout the course of a research project" (Strauss and Corbin 1994, p. 274). In Glaser's opinion, "verification falls outside the parameters of grounded theory which instead should be directed at the discovery of hypotheses or theory. Glaser reminds the reader that the verification model was exactly what we had tried to get away from (p. 67) in The Discovery". Considering the different issues, the contentions about the use of the literature before or after the study need to be explored.

3.2.2 Positioning of Literature Review

The literature is one of the fundamental issues in grounded theory work. It had always been controversial the positioning of the literature review in grounded theory studies. Researchers argue that the initial review of the literature has some importance substantiate that it helps readers to identify the researcher's perspective at the beginning of the project and provides adequate justification for launching the grounded theory study (Antle May 1986). Then, the researcher should move to the second review of the literature that connects the existing research and theory with the support of concepts, constructs, and properties of the derived new theory (Hutchison 1993). On the other hand, Glaser and Strauss, the beginners of grounded theory, fundamentally disagreed upon the use of the literature and the need for an initial review in any grounded theory study.

There is debate among scholars and researchers about the role and place of literature review in grounded theory (Walls et al. 2010; Dunne 2011). According to Glaser, a literature review done prior to the research is "inimical" in creating a grounded theory (Glaser 1998, p. 67), because pre-conceptualising the problem, concepts, or theoretical framework has the capacity to adulterate the emerging theory and can force both the data and the problem into a model that is preconceived. In the opinion of Glaser (1992), "it is hard enough for researchers to generate their own concepts, without having to contend with the derailment provided by the literature in the form of conscious or unrecognised assumptions of what ought to be in the data" (p. 31). Conceptual ideas may be speculated from the literature and superimposed, instead

of emerging from the data. The main concern of the participant cannot be known in advance, neither can one know the relevant literature to review. When the main process has emerged and theory development has already reached a stage, that literature will no longer disrupt the researcher from observing what is there in the data, and the required literature becomes obvious which is reviewed. In other words, "the literature is discovered as the theory is" (Glaser 1998, p. 69). "In keeping with the maxim all is data; the literature is then treated like any other source of data, and woven into the theory in the constant comparative process. In this way, it is hoped that the grounded theorist will generate a theory that transcends the literature, synthesises it at the same time" (Glaser 1998, p. 120), and generates a theory that is pertinent and fit for context.

3.2.3 Interpretivist Agenda

The focal point of interpretivist is about how individuals create, modify, and interpret the world, and observe things as more relativistic. As Steyaert and Dey (2010) write "Taking a theoretical view of research as 'enactment', research is a constitutive act and explores a range of ways of relating with and constructing the subject of inquiry". Research is observed as a constitutive act, and it relates you with the subject. The term "interpretivist" is used where possible, to explain non-positivist research about the investigation of social reality (Stahl 2007).

It is difficult to describe the complexity of the social world and the ontological differences between positivism and interpretivism in one word. On one side, positivism is founded on a realist ontology which presumes that observation is theory neutral and it is the role of scientific research to identify generalisations that are law-like on account of what was observed. On the other, interpretivism is founded on a life-world ontology narrating all observation as theory- and value-laden and investigation of the social world could not be, tracking down the objective truth that is detached.

The adoption of an "interpretivist approach to knowledge creation" (Bernstein 1995) is predicated on the argument that without interpretation it is impossible to understand the social world (Johnson 1987). In other words, "in social sciences, interpretivist research represents a move away from *erklaren*, the deterministic explanation of human behaviour by establishing causal relationships between variables. Rather, it is concerned with *verstehen,* the understanding of human behaviour which entails, capturing the actual meanings and interpretations that actors subjectively ascribe to phenomena in order to describe and explain their behaviour" (Johnson et al. 2006, p. 132). Interpretivist inquiry, thus, "attempts to embrace the complex and dynamic quality of the social world and allows the researcher to view a social research problem holistically, get close to participants, enter their realities, and interpret their perceptions as appropriate" (Bogdan and Taylor 1975; Hoepfl 1997; Shaw 1999). "This is achieved by generating thick and rich descriptions of actual events in real-life contexts that uncover and preserve the meanings that those involved ascribe to them" (Gephart 2004).

3.3 Ontological and Epistemological Contentions

The Strauss and Corbin approach has more structured and practically oriented steps to generate grounded theory. In fact, this is the main purpose indicated in Strauss and Corbin's (1990) preface to their text that assists the researcher to analyse qualitatively and derive the meaning for a usually large volume of field data gathered. Therefore, Strauss and Corbin offer more specific procedural advice than previously expressed in Glaser and Strauss' (1967) publication. If emergences of conceptual themes are not permitted to freely surface, then a true ontology could be never materialising (Glaser 1992) argues Glaser as a critique of the Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998) revisionist method. The basic choice between Glaser's advocacy of a less specific analytical approach and Strauss and Corbin's provision of more explained operational guidelines is left with the researcher of grounded theory. The latter provides greater potential assistance to the field researcher, who should take particular care to stay away from imposing concepts that reflect the researcher's own epistemological preferences, rather than those emerging from interaction with the study site and its participants.

3.3.1 Reflexivity

According to Robson (2002, p. 22), reflexivity is "… an awareness of the ways in which the researcher as an individual with a particular social identity and background has an impact on the research process". Neil (2006) argues about the potential impact of the researcher on the data should become part of the research record that could be explored in a constant comparative analysis. Reflexivity put forward a turning back on the original action comparable to the knee jerk reflex, in which nerve impulses from a blow to the knee should reach the spinal cord before it turns back to the knee producing the "jerk" response (Freshwater and Rolfe 2001). The impact of the previous life experience that includes previous reading and "turn back" on these to appraise their effect should be a matter of awareness for the researchers. It is possible by bringing one's initial reaction to conscious awareness through turning back, prior to acknowledge a perspective gained not from the data themselves, but from previous learning. Nevertheless, as Cutcliffe (2003) points out reflexivity is based on awareness of self and this can only be partial. It is important, however, that this awareness is shared with readers to some extent. It should be openly acknowledged by the researchers the influence of prior work or experience on their point of view (Charmaz 2000). Memo writing is used to make researchers aware of their own potential effects on the given data. Data analysis may be likened to a discussion between the data, the created theory, the memos, and the researcher (Backman and Kyngas 1999). When the researcher's own creativity would be an integral part in the emergence of categories, it must be inductively derived from the data in the field and not forced into the shape of preconceived notions assumed by the researcher. It is

the tension between emergence and forcing (Glaser 1992) which is the focal point of debate between the need for reflexivity and the positioning of the literature review. Inductively deriving ideas and then testing them deductively is "going with the data" (Glaser 2001 p. 47). Therefore, the researcher should not become so reflexive as to stifle creativity and not producing a theoretical account worthy of being called "grounded theory", instead a "description only". Although Glaser (2001, p. 47) proposes a warning against this process of "reflexivity paralysis", he does not reject the need for the researcher to be reflexive in the sense of being self-aware, but rejects the self-destructive introspective compulsion that locates their work within a particular theoretical context.

The literature usually highlights some of the challenges and issues in the context of methodological issues when a grounded theory approach is used. Further, we need to explore the literature about social entrepreneurship and social innovation prior to analysing the methodological contentions in the given context.

3.4 Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative approach with comparative analytical method. It compares the data that provide challenging opinions on the methodological issues while using GT approach. GT as a methodology and approach poses series of questions and challenges in the use literature review, conception of research questions, interpretivist agenda, ontological and epistemological issues, and the need of reflexivity that form the construct upon which the comparative analysis is made in this study. This is on account of the differences of opinion raised by academicians and research scholars upon the above given constructs while using grounded theory in scholarly works.

Theoretical speculations are made from the review of secondary data from the available literature from the date of the origin of grounded theory in 1967 till recently that studied and discussed methodological issues and challenges in using GT methodology in social entrepreneurship and related social science disciplines. The literature used is the research articles from journals, books, various governments, and NGO reports available online.

The empirical data available from the author's Ph.D. study also incorporated in arriving possible assumptions in the discussion session. It was a qualitative study on the topic, "social innovation in the care and rehabilitation of the differently abled". It studied the rehabilitation centres run by ordinary individuals being spiritually inspired to work for a social cause who sheltered wandering mentally ill persons from the street in their own homes. There are about 90 such centres in the State of Kerala in India and each centre catering to 50–300 persons. The social and financial sustainability was studied about such homes that were functioning for the past 20–30 years without any regular funding or donation from funding agencies but with the support of the community. The study is quoted in the discussion session to

explain the methodological issues in GT approach. The various constructs studied are analysed based on the objectives.

3.5 Results

3.5.1 The Need and Positioning of Literature

It is interpreted by some researchers that the "GT method to mean fieldwork before literature search but this is a misconception of the original premise put forward by Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 169) who encouraged researchers to use any material bearing in the area". This is used to include the writings of other authors. Strauss and Corbin (1998) observed that the use of literature is a basis of professional knowledge and referred to it as literature sensitivity, and Dey (1993, p. 66) considered it as "accumulated knowledge". The question of prior review of the literature or evolved review of the literature along with the development of the theory is a methodological issue to be discussed. There are arguments favouring the initial review of the literature and also arguments against it.

Some researchers consider that the initial review of the literature is important because it makes readers to identify the researcher's perspective when the project begins and gives justification for launching the GT study (Antle May 1986). A second review of the literature is then essential for the researcher that links the existing research and theory with the concepts, constructs, and properties of the new theory derived (Hutchison 1993). Glaser and Strauss, being the pioneers of GT, fundamentally disagreed over the use of the literature and the need to conduct an initial review. Strauss, in his later writing with Corbin (Strauss and Corbin 1990), proposed reviewing the literature early in the study for several reasons such as (i) to stimulate theoretical sensitivity, (ii) to provide a secondary source of data, (iii) to stimulate questions, (iv) to direct theoretical sampling, and (v) to provide supplementary validity. Some of the arguments for a literature review before developing research categories included the following: (i) it provides justification for the study, (ii) it meets the requirements of local research ethics committees, (iii) it avoids conceptual and methodological pitfalls, (iv) it discovers the extent of previous knowledge and therefore assesses whether grounded theory is an appropriate method, and (v) it is to be "open minded" but not "empty headed". Glaser (1992), however, strongly disagreed with this position and observed several levels of the literature required within GT. They could be nothing but the professional literature related to the area under study, and it should not be examined until the researcher was in the field and codes and categories had begun to emerge.

Some of the arguments put forward against the literature review before developing research categories include the following: (i) it should be strict in keeping with a post-positivist ontology, (ii) it should prevent the researcher being constrained, contaminated, or inhibited, (iii) it is preventing recognised or unrecognised assump-

tions, (iv) it is to prevent generating a focus from the literature rather than from the emerging data, and (v) it is to promote "telling it as it is" rather than "telling it as they see it". Glaser (2012) cautioned forcefully against using extant concepts of a field by reading the literature in a field of study prior to the emergence of a substantive theory. Definitely, the researcher will not be able to know what literature applies before his/her theory emerges. This position is important because the researcher may not be tempted or feel required using preconceived literature concepts for coding. Especially in this context not to use these "received literature before emergence concepts" to solve the initial confusion that generally arises when starting conceptual coding of the research data already collected.

The preconceived concepts do not have to be forgotten. They are preserved for the GT research so that the researcher is open to the emergent. The purpose of them get in the way may be because of their legitimate power as sanctioned by the literature, but this power must be ignored or resisted. If not, it will take over and stop the generation and subsequent power of a classical substantive GT with relevance and fit that works in explaining what is going on. Some of the advanced GT researchers have already said in response to the dictum of no preconceptions how realistic it is for the "getting out of the data" a genuine substantive GT theory. Thus, both the arguments are validated by their own reasons opening a wide horizon to researchers and academicians to decide upon their research products. Objectivity in the very subjective nature being the heart of qualitative study, the question of literature before or after study leads to another argument about interpretivist agenda.

3.5.2 The Interpretivist Agenda

The available literature tells us that coding should be performed with "an open mind without preconceived ideas". Glaser and Strauss (1967) insisted that "preconceived ideas should not be forced on the data by looking for evidence to support established ideas". Glaser (2001) recommended that "if a researcher were uncertain about the process, just analyse the data in front of you and write what you see". Strauss and Corbin (1998, pp. 65–68) recommended coding by "microanalysis which consists of analysing data word-by-word" and "coding the meaning found in words or groups of words". When Glaser emphasised the subjective experience of the client, Strauss and Corbin emphasised the interpretation of the researcher. Therefore, the interpretivist agenda needs to be discussed.

3.5.3 Data or Meaning About Data More Meaningful?

According to George (2003), "the analysis technique of coding by microanalysis of the data, word-by-word and line-by-line proposed by Strauss and Corbin, had two drawbacks. Firstly, it was very time consuming. The transcription of each interview

contained a mass of data that had to be studied to locate the information relevant to the research topic. Secondly, it led to confusion at times. Dividing the data into individual words caused the analysis sometimes to become lost within the minutia of data. So many words being picked over individually led to confusion. There were times when the focus was lost. Doubts were experienced about what it was that we were looking for". Hence, too much emphasis on the coding is a matter of dispute in arriving at a meaningful subjective experience-based result.

3.5.3.1 The Interpretation Questions in the Context of Social Entrepreneurship Studies

In grounded theory, it is important that the emerging theory tries to approximate to the context of what is being studied, and in the case an enterprise, its actors, their interactions and interrelationships; thus conveying a conceptual understanding of issues that make up their naturalistic worlds (Van Maanen 1979). Emergent conclusions usually highlight theoretical explanations for human behaviour, within the bounds of a chosen substantive social investigation. However, the emergence of meaning from data, and not data themselves, predicates grounded theory as a systematic research approach to understanding a particular social phenomenon. Strauss and Corbin (1990) claim that "grounded theory can be used to better understand any chosen phenomenon about which little is yet known". While Glaser (1992) remains an "adherent to the principles of their seminal grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss 1967), "his traditionalism irrespective of a disdain for the later revisionist approach (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 1998) assures the qualitative researcher of the values of grounded theory in developing answers to socially purposeful questions of what is happening and why".

Strauss and Corbin, are significantly more prescriptive in specifying the steps to be taken by a researcher in open, axial, and selective coding, and following their process model (identifying codes as causal conditions, phenomenon, context, intervening conditions, action/inaction strategies, consequences) in developing a theoretical framework. However, the Glaser adherent allows for the central concept to emerge inferentially from the coding process—reflecting key issues or problems as perceived by the actors being studied. The research "initially may be broadly focused in terms of the enterprise's general management with subsequent emergent constructs becoming central foci of research attention, in grounded theory we do not know, until it emerges" (Glaser 1992: 95). Therefore, following the Strauss and Corbin approach, the researcher could elect in advance to focus one's observations, interviews, and other data gathering on a particular issue, such as management–employees relationship. Coding is then basically oriented around this topic, with a main concept then sought to represent the interplay of subjects' and researcher's perceptions of the dimensions and nature of the elected phenomenon.

To research about a social entrepreneur's leadership style in order to discover his or her business failings (applying the grounded theory method of Strauss and Corbin 1990) may perhaps inhibit the emergence of the true source of an entrepreneur's limi-

tations. The Glaser (1992) "methodology would allow for the flexibility of approach, and freedom of focus, to iteratively develop emergent conceptual categories. Consequently, focusing on a social entrepreneur's leadership style may not necessarily reveal limitations to an entrepreneur's decision-making".

According to Douglas (2004), "Social Entrepreneurship studies have increasingly concentrated on only one actor, the entrepreneur (or owner-manager), as contended by a number of contemporary writers (Curran and Blackburn 2001; Davisson and Wiklund 2000; Davisson et al. 2001). Any qualitative research, including that of grounded theory, should not avoid the fact that other actors, both within and without an organisation, will have various measures of influence on the behaviour of the entrepreneur. This realisation will subsequently develop research contributions to enriching findings beyond individual firm level attention".

3.5.4 The Role of Participant Behaviour in Interpretation

Blumer perceives that "the aim of developing improved understanding of the construct 'entrepreneur', with its attendant social processes, causal explanations and meanings; embeds its antecedents in the premises of 'symbolic interactionism', human action is constructed by the actor on the basis of what he notes, interprets, and assesses; and the interlinking of such ongoing action constitutes organizations, institutions, and vast complexes of independent relation" (Blumer 1969: 49). Therefore, any research design must take account of understanding participants' behaviours from their perspective, their dynamics, their interpretations, and properties of interactions that are contextualised within their worlds. Thus, grounded theory advances such underlying principles of inquiry.

In fact, interpretivist agenda leads to the importance given both to the data and the meaning given to the data to make the theory more solid and factual. The social entrepreneurship studies emphasised the role of the behaviour as well as the meaning given to it by the researcher in the context of grounded theory which acts as firm ground for emerging theory. It is already observed that "what and why" of the research questions needed critical analysis in the context of GT approach. It leads to the ontological and epistemological issues in GT methodology.

3.5.5 Ontological and Epistemological Issues

Ontology is what is studied, and the data derived will be the answer while epistemology is the why of it and it is the interpretation. In GT approach, the data itself can give meaning and the meaning attributed to it by the researcher may be different. Therefore the issues in ontology and epistemology in GT approach are due to merging of both ontology and epistemology or similar overlappings and also because of

the difference between the interpretation of the derived data and the interpretation of the researcher.

It should be observed that "as a critique of the Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998) revisionist method, if emergences of conceptual themes are not allowed to freely surface then a true ontology could be argued as never materialising" (Glaser 1992). Therefore, it is important that "the grounded theory researcher is left with a basic choice between Glaser's advocacy of a less specific analytical approach, and Strauss and Corbin's provision of more detailed operational guidelines. The latter offers greater potential assistance to the field researcher, who must nevertheless take particular care to avoid imposing concepts that reflect the researcher's own epistemological predilections, rather than those emerging from interaction with the study site and its participants" (Douglas 2004).

The ontological variables are derived from the field and very often self-explanatory. Further, there can be new attributes and new meaning in the context and the culture of the subjects studied. Therefore, Glaser's view seems to be more accurate to guard of the epistemological assumptions of the researcher so that the grounded theory is not diluted. It also leads to further inquiry about reflexivity, the very role of the researcher in GT approach.

3.5.6 The Challenge or the Need of Reflexivity

Reflexivity has been already understood from the literature as the personal knowledge and experience of the researcher that reflects upon his analysis of the data. As per the study of McGhee et al. (2007), "the grounded theory approach is not linear but concurrent, iterative and integrative, with data collection, analysis and conceptual theorizing occurring in parallel and from the outset of the research process" (Duhscher and Morgan 2004). This process continues until the theory generated explains every variation in the data (Benton 2000). The resulting theory is a robust theoretical explanation of the social phenomenon under investigation (Strauss and Corbin 1998). This analysis process is known as the "constant comparison 'method' (Glaser and Strauss 1967) in which the core category subsumes the major categories and explains much of the variation in the data". The constant comparison method always compels that these themes are grounded in the data rather than being derived from a preconceived conceptual framework. This implicitly necessitates awareness of self and a consciously reflective process called reflexivity.

Glaser highlights that "whilst the researcher's own creativity is an integral part in the emergence of categories, these categories must be inductively derived from the data in the field and not forced into the shape of preconceived notions held by the researcher. This is the tension between emergence and forcing (Glaser 1992) which is at the heart of the debate between the need for reflexivity and the positioning of the literature review. Deriving ideas inductively and then testing them deductively is 'going with the data' (Glaser 2001, p. 47)".

Therefore, it is important that the researcher should not become so reflexive as to suppress creativity and fail to produce a theoretical account which could be derived as "grounded theory", instead producing a description only. Although Glaser (2001, p. 47) "warns against this process of 'reflexivity paralysis', it is clear that he does not reject the need for the researcher to be reflexive in the sense of being self aware, but rather rejects the self-destructive introspective compulsion to locate their work within a particular theoretical context". Thus, the major constructs studied clearly show the remarkable difference among the founders as well as the research and academic experts in GT approach. The arguments are validated further in the discussion in the light of the social innovation study done by the author.

3.6 Discussion

The methodological issues in the use of GT approach are varied. However, this chapter limited them to four constructs explained above. Further to discuss their implications in the light of the study of the author substantiating with available literature would help to arrive at valid conclusions. The position of literature review in studies using GT approach should be discussed initially. "The traditional view of research design is that the research problem is defined from the literature" (Robson 2011). Robson also acknowledges that "in real world research literature provides a background resource rather than an essential starting point for research" (p. 50). However, "literature is a resource that needs to be treated with caution in the current environment where researchers and participants work more closely together. Literature has much to offer those wanting to know more about the key concepts in an area. Whether concepts are relevant or meaningful for people managing problems in a particular situation is another matter altogether" (Glaser 1978, 1998). "While a novice researcher commonly, and sometimes necessarily, begins a study with preconceptions, if he or she follows the GT method, forcing gives way to emergence. The real challenge for the researcher is to be prepared to let go of preconceptions: As a grounded theory grows it undoes forcing as moot….pet concepts, pet theory bits, and pet preconceptions just disappear as discovery enhances the drive to keep moving with what is going on. Grounded theory has such impactful conceptual power, that forcing becomes "silly" and preconceptions are given up without notice" (Glaser 1998, p. 99).

To give the example from the author's own experience of research following grounded theory methodology, as the theory evolves, you need more literature support to disprove what do not fit in and to prove or support the new dimensions. It is not disproving the theory but to establish that the available theory is not sufficient enough to explain the researched phenomena. It would be a Herculean task for the beginning researcher to get adequate literature to establish his arguments. However, pooling the literature as you progress in the study would be more meaningful and relevant to derive better outcome and to fix clarity (Prince 2017).

Nonetheless, considering the interpretivist agenda, "grounded theorists strive to develop fresh theoretical interpretations of the data rather than explicitly aim for any final or complete interpretation of them (Baker et al. 1992). This in itself is possibly the most important part of the process. It is also one which must ultimately be referred back to the method of analysis and interpretation. At the early stages of theory development, the interpretation should be presented to the original informants to ensure that it is an honest representation of participant accounts". According to Riley (1996, pp. 36–37), "When establishing the credibility of analysis, the tradition of investigator-as-expert is reversed. This process is called "member checking" and is an invited assessment of the investigator's meaning. Informants can be invited to assess whether the early analyses are an accurate reflection of their conversations". Thus, the interpretivist agenda could be resolved by integrating the interpretation of the participant and ensuring that the researcher's interpretations are not diluted in the theory formation.

This is done before the interpretation is abstracted on to a conceptual level and therefore becomes less meaningful to the individual. Ultimately, when using the grounded theory method, the researcher has an obligation to "abstract" the data and to think "theoretically" rather than descriptively. Furthermore, theoretical explanations of behaviour must allow for process, and recognise context and change. Consequently, consideration needs to be given to the labelling of categories. Glaser (1978, 1992) suggests that "categories should indicate "behavioural" type, not people "type". This allows the actors to walk in and out of many behavioural patterns. The emphasis is therefore on behavioural, not personal patterns. It is important to recognise that most individuals engage in a type of behaviour without being "typed" by it; they engage in other behaviours as well. Finally, the researcher needs to be clear about claims of generalisation. While some grounded theorists take the research into a variety of settings, this is most common in longitudinal and large-scale projects, it is not necessarily a condition for all grounded theory research, the aim of which is parsimony and fidelity to the data". Accordingly, "Transferability is not considered the responsibility of the investigator because the knowledge elicited is most influenced by each individual's life context and situation. Indeed the varied social constructions of knowledge are what the investigator is searching for. In its stead the investigator is to accurately describe the contexts and techniques of the study so that subsequent follow-up studies can match them as closely as possible" (Riley 1996, p. 37).

In view of the interpretivist agenda, the social innovation study gives interesting insights. When a researcher tries to code it, does it reflect exactly the mind of the participant or is it a meaning derived from the researcher's point of view? In the study on social innovation of the differently abled, the founder of the service sector makes a statement, "the poor should not be treated poorly". He gives healthy and rich food to the poor and in that context his statement has meaning. A qualitative researcher fails to read the mind of the participant, however expert he or she is. Thus, to give reflection to participant message and behaviour would be hard labour and the researcher should allow sufficient space to the participant to express themselves

to bring out their mind. Therefore, interpretivist agenda would be ever active in the qualitative platform.

Discussing the ontological and epistemological issues, there are evidences from the field. In the same study by this author about the care and rehabilitation of the differently abled, the caregivers from a level of ignorance have grown up to champions of mental health information through their commitment to the cause. Their experience taught them about people with different types of mental illness and how to handle them. It could be trial and error, or it could be intuitive. Whatever be the method, their level of knowledge has a steady growth derives from personal experiences. In such context, the epistemological nuances that they pick up from the ground have much validation than any other research-based knowledge depository. For instances, one of the participants who has five girl children, who shelters around 300 mentally ill, had apprehension about the formation of his children in the midst of mentally derailed. However, experience taught him a lesson that his children are "much normal than any other children of their age" and the mentally ill who were viewed as "dangerous guys" were caring and loving to feed these children, to take them to school and to play with them. In fact, an educated mentally ill person gave tutorial support to the children. Thus, the evidence shows that the ontological and epistemological foundations are grounded in the field than found in the reflections of the researcher.

Reflecting upon the reflexivity, it is again true from the studies done by the author himself that the preconceived notion of rehabilitation was that it would be a community model. But the data collected gave clear evidence that it is a family model more than community model. Most of the centres in which the mentally ill are cared along with the family members of the caregiver and the family involvement of the staff give a family dimension to the entire caregiving process. The hypothetical assumptions of the researcher were almost disproved from the grounded data. Therefore, the change and need for reflexivity are equally important in grounded theory approach. Hence, the reflection of the researcher is important but it should not delimit the emergence of the theory in grounding approach. Therefore, scholars need to take a careful stand while adopting grounded theory approach, particularly while doing research studies.

3.7 Conclusion

Grounded theory is one of the major qualitative research methodologies used in managerial studies, particularly in social entrepreneurship and social innovation studies. Being a qualitative approach, the subjective feelings and experiences have a major role in the formulation of the theory. Yet many scholars are reluctant to use it on account of the methodological issues discussed in this chapter. However, a careful planning and commitment of the researcher with keen research interest can reduce the delimitations of the methodology and make it a powerful approach in social science studies in general and social entrepreneurship and innovation studies in particular.

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Chapter 4
Use of Semiotics in an Emic Research: Opportunities and Implications

Sumita Mishra and Rajen K. Gupta

Abstract The purpose of this chapter is to depict the use of semiotics for an emic research on the impact of cultural diversity on knowledge sharing in multicultural teams (MCTs). Empirical data through in-depth interviews was obtained from 59 Indian team members of an Indian product software company that operated globally. Semiotics was used as an interpretive tool to gather an emic perspective on this data. Three major semantic codes were drawn through the process of analysis. Each of these codes focused on the major research questions of the study. These codes bear important implications for the literature describing the impact of cultural diversity on team performance in MCTs with specific reference to India. The chapter validates the use of semiotics as an appropriate method for data analysis, thereby bearing important implications to the realm of qualitative research methods. It purports that words and expressions used by employees are important sign categories capable of providing emic insights into pertinent issues of cultural diversity that can impact on knowledge sharing in MCTs.

Keywords Semiotics · Emic · Cultural diversity · Knowledge sharing · Multicultural teams · Indians

4.1 Introduction

The realm of qualitative research methods is a creative and contrarily challenging one with areas that have not explored to their optimal capacity. Semiotics—the scientific study of signs—is one such area. Semiotics was developed simultaneously out of the works of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and the American

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philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (Jackson and Carter 2000). Through the contributions of French writer Roland Barthes and French Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, semiotics gained recognition and was subsequently used as an interpretive tool not only in understanding linguistic symbols but also in varied fields such as organization studies, structural anthropology, discourse analysis and sociology.

Given its rich history and potential, semiotics has remained rather an esoteric method for analysis of data in organizational behaviour. A comprehensive extension of Saussurean semiotics in organization studies with reference to organizational culture could be seen in Barley's (1983) study. Semiotics, in his study, demonstrated that an organizational culture expressed the contextual reality of the funeral home as collectively experienced by its employees[1] a decidedly emic expostulation. The purpose of our paper is to demonstrate the use of semiotics for an emic research on the impact of cultural diversity on knowledge sharing in multicultural teams (MCTs) from the lived-in 'emic' experiences of Indian members of such teams. Barley's (1983) semantic grids have been adapted to analyse and present the data gathered in our study.

The next section of our paper presents our rationale behind the choice of an emic research in our interest, the development of research questions and the utility of semiotics therein. The third section of the paper depicts a brief account of the history of semiotics and its usage in organizational studies, while the fourth section explains the terms commonly used in the semiotic analysis of data. The fifth section details the methodology of our study. The latter also provides a thorough description of the use of semiotics on the data collected. The results of our study are summarized in the sixth section of the paper, while the seventh and the last section outline the opportunities and implications of the paper.

4.2 The Need for an 'Emic' Research and Development of Research Questions

Given the complexities associated with our domain of study, i.e. the impact of cultural diversity on knowledge sharing in Indian MCTs, it is indeed necessary to account for our need for an emic study herein. In this account, we start with the understanding of the word culture. Numerous definitions have been provided to understand culture.[2] But the interpretation that held our interest was the one provided by Sackmann and

[1] Semiotics in Barley's (1983) study provided lucid explanation of the semiotic approach for collecting and analysing the data. Through the construction of semantic grids, he explained the reasons behind the desire of the funeral home to create an atmosphere of a living world. The semantic grids provided a perfectly logical explanation of dressing up a dead body and manipulating the features in a manner that is like that of a living, sleeping person and furnishing the surroundings to resemble a living room of a house.

[2] Anthropologists have always provided exhaustive ethnographic accounts of indigenous cultures. Hence, they provided a plethora of definitions to describe culture. To bring order to this definitional angle, two anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn, in 1952, provided a famous compilation of 164

Philips (2004). They defined culture as 'combination of assumptions, beliefs, values and practices that is distinctive to people of a particular group' in their paper published in the International Journal of Cross Cultural Management. Their paper was an appeal at two levels—(1) to look at culture from a micro-level and not necessarily at the macro-perspective such as that of the society, nation and the organization. Any group, i.e. functional domains, vocational groups and racial groups may possess a culture distinctive to people of the group itself and (2) an individual may possess multiple cultural identities simultaneously. The latter appeal was further reiterated to in later studies arguing for a poly-contextual approach in studying MCTs (Gelfand et al. 2007; Tsui et al. 2007).

In the backdrop of an upsurge of research interest in multicultural groups and teams' process with relation to culture (Zhou and Shi 2011), these appeals bore an important research implication about methodology. This implication was the best echoed in an earlier work by Soderberg and Holden (2002). They called for a digression from the beaten path of research on cross-cultural management in general and MCTs towards an emic stance of research into how actors experience cultural diversity and issues in their everyday work contexts. The word 'emic'[3] thus gained a fresh significance in shaping the perspectives and methodological choices that researchers wished to make in the realm of cross-cultural/intercultural management in groups and teams especially MCTs. Further forays in the literature on MCTs revealed several studies on the impact of cultural diversity on differing aspects of team performance (Anderson 1983; Boyacigiller and Adler 1991; Day et al. 1995; Milliken and Martins 1996; Salk 1996; Snow et al. 1996; Sundstrom et al. 1990; Watson and Kumar 1992). But surprisingly a limited number of such studies researched on the impact of cultural diversity on knowledge sharing in these teams (Day et al. 1995; Vallaster 2005).

In the identified domain of our study, a review of the literature was conducted in three major domains. The first of these domains concentrated on studies that focused on the impact of cultural diversity on the performance of MCTs (Anderson 1983; Hambrick et al. 1998; Milliken and Martins 1996; Vallaster 2005). The second of these domains reviewed studies looked at the process of knowledge sharing in teams/MCTs (Bunderson and Sutcliffe 2002; Cummings 2004; Faraj and Sproull 2000). The third domain presented a review of extant literature focusing on cultural characteristics of Indians in societal, business and team contexts (Saha 1992; Sinha 2002). A research gap common to all the domains of literature reviewed was the lack of a systematic research focusing on the impact of cultural diversity on knowledge sharing processes from the lived-in emic experiences of Indian professionals who have worked in MCTs. In the past decade, India emerged as an attractive global destination to do business in. The presence of Indian professionals in MCTS was also on the rise. Specifically, the information technology (IT) and information

definitions of culture that were current in the anthropological literature at the time. (http://www.anthrobase.com/Dic/eng/def/culture.htm, 'Culture', as accessed on February 23, 2015).

[3] An emic construct was termed 'emic' if it was in accord with the perceptions and understandings deemed appropriate by the insider's culture.

technology enabled services (ITES) sector in India witnessed a phenomenal growth in outsourcing and offshore business in the past decade (Messner 2013).[4] Thus, given the above-mentioned research gap coupled with the catapulting of Indians into global business, further emphasized upon the significance of an emic research.

The literature review and subsequent identification of gaps gradually sharpened our focus on the major research questions of this doctoral research. These research questions were:

1. How are diversity in the national culture of team members, in MCTs perceived by Indian team members as having an impact upon knowledge sharing in the team?

In the analysis of the literature, the concept of the heterogeneity in the nationality of team members or nation as a cultural group had been extensively researched upon in MCTs about their impact on individuals' functioning within the team or team performance as a whole. Despite the abundance of such studies, there were few studies that researched the impact of national cultural diversity among team members on knowledge sharing processes in MCTs.

2. How are diverse functional affiliations of team members perceived by Indian team members as a salient cultural group (with their own set of assumptions, values, beliefs and practices) having an impact on knowledge sharing in MCTs?

The appeals in Sackmann and Philips (2004) paper had held our interest, and hence, we decided to explore and understand the impact of several multicultural identities that team members may possess, on the process of knowledge sharing. The literature review helped narrow our search to functional affiliations among team members that could be termed as a relevant cultural group. Functional diversity as conceived in this research refers to differences in the nature of the task performed by members in MCTs. This question explored a functional subgroup as a cultural group whose members shared a common cultural understanding about the nature of the roles that they performed about knowledge sharing and more importantly how these roles would impact upon the process of knowledge sharing within MCTs.

3. How do Indian managers cope with their multiple cultural identities (in this case nationality, function) about the process of team knowledge sharing in MCTs?

These questions were the pivotal foundations of this research which further helped define the constructs and sampling procedures. As the research was emic in nature, we felt the need of a method that on one hand could provide us with the necessary flexibility to capture the richness inherent of such a data but on the other hand also placed emphasis on the rigour and format of analysis of data. Semiotics provided

[4]In India, the services sourcing industry enjoys the highest impact factor with eight per cent relative to India's GDP and a seven per cent share in all foreign direct investment as reported through statistics from the National Association of Software and Services Companies (NASSCOM)-India's premier IT trade body in IT software and services (Messner 2013). As per the NASSCOM reports, the IT industry headcount grew from 190,000 in 1998 with a CAGR of nearly 25% to nearly three million in 2013 (Messner 2011).

ample scope to meet both paradoxical demands and yet complemented our tool to collect data, i.e. interviews. The following section contains a brief account of the use of semiotics in organizational studies.

4.3 Use of Semiotics in Organizational Studies

To recapitulate, deliberations on semiotics throughout the nineteenth century took place in two major branches—firstly the American branch led by Charles Sanders Peirce focusing on the development of signs central in linguistics and linked to philosophy and secondly the European branch led by Ferdinand Saussure, the father of modern structural linguistics and A. J. Griemas, a social linguist (Barley 1983; Brannen 2004; Shank 1987, 1994). The latter school of thought is primarily concerned with the relationship between signs and the way they produce meaning within any social context. This school of thought has also had a greater practical use for theory building in a variety of fields other than linguistics.

Apart from Barley's study (1983), semiotics has also been used by other organizational theorists such as Manning (1979) to study police departments, Fiol (1989) to analyse corporate language in defining organizational boundaries, by Brannen (2004) to investigate the meaning of firm assets in different cultural environments and by Carson et al. (2005) to study spatial practices and identity formation among school children. Hancock (2005) illustrated the utility of a semiotically grounded approach to the study of organizational aesthetics while Mishra and Gupta (2007) have made use of this technique to analyse a nascent organizational culture of an Indian offshore software development organization. Friedman and Thellefsen (2011) have utilized Peirce's sign theory alongside concept theory to explore their applicability to knowledge organization. These studies are also a testimonial to the limited use of semiotics in the domain of organizational studies and more so in researches from an emic perspective. With this brief background, we now provide a description of terminologies common to the use of semiotics in the analysis of data.

4.4 Terminologies Used in the Semiotic Analysis of Data

Throughout history, the term 'sign'[5] could comprise of words, images, objects, rituals, practices, etc. Such signs are basically made up of two components: (1) *Signifier* (also termed as expression) which is the sign vehicle and principally refers to the material world of sound and vision and (2) the *Signified* (also termed as content) that relates to the idea or the meaning expressed by the signifier. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is termed as *signification* in the semiotic analysis

[5]The first known reference to the term 'sign' could be traced to the Greek word 'semeion' meaning mark or the sign (Friedman and Thellefsen 2011).

(Barley 1983). Signs and significations have no intrinsic meaning unless what could be provided by the context in which they are used. Such a property is also termed as *arbitrary coupling* by Saussure in the semiotic literature (Kress and Mavers 2005).

Semiotics also details the rules by which the signifiers are linked with the signified. Firstly, signs signify by *opposition*. Through opposition as Saussure mentions, a signification acquires the properties of inclusion and exclusion for a community (Carson et al. 2005; Kaufman 2004). Apart from the concept of opposition, *metaphors* are also used to connect the signifier with its signified. Metaphors have been extensively used in field research in organization culture analysis (Ferda and Cigdem 2003; Morgan 1980, 1983, 1997). *Metonymies* act as secondary forms within the context in which the metaphor has been used. For the sign 'fire', 'smoke' can be considered to be a metonymical expression. Thus, our illustration of semiotics in this paper shall include all these three rules namely—the concept of opposition, metaphors and metonymical expressions to connect signifiers with their signified.

As signs are context dependent, or arbitrarily coupled, they usually occur in what are known are chains of signification (Jackson and Carter 2000). Chains of significations give rise to semantic codes. A *code* thus consists of (1) signifiers (expressions), (2) signified (contents), (3) rules for coupling the expressions to their contents (metaphors, metonymies and signification by opposition), and, (4) a set of alternative or opposing responses to the significations within the code (Barley 1983). Codes can further be divided into *denotative* and *connotative* codes. Denotation is what we take as the literal meaning (signifier) of a system of signs. Denotative expressions are also akin to metonymical expressions as they form constituent elements of a semantic code and subsume chains of signifiers. Connotation is the whole range of social and cultural meanings which can be attached to a sign.

4.5 Methodology

4.5.1 Research Site

For our research, we visited several organizations within the Information Technology (IT) and Information Technology Enabled Services (ITES) industry as such an industry was expected to provide us with organizations that worked with members from different nationalities on a regular basis given its steady growth. The organization that evinced interest in our research and granted us an entry was Bankcorp Software Services (BSS).[6] BSS is a global software concern providing products and software solutions in banking and financial services sector since 1986. BSS's core competence focused in areas such as credit cards, cash management, relationship banking, credit

[6]The name of the organization, the names of teams, the names of the products and solutions of the organization and the names of the client-based companies and teams have been changed keeping in mind the agreement to confidentiality regarding the collection of empirical data with the organization.

risk and appraisal, trade finance, Internet banking, data warehousing and analytics. Clients of the company comprise of banks, insurance and trading companies, etc. Apart from the usual concerns of accessibility to the organization, BSS was a sound selection for the collection of empirical data for the following three reasons. Firstly, the organization was an Indian organization with a multinational presence in global banking software business. Secondly, about its product and services, BSS had an established clientele and strong presence in Southeast Asian Countries with particular thrust on Japan. The organization had expanded to cater to clients in the USA, UK and the Middle East along with some African countries. BSS also had several clients in India. Hence as BSS worked with clients as well as partner vendors from different cultures, its work context was largely multicultural. Thirdly, BSS functioned largely through global software development teams that were also multicultural.

4.5.2 Method of Data Collection

Vital for an emic research was to engage for a substantial period with the organization. With a month, long preliminary discussions and engagement with the corporate vice president of the company, a total of six months was spent in the collection of data. Though BSS had a global presence in many countries, it did major business in Japan. The work at BSS was divided into eleven internal business units (IBUs). Each of these IBUs contained various global software development teams. Given the importance for Japan as a country where business was conducted for BSS and to provide a focus to our empirical research design, we decided to narrow down our sample to selecting those teams within IBUs that did business in Japan. We narrowed down to 15 software teams within the company from different IBUs. A sample of 57 Indian team members and two translators were selected for data collection from these 15 teams identified using the logic of purposive sampling.

Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used to collect data from each of these 59 informants.[7] The interviews were all face-to-face and lasted from 45 min to little more than an hour each. The interviews were considered as collaborative and contextual interactions between us and our informants.[8] Each of the interviews was transcribed immediately after its completion and shared with the informants. Further clarifications and repeat interview sessions were sought wherever necessary. Secondary data was also gathered through the perusal of the website of the company, related websites, newspaper clippings, stories, etc., about the company, its product portfolio and position in the banking software industry.

[7]We have used the term informants to designate the employees interviewed at BSS. According to Spradley (1979), informants are native speakers and are engaged by the interviewer to speak in their own language and dialect. Keeping intact the spirit of an emic research, informants become teachers for the interviewer in the long run.

[8]Collaboration is an important ingredient of qualitative interviews. It will help open up alternative and silent trajectories of thought on the data collected and analysed (Rapley 2001).

4.5.3 Process of Data Analysis

Given the purpose of this paper, this subsection has immense importance as it enunciates the process involved in the semiotic analysis of data. The first step in a semiotic analysis of data is the arrangement of data (interview transcripts) into relevant domains. A domain may be defined as:

> Any symbolic category that includes other categories is a domain. All the members of the domain share at least one feature of meaning. (Spradley 1979, p. 100)

Any domain has a *cover term*, which titles the domain and a set of two or more *included terms* that include terms that fall within the range of that domain. Each such term is linked to the cover term through a *semantic relationship*. The listing of domains continued simultaneously as the interviews progressed. Thus, data collection and analysis were largely overlapping phases—a feature common to the collection and eventual analysis of emic data. Using Glaser and Strauss's (1967) notion of theoretical saturation, our interviews continued until there was no new information imparted on any domain. We used a process of structural and contrast questions to exhaust every domain identified. *Structural questions* are specifically designed to elicit information on the cover terms and included terms based on their semantic relationships. As signs also signify through opposition as mentioned earlier, we developed a set of *contrast questions* for each of the domains listed. We can take the example of an interview excerpt with one of the informants to explain the process of mapping out a domain titled 'project-related work teams'.

Interviewer: You mentioned that your team was largely a project related work team. Can you describe as to what is a project related work team? *(Structural Question on a Cover term)*
Informant (a Senior Systems Analyst): A project related work team is one where the product sometimes is developed from the beginning given the terms and conditions of the client. The client pays for this product development and retains the Intellectual property Rights (IPR) to the product or software developed. We are not allowed to sell this project related knowledge to any other client legally as we do with our own products. Product enhancements or customizations are made at the request of the client. The project is paid based on the man hours and man months that we put into it. *(Included Terms)*
Interviewer: You mentioned products vis-à-vis projects. Are there product related work teams too?
Informant: Yes there are. BSS has two major flagship products.
Interviewer: What are the differences between the two kinds of teams? *(Contrast Question)*
Informant: A product related work team is inherently different vis-à-vis that of the project. A product is the patent of the company and the company retains the IPR. The same product can be sold to a variety of clients. The core product may be tweaked around to suit client requirements. Clients pay for these changes and enhancements if any. *(Contrast Included Terms)*

The mapping of this domain with its included terms and semantic relationship is highlighted in Fig. 4.1. Each of the included terms [X] (as provided in the excerpt) is linked to the cover term [Y] through the semantic relationship 'X is a description of Y' as shown in Fig. 4.1. These included terms are relevant signifiers within a domain.

Thus, after a listing of all the preliminary domains, a *taxonomic analysis* of all the domains was conducted. This helped understand the relationship between different included terms within a domain (Spradley 1979) through the aid of specific structural and contrast questions on the included terms. It also arranged smaller domains within larger and more inclusive domains. This step was important in the mapping out of denotative codes as we subsumed smaller domains within a larger domain with multiple included terms (signifiers). Figure 4.2 provides an example of how to conduct a taxonomic analysis of a domain titled 'type of IBUs'.

Domains listed were not always independent of each other. By mapping out the similarities between these domains, it was possible to arrange them taxonomically under a bigger organizing domain. For example, within the organizing domain titled 'type of IBUs', we subsumed smaller domains such as 'project-related IBUs' and 'product-related IBUs'.

Post the taxonomic analysis, denotative and connotative codes were mapped out. As the taxonomic analysis provided us with one of the largest domains within a code, which could contain other domains, the included terms within this domain indicated the denotative codes or metonymical expressions/signifiers of the semantic code identified. The last phase was the identification of the connotative codes. This was done on analysing the interview transcripts to discover similarities between the included terms (denotative codes) of the largest domain identified. Such connotations are core to any semiotic analysis as they indicate that denotations created by

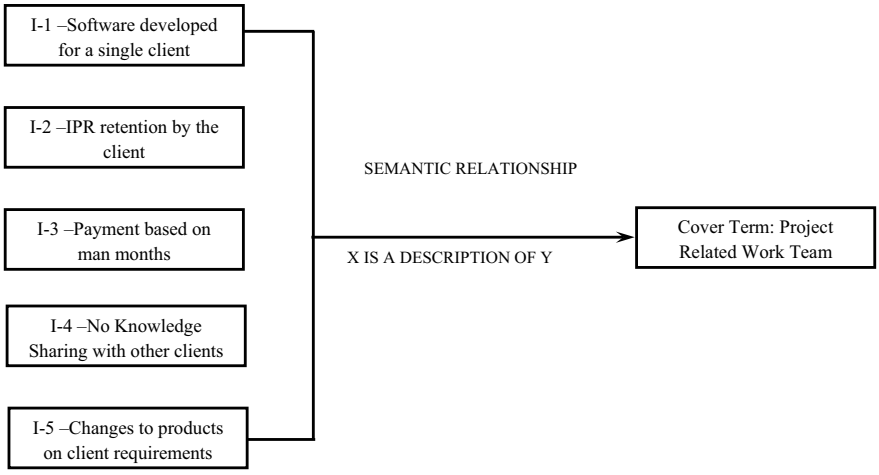

Fig. 4.1 Mapping of a domain

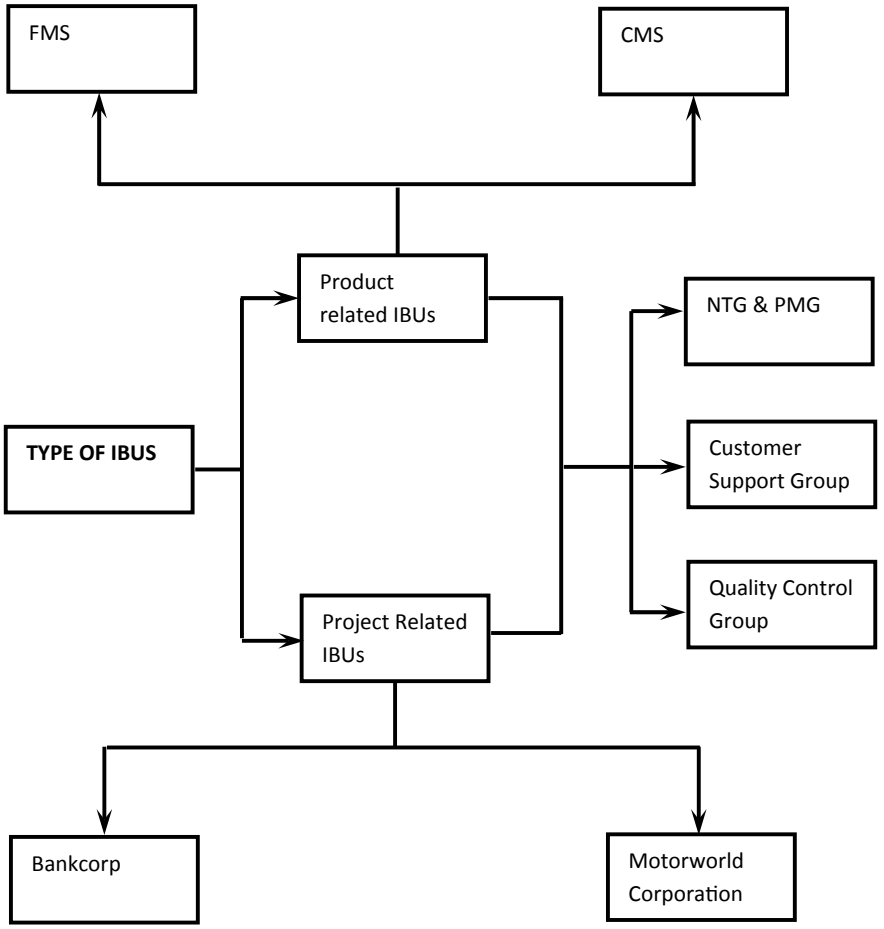

Fig. 4.2 Taxonomic analysis of domain

diverse signifying processes are similar as perceived at a reflexive level by a particular community.

Metaphors and their corresponding metonymical expressions were used to further elucidate the essence of the semantic codes generated. Hence in the use of Barley's semantic grids, our data analysis used all the three rules to link signifiers with their signified as mentioned in the earlier section. The following section presents the results of our research and subsequent analysis.

4.6 Results

The data generated was contained in three semantic codes. The first code presents the national cultural patterns in knowledge sharing in MCTs. The second code presents

the functionally affiliated roles impacting upon knowledge sharing within MCTs. Finally, the third code presents the nature of coping mechanisms that our informants undertake with regard to knowledge sharing within MCTs. The largest identified semantic code was the second with the maximum number of domains, while the smallest code was the third and the final one. Given the brevity and simplicity of the latter code, this section provides a presentation of the code in detail to illustrate the use of semiotics in the analysis of emic data. A summarization of results contained in the remaining two codes has also been provided for.

4.6.1 Code of National Cultural Patterns in Knowledge Sharing Within MCTs

A complete semiotic picture of differences in knowledge sharing patterns of clients (who were also members/stakeholders) belonging to different nationalities; i.e. India and Japan have been provided in this code. Both the signified ('Knowledge Sharing Patterns of Japanese Clients' and 'Knowledge Sharing Patterns of Indian Clients') have a chain of denotations/metonymical expressions, connotations and are also arbitrary or context specific contrasts to each other. The metaphorical expression of a 'dignified martinet' was used to illustrate the first signified, while the metaphorical expressions of a 'capricious bargainer' were used to illustrate the second.

4.6.2 Code of Functionally Affiliated Roles in Knowledge Sharing Within MCTs

This code had two major signified, i.e. 'role of project managers (PMs)/project leads (PLs) in knowledge sharing within MCTs' and 'role of software engineers in knowledge sharing within MCTs'. Both these signified were emic contrasts to each other. The metaphorical expression of 'captain of a team' has been employed to illustrate the first signified, while the metaphorical expression of 'player of a team' was utilized to illustrate the second signified. PMs/PLs were central in the process of knowledge sharing since they liaised between all the stakeholders (clients, vendors) and their own team. Software engineers were critical in knowledge sharing during the production and testing of software and mainly provided support to their PMs/PLs in knowledge sharing during the software development life cycle (SDLC).

4.6.3 Code of Coping Mechanisms for Knowledge Sharing Within MCTs

Employees working in such multicultural environments, evinced at BSS, often belonged to several cultural groups simultaneously as explained by Sackmann and Philips (2004). Informants in our study also were multicultural in their identity as apart from belonging to a nationality; i.e. India, they also belonged to diverse functionally affiliated groups. Thus, this code explored the coping mechanisms employed by Indian managers to manage their multicultural identities in order to deal with multicultural clientele with regard to knowledge sharing. To build the semantic code, an exploration into company policies to help managers in such a purpose as well as informal mechanisms adopted by managers themselves to suit this purpose was deemed necessary.

The first step in building the structure of this code was once again to detail the comprehensive list of domains within this code. Table 4.1 lists all the domains with their included terms and semantic relationships. With the arrangement of data into domains, included terms and semantic relationships, a larger inclusive domain was then searched to arrange for a semantic taxonomy of domains listed in Table 4.1. On an analysis of our field notes and transcripts, we decided to select 'diverse coping mechanisms' as an organizing domain as the word 'diverse' was the expression used by maximum number of informants while describing the coping mechanisms that they adopt with regard to knowledge sharing with a variety of Japanese clients within MCTs that they have been a part of. Figure 4.3 presents taxonomy of this domain titled 'diverse coping mechanisms'. The fifteen domains listed in Table 4.1 have been subsumed under various included terms of this major domain. The domain also is the main signified to this code.

The five included terms of this major domain/signified, as illustrated in Fig. 4.3, were also its literal metonymical expressions or denotations. BSS conducted training programmes to equip its employees to deal with a multicultural clientele. Emphasis was also given to the honing of presentation skills while negotiating and sharing of knowledge with such clients. Internet-based training also happened at BSS, and it was convenient for the employees due to its easy accessibility. These modules contained basic information about the client company and cultural salutations. But the success of such programmes was undermined by the fact that employees in a growing product software company such as BSS rarely had time to sit through such programmes and read the relevant documentation especially when they were travelling onsite to meet the client.

The importance accorded to project managers (PM)/project leads (PL) by peers, IBU heads and subordinates alike in guiding them in coping with clients in various phases of the software development life cycle (SDLC) also helped in pushing institutionalized training into the background. During the production phase, selected software engineers travelled onsite to work with the client. The first interview by the client of these engineers often sealed the rest of their relationship with the client. Hence, engineers travelling onsite invested a good deal of time in preparing for the

Table 4.1 List of domains on perceived coping mechanisms for knowledge sharing within MCTs

Sl. No	Title of domain	Included terms	Semantic Relationships
1	Type of training programmes at BSS	Brief induction by IBU Heads to new entrants, cultural sensitivity programmes conducted monthly by the HR, and Internet-based training by HR	X is a type of Y
2	Description of cultural sensitivity programmes	Presentation skills while dealing with foreign clients, booklets and brief documentation on cultural salutations	X is a description of Y
3	Description of Internet-based training	Data on the net about the client's company and business, documentation on cultural salutations	X is a description of Y
4	Type of challenges faced by training programmes at BSS	Infrequent attendance of employees due to job pressures and timelines, little or no attention paid to documentation in such programmes, importance given to ongoing discussions with PMs/PLs or BSS employees who have been onsite	X is a type of Y
5	Reasons for importance accorded to PMs/PLs	Single point of contact with the client, mentor in KS with client and first onsite visits of software engineers, arbitrator of problems and client escalations, importance of PMs/PLs of the PDG	X is a reason for Y
6	Reasons for importance of PMs/PLs of PDG	Knowledge about generic advances in banking software, KS and involvement required while making product enhancements	X is a reason for Y
7	Type of challenges faced in first onsite visits with the client	Cultural differences in KS with relation to work and interviews by the client of the software engineers	X is a type of Y

(continued)

Table 4.1 (continued)

Sl. No	Title of domain	Included terms	Semantic Relationships
8	Reasons for client interviews	Initial impression of the vendor team member and judgement of the knowledge of the member on the project	X is a reason for Y
9	Method of preparation for client interviews	Preparation of workable software development plans, a complete debriefing from the PMs/PLs about the requirements of the project, and knowledge about the status of the project	X is a method of Y
10	Type of difficulties in being guided by PMs/PLs	Non-availability due to simultaneous engagement in a different project and attrition	X is a type of Y
11	Type of BSS employees onsite	PMs/PLs of the WTC Team, PMs/PLs and selected software engineers of development teams, BSS employees stationed in its different offices worldwide	X is a type of Y
12	Reasons for KS with employees onsite	Familiarity with the client, KS of user requirements during production, interfacing with the client post-production of software and connection of team members with chosen customers of the client	X is a reason for Y
13	Reasons for using the corporate library	Complete information on the client's countries, documentation on product specifications and program codes, documentation on banking software, documentation of industry trends, and documentation on new product enhancements in separate projects at BSS	X is a reason for Y
14	Reasons for infrequent use of corporate library	Tight work schedules and communication and e-mails with relevant BSS employees	X is a reason for Y

(continued)

Table 4.1 (continued)

Sl. No	Title of domain	Included terms	Semantic Relationships
15	Kind of help provided by the translators	Styling of e-mails and documents, medium of KS with the Japanese and debriefing about the Japanese style of working	X is a kind of Y

Note The client/clients as mentioned in this Table referred to the Japanese clients of the teams from which our informants were drawn given the focus of our research on Indo-Japanese interactions in MCTs

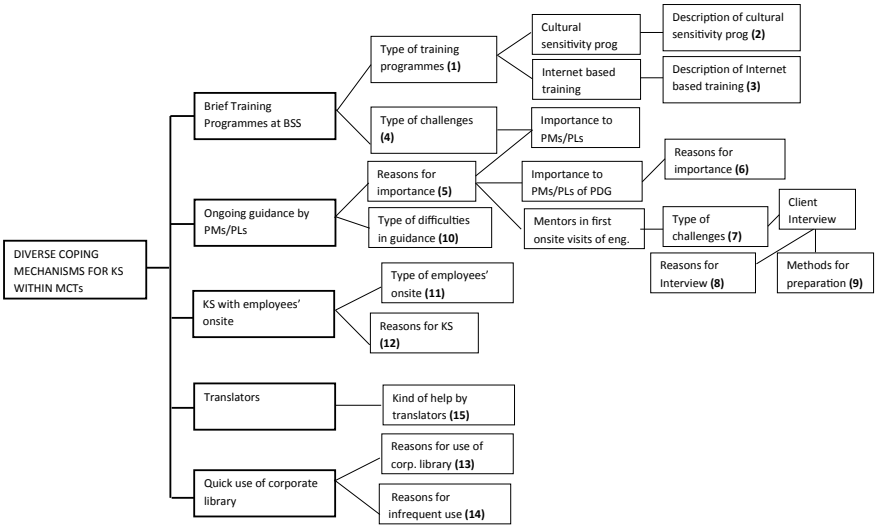

Fig. 4.3 Semantic taxonomy of the domain titled 'Diverse Coping Mechanisms for Knowledge Sharing within MCTs'

interview. Apart from informal guidance from the PMs/PLs of vendor teams, knowledge sharing often happened with employees who were onsite or who had been onsite. An excerpt from our interviews also laid emphasis on this point.

> During my first onsite visit with client members from Bank X, I was definitely nervous. But an informal chat with one of peers in the Loan originating systems module of our own help team helped me tremendously. Informal titbits about the client are always useful when you are stuck in a difficult situation. Guidance from our bosses is also helpful. For example, the Japanese are careful about authority and will only listen to what their bosses tell them to. There may often be a clash between different chains of communication. But then we have been told by our bosses who to listen to. Such a sharing of knowledge is often informal and need specific. (Software Engineer, Operations Team, IBU-Bankcorp)

Lastly, informants also used the corporate library or the learning resource centre as it was popularly known in order to cope with regard to knowledge sharing with

their clients and between the client and the team. BSS boasted of a fairly large corporate library that not only contained all relevant details of the countries where its clients were based but also contained a good deal of documentation on products, enhancements and issues with bugs.

On mapping the set of denotations for the signified, it was also necessary to provide an emic analysis of the signified at the connotative level. The contrast questions on each of the domains were collated to build up the connotations for the signified and code. An interview excerpt on the included term 'use of corporate library' (refer to Fig. 4.3) may be taken as an example.

Interviewer: Why do you use the corporate library?
Systems Analyst [RAGS New Technology Group (NTG), IBU-NTG]: The corporate library does contain most of the documentation on the product by the RAGS Team. But such documentation is not full proof but rather relative. I confer with the PMs/PLs and related team members *(differing denotative code)* as and when required. Sometimes the complete documentation is not available or has not been supplied by the team. We take help of people and resources as and when the situation demands. There is no standard method for coping.
Interviewer: What is the difference between your style of coping and a standard method of coping? (Contrast question)
Systems Analyst: In product software company the environment that you work in is very dynamic. There are a number of situations that you have to cope with simultaneously and probably in the best suited way according to you. For example, during the UAT of a new product enhancement, my own team members onsite *(differing denotative code)* will be an important source of knowledge for me rather than the original development team. But where the work environment is fairly stable the coping mechanisms are also standard and can apply to a number of situations." (Information on a contrast domain)

The denotations of 'Quick use of corporate library', 'Translators', 'Knowledge Sharing with Employees onsite' and 'Ongoing guidance by PMs/PLs' connotatively signified coping mechanisms that were largely *'contextual'* in nature. Denotations of 'Brief Training Programmes', 'Ongoing guidance by PMs/PLs' and 'Knowledge Sharing with employees onsite' collectively signified coping mechanisms which were *'informal'*. Lastly, the denotations of 'Ongoing guidance by PMs/PLs', 'Translators' and 'Knowledge Sharing with employees onsite' connotatively suggested '*people-oriented'* coping mechanisms.

The connotations at a deeper level of analysis indicated the reasons why informants chose to think of coping mechanisms as diverse. They also guided our choice of a metaphorical expression to illustrate the relation between the signified and its literal (denotative) as well as intuitive (connotative) signifiers. The metaphorical expression of a *'coping iceberg'* has been used to figuratively describe this signified and its signifiers. Regular training programmes and documentation revealed the emphasis on processes at BSS. But they also represented the tip of the iceberg about coping mechanisms undertaken by informants for knowledge sharing in MCTs. As significations also base on the rule of opposition, an opposing domain/signified, denotations and connotations have been provided to the signified titled 'diverse cop-

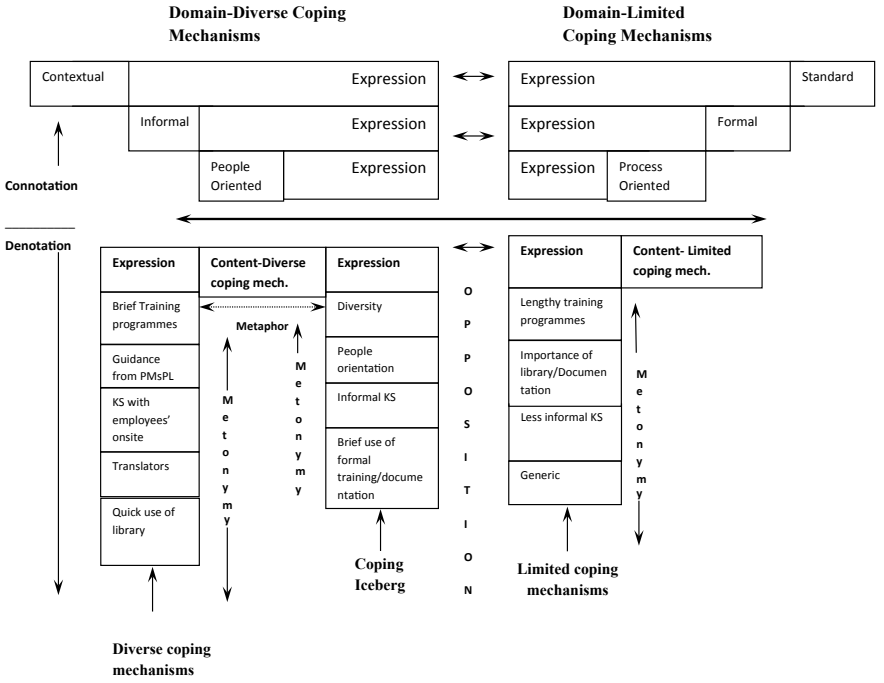

Fig. 4.4 Semiotic grid of the code of coping mechanisms for knowledge sharing within MCTs

ing mechanisms'. Such a domain was culled through contrast questions on all the fifteen domains listed in Table 4.1. Figure 4.4 presents the semantic grid for this code with its domain, opposing domain, denotations/connotations, signified and the metaphor.

4.7 Opportunities and Implications of a Semiotic Research

The primary contribution of this paper is contained in its very purpose as outlined from the outset, i.e. to depict the use of semiotics—a method not very often used in research in organization studies, in the analysis of emic data given a research problem within a research context. Semiotics provides new vistas of opportunities in the analysis of qualitative data. Such an approach to data interpretation maintained that a key to understanding a culture lay in the analysis of how members of the culture structured the meanings in their world (Barley 1983). As an interpretive tool, semiotics manages a rare balance between interpretation of data and providing a lucid and logical structure to this interpretation. The process of interpretation from the very culling of domains, saturating the collection of data on domains, building of semantic taxonomies, denotations/connotations and the building of the semantic

code with emic contrast domains and metaphorical expressions provides a sturdy foundation in building the structure of the data analysed.

Semiotics also has enabled us for a richer analysis of data mainly through the rule of opposition. Oppositions were viewed as critical concepts in linguistics by semioticians.[9] Given the context of our research, the notion of opposition implemented through the drawing of contrast signified yielded crucial results. In the semantic code, detailed earlier in the paper, a contrast domain/signified was built to provide a better justification to its major signified. Such a contrast did not really include perceptual data of informants on BSS. It rather helped them imagine work context/coping mechanisms that were different as opposed to that of BSS. Moreover, each such contrast was emic and context specific in nature. The rules of signification as outlined earlier oppositions, metaphors and metonymical expressions are emic and hence bore significance within our research context. Such results could not be extrapolated in varied research settings.

From a theoretical perspective, the codes generated helped build linkages with popular etic cross-cultural studies such as Hofstede (2001) and the GLOBE study by House et al. (2004) regarding knowledge sharing. Our results were particularly important to the literature on cultural characteristics of Indians in team contexts as much of the earlier research reviewed herein was conceptual in nature. On the practical front, the findings did have three major implications. Firstly, the semiotic analysis helped the management at BSS to make their cultural sensitivity training programme more worthwhile, relevant and grounded in a cultural context. Secondly, BSS needed to use effective retention mechanisms for the project leads in view of their importance to knowledge sharing in the MCTs studied. Lastly given the importance of project managers/project leads in knowledge sharing in teams, the results helped generate thoughts on valuable HRD interventions such as mentoring team members to effective knowledge sharing within teams and between the team and clients.

In the aftermath of the award of my doctoral degree, we maintain that one of the major contributions of our research was the adoption of semiotics as a research method within the scope of an emic research. Even at the level of doctoral research, the use of semiotics was limited.[10] Given such a scenario, the significance of our research from a methodological standpoint was augmented by detailed description of the use and efficacy of semiotics in analysing our empirical data. To the best of our knowledge, Barley's (1983) semantic grids have not been utilized given a research context and focus such as ours. With comprehensive details on the structure of these semantic grids coupled with the analysis techniques provided by Spradley (1979), our research could be of value to those wanting to understand a coherent

[9]The concept of dichotomy in language/speech was central in the works of Saussure. As an illustration, Barley (1983) stated that the word 'up' had no used without its opposed concept 'down', and this concept of opposition was also utilized in our analysis of data. The contrast to a signified mainly increased the clarity and comprehension of the significations within its boundary.

[10]A cursory survey of the ProQuest database yielded only four hits of doctoral level dissertations that have used semiotics as a method to analyse empirical data, in different areas of management research and submitted to global institutions of repute from a total of eight listings. Moreover, none of these theses have been conducted in the area of organization sciences.

and structured use of Barley's (1983) semantic grids in analysis of data from interviews. Finally, our semantic codes were formed on compressing the most frequently available symbolic categories in organizations—the words and expressions used by employees. The potential of semiotics in uncovering and analysing the potential of qualitative/emic data is immense but largely unutilized in organizational sciences. Hence in conclusion, we hope that our use of this methodology at the level of a doctoral research would spur more such research using methodologies rarely adopted in the domain of social sciences.

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Chapter 5
Investigating Failed Social Entrepreneurship: A 'Process Research' Perspective

Sushanta Kumar Sarma

Abstract This chapter suggests the use of process approach in studying of failed social enterprises. Process approach is examined by first looking at the epistemological underpinning of process and variance model followed by theoretical interpretation of organizational failure. It examines the current work on failure in social enterprise and highlights the suitability of process approach in studying the failure. The chapter argues that process research can be helpful in developing a complete understanding of social entrepreneurship phenomenon. Failures need to be looked as a stage in organizational change and not as an outcome. The existing theory on failure considers it to be an outcome and focuses on understanding the reasons and consequences of failure. With application of an event-driven model, failure can be conceptualized as an entity in flux and mechanism of failure can be studied through identifying events. The mechanism can throw more lights on how the temporality of factors can impact failure. Looking at failure through a process lens may able to address the stigma associated with it. There are few academic works existing on failure in social entrepreneurship and most of them take a variance model to understand failure. This chapter makes an attempt to explore the unchartered domain of failure through an event-driven model and discuss the possibility of using process research in studying failure.

Keywords Process research · Organizational failure · Variance theory

5.1 Introduction

Social Entrepreneurship (SE) research has been mostly focused around the entrepreneur, SE as process and organization's characteristics in SE (Bacq and Janssen 2011). Most of the work on SE focuses on individual entrepreneurs with a tendency to portray them as individuals with heroic characteristics. Individual are often portrayed as charismatic and unconventional thinker. This heroism is

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detrimental to the growth of SE research as it results in bias against learning from failure (Dacin et al. 2011). Not many researchers are interested in investigating the case of a failed hero. These failed efforts are often difficult to locate as not many would like to admit the failure. In many instances, entrepreneurs would claim that their gestation period is too long and hence needed more time before being declared as a failure. As a result, we have little work on failed SE and have learned little from failure.

The value of learning from failure is not contested and the relevance of the question—'why we should study failed SE?' is not debated. However, the critical challenge is in 'how should we study it?'—its methodology, which is the focus of this paper. Large part of academic research in SE revolves around the case study methodology. This is primarily because of the focus on heroic characteristics within such research and on the phenomena of entrepreneurship as an innovative approach in achieving mission. The successful case studies typically follow a "variance model" (Van de Ven 2007) where the central question is framed around the antecedents or consequence of success. The focus is on—why a social entrepreneur/enterprise fail/succeed? Such a model may help in studying failed enterprises by listing variables (read mistake) which are not to be repeated by others. But it does not produce deep insight into the process of failure. This paper argues that the analysis will be more robust if we look at the question of *how*—'how changes happen in failed SE?' The question of 'how' is derived from "process model" (Van de Ven 2007). Process model does not look at phenomenon in terms of changes in variable causing an outcome. It focuses on unfolding of events leading to an outcome. These two approaches are different not only in terms of their approach to the world but also in terms of their ontological assumptions. In recent years, there is stress to extend research in SE processes (Mair and Martí 2006; Perrini 2006). Accordingly, this paper builds on the current works on process research in organizational studies and extends the debate to investigate a critical aspect of SE work—failure of enterprises.

The paper is structured as follows. First, theoretical background of process approach is discussed followed by examples of few process studies. These studies give an idea about the kinds of questions that can be explored through a process approach. Second, the conceptualization of failure in organizational research is presented to show the dominance of variance model. Third, a discussion is presented on how failure is studied in social enterprise literature and what are the challenges in studying failure. Finally, the paper outlines the opportunities for process model to study failure and probable research agenda for studies related to failure in social enterprises.

5.2 Process Research

Process research deals with how things evolve over time and why they evolve in a certain way (Van de Ven and Huber 1990). It makes an explicit focus on processes as the object of investigation. Process research addresses questions related to how

and why things emerge, develop, or terminate over a period of time (Langley et al. 2013) and define process as 'sequence of events' that describe how things change over time (Van de Ven 1992). Process approach takes a historical perspective and focuses on incidents, activities unfolding over a period of time leading to changes in subjects central to the investigation. While process refers to unfolding of events, process theory looks at how and why process emerges. Process can be viewed from two different ontological standpoints. One standpoint looked at the world as made up of things where process represents changes in the things. For example, if the organization is viewed as a thing, growth can be looked as a process which brings changes in the thing called organization. The other view looks at world made of processes, where things are outcome of processes. So, from this view point, organizations are looked as an amalgamation of rules and categories which are constantly modified, adjusted or ignored in the carrying out of organizational tasks.

Rescher (1996) traced these different ontological views to philosophies of Democritus and Heraclitus. Democritus looked at the world composed of stable material substance which undergoes changes in terms of their qualities; but their underlying nature does not change. For example, Klarner and Raisch (2013) studied different patterns of change (regular and irregular) and their association with performance of the organizations. They looked at the strategic changes in the history of the organizations and accordingly deduced its repercussion on performance. Their study found that a regular strategic change in organization is associated with higher long-term performance as compared to irregular changes. The ontological view looked at organization as a separate entity and different patterns of changes are happening to the organization. The classification of strategic change in different patterns and identifying their nature of association with the organization assumes the ontological stand where the organization is an entity in itself and its quality (high performance/low performance) varies over a period of time.

Heraclitus looked at the world as composed of process and there is nothing called as thing. Process is fundamental to everything in nature. According to this view change is not something that happens to things, but it is the way reality is being constructed at every instant. Maguire and Hardy (2013) examine two chemicals—vinyl acetate monomer (VAM) and bisphenol A (BPA) and how first they considered to be safe before declaring risky in Canada. They examine how the meaning of VAM and BPA are changed from a safe object to a risky object. Maguire and Hardy looked at risk not as an attribute of BPA and VAM; rather they examined how the attribute of risk is constructed over time through social practices.

The Process ontology looked at organizations as instances of ongoing processes and are composed of events. Each of these events is constituted through its relationship with other events and thus can further be broken down into smaller events. For example, Lok and De Rond (2013) studied the preparation for Cambridge University Boat Race and identified events as 'instances of breakdown'. These events are further analyzed and linked to small events in the past. They identified five events where the organizational principles of Cambridge Boat Race are compromised and highlighted the institutional responses for such breakdown. From the perspective of

process ontology, they considered the preparation for boat race as a process consisting of many events; delineating on the unpacking of preparation.

To summarize, process can be studied either by considering it as change in qualities of substantive things or as enactment of interwoven events. Thus, in a process approach, one can ask research questions like how the qualities of individual, organization, or any entity changes over time where nature is assumed to be composed of substantive entity. The other way of asking questions can be how the processes like institutional maintenance, sense-making, and decision-making emerge, develop or decline (Langley et al. 2013). Such questions will have an assumption about nature as composed of many interwoven processes.

Processes can be studied through two different research models—variance and process models. These two models are used to answer two different types of research questions. In variance model, as we try to understand, the changes in qualities of any entity, we ask questions like what the antecedents or precedents to the issue at hand are. In process model, questions can focus on how the issue at hand emerges, develop or decline. The first set of questions entails a variance or an outcome-driven model while the second set of questions deals with an event-driven or process model (Aldrich 2001). In variance model, process is considered as a category of concepts or variables that relate to action and activities. The process in a 'process model' is a narrative describing how things evolve and decline (Van de Ven and Engleman 2004). Variance model explains changes in terms of relationship among dependent and independent variables and a process model explain how sequences of events lead to an outcome (Van de Ven 2007).

As depicted in Fig. 5.1, in variance model, organizational outcome like growth is studied as outcome of identifiable variables like environment, technology, and decision process. Changes in the dependent variable 'growth' are explained through changes in independent variables. In this model, the phenomena are explained in terms of relationship among variables. For example, organizational growth measured through profitability can be achieved with more efficient decision-making process. In case of process model, focus is on unfolding the process of growth that is how sequence of events leads organization from a certain stage of growth to another. These events are activities and actions happening to the entity or done by them. In process model, the temporal order of events is crucial and narrative is created weaving around the temporal order. For example, in the study of organizational growth, process model will look at major events in organizational life cycle influencing the growth cycle.

Although the difference between variance and process model is highlighted here, it is crucial to appreciate the complementarity of these models in understanding a phenomenon. Answer to the question of 'what' implicitly assumes the answers to 'how'. What causes failure of SE?—answer to this question already assumes answers to how a sequence of identified events exerts influence on failure of social enterprises. Thus, the logic underlying a variance model to identify the role of independent variable will implicitly or explicitly acknowledge the awareness of a process story detailing on sequences of events causing the independent variables to exert influences on dependent variable. Similarly, answers to a 'how' question remain half-baked if one does not have an understanding of what caused it or what are the consequences.

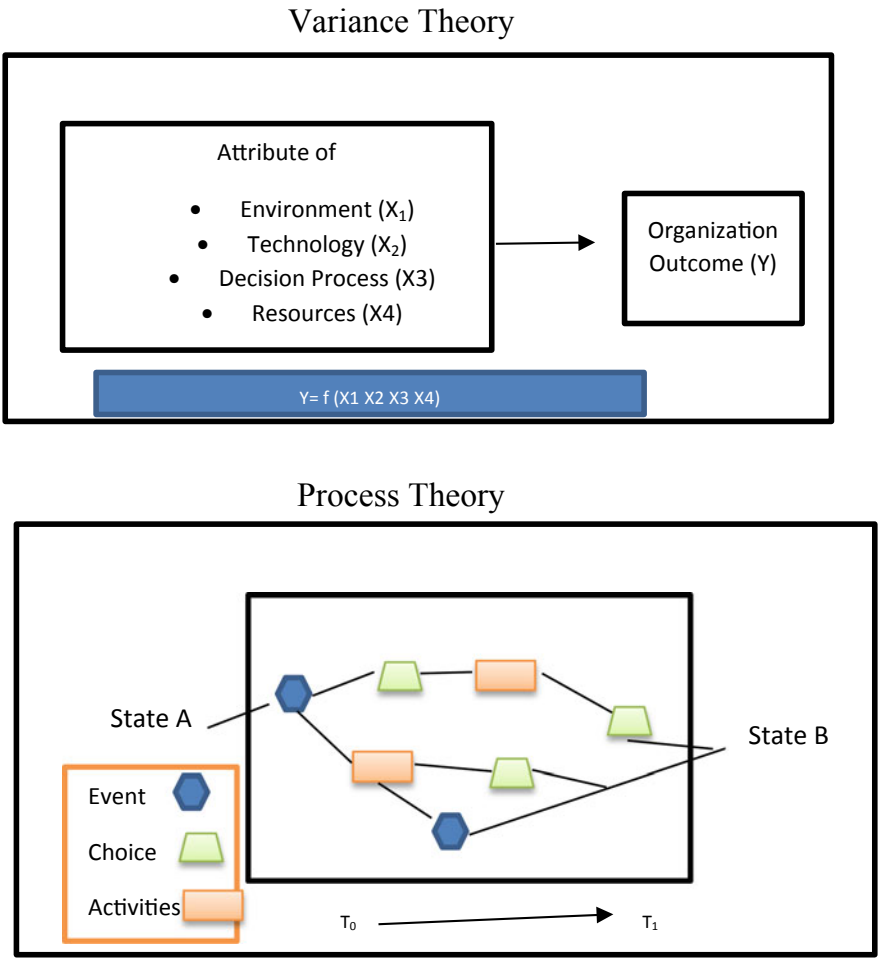

Fig. 5.1 Differences between variance and process model. *Source* Langley (1999)

For example, how various events in entrepreneurial journey lead to a stage termed as failure will have little value if one does not know what are the causes of failure or its consequences? The causes and antecedents of failure give a starting point and ending point for process model to understand the sequence of events unfolded from one stage to another. Although this paper focuses on process research, we are aware of the truth that the robustness of any investigation will significantly improve when one examines both the questions of 'what' and 'how'. Despite the complementarity of variance and process model, process studies have found relatively low takers in entrepreneurship research. The next section discusses a few selected work to highlight the kind of problem addressed through process research in SE.

5.3 Process Research in SE

Studies in SE or only entrepreneurship per se have not demonstrated an encouraging adoption of process research (Steyaert 2007). Although there is no denial on the significance of processual thinking in understanding the phenomenon called entrepreneurship, still not much has been achieved on this front. Few studies in SE have opted for an event-driven approach. For example, Perrini et al. (2010) studied the drug rehabilitation community San Patrignano to understand the stages involved in the process of social opportunity identification, evaluation, exploitation, and scaling up. They have used archival data and semi-structured interviews to build narrative accounts of events unfolded in San Patrignano. The construction of narrative accounts helps in learning about the dynamics among individual and contextual dimension at each of the five stages—opportunity identification, opportunity evaluation, opportunity formalization, opportunity exploitation, and opportunity scaling up. The focus of the study is not to demonstrate why San Patrignano has been successful in opportunity identification and subsequent exploitation, rather the stress is on how the process of identification unfolds through different phases.

Mair and Marti (2009) examine the role played by Building Resources Across Communities (BRAC) in ensuring participation of women in market place. Their study is situated in a context of rural Bangladesh where the local traditions, religious belief, social relations, and governance structures act as a hindrance in the participation of women in economic sphere. Development programs like microfinance also fail to reach the ultra-poor women. Under such a social structure and established development practices, how do organizations experiment with different vehicles to ensure inclusion of women in economic development programs, and social change is what their study tried to explore. It is found that BRAC uses a mechanism of bricolage through some of their innovative interventions to bridge the gap between women and the market. In another example, Datta and Gailey (2012) find that there are important elements of empowerment embedded in the business model of Sri Mahila Griha Udyog Lijjat Papad popularly known as 'Lijjat' which helps in shaping the view of empowerment of individual members of the organization. They have used an event chronology approach to identify how empowerment is embedded in the structure of Lijjat and how it relates to the individual perception of empowerment by highlighting three ways to empower women—economic security, development of entrepreneurial behavior, and increased contribution to the family.

Process studies look at the world as a flow; something always in a state of work-in-progress. Organization is not considered as a thing rather as a process where transactions happen and are always in flux. As suggested in preceding paragraphs, process approach in SE has been adopted to unfold stages in a journey, explore 'mechanisms' and its emergence, understand the construction of experiences embedded in the context, etc. These studies have adopted longitudinal case study method and focused on narrative accounts and identification of events. But despite its criticality in better understanding of the entrepreneurship process, there is little presence of event-driven research in SE. Process approach is avoided on the ground of several challenges faced

by researcher. It requires a time-consuming longitudinal design and access to research cites become a difficulty. Also, accessibility of reliable archival document adds up to the problem. Lack of knowledge among management research community on process research methods and resulting lack of training for young researcher on longitudinal method further aggravated the negligence of process approach (Van de Ven and Engleman 2004). In summary, process studies in SE are still in a nascent stage and the difficulties of conducting an event-driven research further caused researchers to distance themselves from process approach. Even for a sensitive issue like studying failure which surely demands high degree of robustness, there has been a tendency both at theoretical and empirical level to focus on the outcome-driven model.

5.4 Theoretical Approach to Organizational Failure

Organization failure has been studied from different theoretical approaches and multiple terms have been used to denote failure like organizational mortality, organizational death, organizational bankruptcy, and organizational decline (Mellahi and Wilkinson 2004). The veracity of terminologies indicates that there is a lack of precise definition for organizational failure as different theoretical approaches conceptualized failure in different ways. However, all these terminologies indicate toward one common meaning—failure has negative consequences for the organization. Cameron et al. (1988) define failure as "deterioration in an organization's adaptation to its micro-niche and the associated reduction of resources within the organization". This definition of failure implies two things—first organizations failure may happen because of interaction with its environment and its inability to adjust to the need of environment. Second, loss of resource is a critical cause of failure. This definition considers both the environmental as well as organizational factors.

Organizational failure has been studied from the lenses of Organization Ecology (OE), Industrial Organization (IO), Organization Studies (OS), and Organizational Psychology (OP). Scholars from IO and OE agree on the proposition that failure is mainly caused by external factors rather than internal decision makings. Contrary to this OS and OP, scholars have argued that failure is driven by factors within the organization. These two schools of thought have been broadly classified as deterministic view (Swaminathan 1996) and voluntaristic view (DeTienne et al. 2008), respectively.

IO and OE scholars argue that the industry and population matter more than organizational strategy in determining failure. IO perspective proposes that organizational failure happens because of the inability of the organization to adjust to environmental transformation. Environmental transformation may happen due to change in taste of customer, shift in brand preferences, competition from rival firms, decline in demand, etc. Also, factors like changes in environment leading to uncertainty for organization, scarcity of resources, and complexity of interrelation among environmental stakeholder may also cause failure. According to OE perspective, factors like organizational size, population density, life cycle of the industry and organizational

age determine the failure rate in any field. Contrary to deterministic approach, the voluntaristic approach argues that managers as key decision makers exert maximum influence on success and failure of organization. The OS and OP perspective focuses on who makes the decision and how the decision makers make sense of the environment. The environment is considered as given within the OS/OP perspective. The failure is decided by inadequacy of managers in reading the external threat.

Besides these two approaches, a third approach "emotive approach" (Khelil 2016) identifies the role of motivation, commitment, and aspiration of entrepreneurs in predicting business failure. This approach argues that an entrepreneur with a non-economic motivation will continue with an underperforming firm at a certain level of economic performance compared to an entrepreneur with a higher level of economic motivation. This is because the entrepreneur with high economic motivation will perceive a higher gap between actual performance and initial goal and will experience more dissatisfaction. Similarly, entrepreneurs with higher initial expectation will perceive a gap between current situation and future expectation to be more severe as compared to entrepreneur with a low initial expectation. This will influence their satisfaction level which in turn will influence their persistence with an underperforming business. The emotive approach looks at failure as an issue of continuation/non-continuation with underperforming firms that are excluded by both voluntaristic and deterministic approaches.

To summarize, the theoretical progress in organizational failure primarily revolved around the central question of what leads to organizational failure. Deterministic approach identified causes of failure outside the organization, voluntaristic approach found it within the organization and emotive approach found it at individual level. All the three approaches basically looked at business failure as an outcome caused by certain happening and typically followed an outcome-driven model. With the theoretical conceptualization of failure as an outcome, studies on failure invariably followed variance model trying to explain reasons for failure. The dominance of variance approach is also evident in studies of failure related to SE. There is a need to re-conceptualize failure as a stage in organizational change and looking at the events and actions leading organizations to such a stage of change with an event-driven model.

5.5 Failure in Social Enterprise

In recent years, there has been an emphasis on understanding failure in social enterprises (Nee 2015). Both academicians and entrepreneurs have highlighted the value in revealing failure. Despite realizing the criticality of unpacking failure, not much sincere effort has gone in studying failure. Although entrepreneurs value the learning hidden in failure, not many of them have come forward to talk about their failure. Academic research on failure has broadly focused on causes and consequences (Khelil 2016). In terms of empirical work, little is available on case studies related to failure. Agencies like Engineer Without

Border (EWB) Canada had initiated some work in documenting failure and they have been publishing Annual Failure Report since 2009. These reports present day to day, small failures of social enterprises in their journey. The studies on failure have dominantly adopted an outcome-driven variance model identifying causes of failure. The discussion on failure has looked at causes through two dimensions—first, failure in generating sufficient revenue to run the business model or financial insolvency. Second, deviating from the social mission and resulting in lower impact on community than expected along with hostile socio-political situation (Foster and Bradach 2005). Both dimensions look at failure as an outcome.

For example, Cobb et al. (2015) describe the failure of Philanthropub, "Cause" after running for merely 14 months, in terms of not being able to generate sufficient revenue. The venture was about running a pub named as "Cause" to earn profit and share the same for a charitable cause through identified Non-Government Organizations (NGOs). The reasons for failure of cause and its eventual closing are found to be poor identification of client base and assessment of their need, problems related to executions of vision, lack of networking with peer organizations, etc. Failure in social enterprise is also related to size, lack of resource, funding issues, staff quality, and cash flow difficulties (Coburn and Rijsdijk 2010). Most evaluative studies on social enterprise concern about "mission drift" as an outcome of organizational failure (Dart 2004). Mission drift is deviation of organizational goal from social mission. SKS microfinance from India can be considered as an example of failure from this second dimension. Many purists in India would like to call SKS microfinance as a failed social enterprise because of its mission drift (Sriram 2010). SKS has started as a nonprofit microfinance organization in the late 1990s and later transformed into a for-profit commercial organization. In 2010, it has opted for Initial Public Offering (IPO) to raise capital for fueling growth. During this phase of expansion, many have argued that SKS lost its focus on poor and the social mission. Spandana microfinance is another example of social enterprise with a probable mission drift. In Indian ecosystem, not much has been documented about failure in social enterprises except in microfinance sector.

Most of the discussion reported on failure covers the first type of failure related to business model. Financial failure of the start-up is generally attributed to individual characters of the promoters. This is expected because, in case of success stories, the success is often attributed to heroic character of the entrepreneurs. So, when the business fails, the blame is to be borne by the entrepreneur only. In few instances, issues like suitability of the market and conduciveness in legal and economic environment are brought as added reasons for failure. The second type of failure is more difficult to establish. This is because even if there is a mission drift, social enterprise generally reframes their action and avoids acknowledging failure. However, the tension between financial and social performance resulting in imbalance can also become the source of failure (Seanor and Meaton 2008).

Failure as an outcome is not desired by any of the SEs and hence they would be committed to any action to avoid failure. Considering the severity of consequences from failure, it is expected that in SEs, more work should revolve around failure.

But contrary to the expectations, there is hardly any academic work on failure. There may be several reasons for this as stated hereafter.

Stigmatization The obsession with social entrepreneurs as heroes solving modern day complex problem through innovative market-based solution, discourage them to talk about failures. The heroism has put pressure on successful entrepreneurs to hide their failure. Established social entrepreneurs find it difficult to open about their problems.

One of the serial social entrepreneur Dave Daws commented, "It's hard to learn from success, it's easier to learn from failure … but one of my bugbear is that these discussions only happen in the bars at the conference, not on stage" (Cahalane 2013).

Restricted Access to Resources Social enterprises tend to hide their failures due to fear of not being able to access resources. Failure is perceived as a sign of inefficient management. Many funders may not like to associate themselves with such enterprises which are being managed inefficiently. In such a situation, sharing of failure may keep potential funders at a bay. In cases where the enterprise is already funded through investors, the existing investors may not like the failures to be shared publicly to avoid embarrassment. A similar restriction is placed on the researcher as well in terms of generating funding. It is difficult to access funding to study a failed enterprise. Not many funding agencies are interested in sponsoring researchers to study a failed effort. Also, by reporting a failed effort, researcher may risk the relationship in field research. The sector wants to project more shining examples and most of the funders generally look for sure shot bet to invest. Donors invest in social enterprises to derive a feel-good experience. Reporting of failure takes away that feel-good experience and hence individual donors are also not keen to know about organizational failures. These constraints of funded and field research are clearly reported by Scott and Teasdale (2012) while studying a failed enterprise. They claim that freedom from "the constraints of funded research and from the obligation of field research, where negative critique may be modified to preserve relationship (2012, p. 12)", helped them to focus on the wider political and economic environment.

Methodological Challenge In academic research, there is a tendency to collect large set of data on the event of interest and analyze the same or focus on capturing the experiences of people managing businesses. Both these issues are difficult to address while studying failed social enterprises. First, there is severe inadequacy of dataset dealing with failure in social enterprise. Any available dataset cannot claim to meet the demand of being representative of the sample population. Second, while capturing data from individual experiences, actor tends to exaggerate their own agency while describing success and focuses more on environment by undermining own agency while dealing with failure (Mellahi and Wilkinson 2004).

Thus, research on failure in social enterprises broadly encompasses variance model partly influenced by theorization grounding of failure and by conceptualization of SE as an act of heroism. The other challenges are the resistance toward

studying failure due to factors like stigma, lack of support from donors, and methodological hurdles in researching failure. A process research can help in looking at failure as a stage in organizational change rather an outcome and thus may be able to address stigma attached to it.

5.6 Suitability of Process Research to Study Failure

Suitability of process research to study failure arises from the fact that it emphasizes different aspects of organizational change compared to variance approach. As discussed earlier, process approach asks a question different from outcome-driven research focusing on 'how' of the phenomenon. In an outcome-driven approach, researchers look for variables that cause failures. In this model, we look at the variables at one point in time. But for event-driven research, researcher looks at certain events a priori and records their occurrences over time. The event-driven model looks at how sequences of events lead to some outcome—in this case, the failure of enterprise. In a variance model, researcher can study how changes (in case of failure studies this is poor financial performance, mission drift, etc.) are happening to attributes (like financial health, activities related to mission, etc.) of a social enterprise. Such approach will help us in knowing what causes the failure in SE. But the suitability for process approaches arises in understanding the 'mechanism' through which financial performance deteriorates ultimately leading to failure. The process mechanism is more embedded in the context and can be helpful in presenting the 'complete story'. For example, Singh et al. (2015), in their work on micro-processes of failure related to stigma, found that entrepreneurs experience stigma at three different episodes of venture failure—anticipating failure, meeting failure, and transforming failure. Their findings suggest that pre-failure stigma affects the behavior of entrepreneur and contributes to failure. These nuances related to stigma helps in presenting a complete story.

Process research can be helpful in studying failure in multiple ways. First, the generality of explanation in process research arises from the degree to which it can encompass a broad domain of pattern keeping the essential character (Van de Ven and Engleman 2004). Process approach does not stress on uniformity and consistency. This quality can help in addressing one of the methodological challenges in study of failure in terms of having a representative sample to study. In the study of failure, it is impossible to claim that the cases one has represent the population of failed enterprises. This is because each case of failure is embedded in a complex socio-economic context combined with geographical diversity. In a process model study, greater the diversity in cases to be studied, a richer and more generic explanation can be derived.

Another feature in process research that helps in investigating failure is its inherent complexity. An event-driven model with the same set of events may differ considerably in term of sequencing of events and their duration. For example, if we look at SE as a journey of emergence and failure as a stage in it; process research can consider

the fact that a failed enterprise may experience different stages of this journey in different sequences with different lengths of time spent on each venture in each of the stages of emergence or decline.

In process research, the temporal sequence of independent variable is crucial (Van de Ven and Engleman 2004). It means in a narrative account the order in which causal forces appear is crucial in understanding the phenomenon. The order of events can reveal hints about when causal factors come into play and the duration of events can determine how long these causes remain operative. The differences in order can create significant difference in outcome. For example, in a failed social enterprise, if there is a gradual shift happening in the needs of the target population and followed by arrival of a rival enterprise, the firm will start losing its business quickly resulting in financial failure. The firm will also incur losses leading to failure if it faces competition from a rival firm first and followed by a shift in consumer taste. But in the first case, the decision-making capability required may be different from the second case. So, the order of occurrences of two events "shift in taste" and "rival competition" will bring in two different causal forces (lack of different decision-making abilities) to act on failure. In the first case, the ability needed is to quickly respond to the market before devising other competitive strategy; while in the second case, there is a need to develop ability to retain/capture market share before handling competition. In fact, in second case, there may not be any requirement of handling competition because the rival firm may lose itself due to shift in taste of consumer. Such an approach can bring insightful findings in process research as it can reveal the different roles of causal forces in impacting the outcome.

Process theories are "causally deep" (Abbott 1998) meaning that events influencing an entity may operate for limited time, but it continues to influence the entity beyond the time of operation by becoming a part of the history of the entity. This understanding of process research can bring out interesting insights on failure. For example, a SE working on a climate-change-related issue may be subject to a strict regulatory regime such that its every initiative requires clearance from the ministry. So, the success of such a venture would be shaped by measure taken to respond to rules imposed by ministry from time to time, despite getting initial clearance for the project. This explains the failure at any point in time needed to be looked in terms of prior history of events and relevant causal experience.

Process studies consider the change in meaning of variable or events over time. For example, the event 'lack of funding' will have different meaning for a nascent enterprise compared to one which has an established venture. Thus, in the context of failure in SE, 'lack of funding' may have varying causal impact across different social enterprises depending upon whether the social enterprise is trying to address a new issue in a new market, or it is trying to enter a new product development, etc. As stated earlier, such nuances encompassing the narrative story of SE can bring more robustness in studies of failure as compared to simply interview-based studies.

Finally, to exploit the potential of process approach in investigating failure, there is a need to look at failure through a different lens. Research has looked at failure mainly as an outcome leading to decline of the venture. Failure has been largely conceptualized as the 'grand failure' occurring at the end of entrepreneurial journey.

Such conceptualization of failure makes it dreadful to study because of stigmatization and non-acknowledgement. Failure needs to be studied as a stage in organizational change (may be considered as an undesirable/unintended change) and is to be looked at every stage of venture creations. Present research has proposed several models of venture creation to demonstrate entrepreneurship as a process of emergence (Steyaert 2007). This process of emergence moves through several sequential stages including pre-venture stage and post-start-up activities. To understand more about failure, it is important to look at deviation at each stage of this process of emergence. Rather than looking for the 'grand failure', one needs to focus on the 'small failures' occurring at any of these stages in the process of emergence. Such conceptualization of failure as a stage in emergence will be helpful in handling stigma attached to failure and will make more entrepreneurs to admit openly to these small failures.

5.7 Conclusion

This paper extends the debate on application of process research to study entrepreneurship (Chell 2007) by stretching it to investigate failure in SE. Social enterprises emerge, grow, transform, and decay like any other ventures. The visual of enterprise as process encompassing activities of exchange makes it eligible for use of processual thinking. It has the potential to unlock a basic level of understanding of failure. Failure is a taboo and not many efforts are being made to study failure despite its potential to bring out new learning. This paper builds a case for process research to study failure in SE. Studying failed enterprises with a process approach needs access to longitudinal data. Archival data, interviews, and observations form the main source of data in process research. Historical narrative and ethnography are used as research methods in process research. Such research methods give enough scope for prolonged engagement of the researcher with the field. Such methods correspond well to a perspective focusing on unfolding of processes. In a process research approach, the researcher needs to acquire "interactional expertise" (Langley et al. 2013) so as to relate to the social entrepreneurs from different domain. The prolonged involvement in field and expertise to relate to the domain of a specialist help the researcher to develop trust with the research participants. Developing trust is crucial to studying failure in organizations as failure relates to emotion and self-belief of the participants from field. So, the novelty in research approach is not sufficient in handling a sensitive issue like failure, there is also strong need to develop abilities of researcher to conduct such research.

The learning from failure is valuable for any practitioner so as not to repeat the expensive mistakes. However, these learning can also contribute to the theory development, especially in the domain of organizational failure. Many queries related to tensions in hybrid organizations, dominance of one mission over the other, etc.,

can be better handled to develop insights from failed social enterprises. The findings through process research can help researchers to make analytic generalization from their study. This is quite a critical move in theory building and process approach can give enough opportunity for such theory building.

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Chapter 6
A Sociological Study of Work, Mobility and Enterprise Among the Bengali Goldsmiths of India: A Multi-sited Ethnography

Sruti Kanungo and Anindita Chakrabarti

Abstract Liberalisation, economic restructuring and institutional reforms have led to the emergence of new forms of work and work cultures along with an emergent workforce. Developing countries like India during the 1990s introduced new economic reforms that opened up the economy to the forces of free market where the flow of goods, capital and labour were subjected to minimal governmental control. However, this led to an increased market competition, which in turn, influenced the labour relations and the traditional work/professions began to face changes. The case of goldsmiths migrating from Medinipur illustrates the process of transformation of labour. The intra-generational occupational mobility of the artisans tells us interesting stories of inter-relationship between work, mobility and enterprise. Drawing on a multi-sited ethnography of the informal gold jewellery manufacturing sector, the study highlights how the rapid social and economic changes have initiated the emergence of a new workforce. The mobility of the goldsmiths and their craftsmanship captures their entrepreneurial activity. Surveying the 'artisanal guild' across three states in India, we found that along with increasing demand for machine-made jewellery and entry of corporates, the state regulations on gold trade also posed several challenges for the artisan community. The paper focuses on the importance of multi-sited ethnography to understand how the changing market along with continuous regulations brought transformation in the traditional occupation and influenced the mobility of the artisans.

Keywords Goldsmiths · Mobility · Multi-sited ethnography

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6.1 Introduction

Gold forms an integral part of the socio-economic milieu of the Indian household. Gold consumption and investment in gold in India follow a unique pattern. It holds an auspicious and irreplaceable place in the lives of the people. Gold is usually purchased in the form of coin or jewellery to be used for rites of passage, personal consumption, and a gift. It is a *streedhan* that is given to woman at the time of her marriage. For generations, gold has remained a natural choice of saving for all Indian households and an essential part of every Indian household budget. It holds a 'double life' because of its use value as a commodity as well as the monetary value it holds (Jeffries 1964).[1] Its auspiciousness and social value keep it in high demand more as a jewellery item in the Indian household and thus makes it difficult for the country to meet its supply. The World Gold Council (WGC) estimates that 23–24,000 tonne of gold lies in Indian households while it estimates the gold with temples at 3,000–4,000 tonne (WGC 2014).

The high demand for gold on the one hand and its scarce availability on the other hand have always kept gold—a metal of high value. The high value has always kept gold transactions under great secrecy. Holding ritualistic and cultural value, gold also resides in the grey zone of the Indian economy. It serves as an ideal vehicle for money laundering and converting the black wealth into white. Gold smuggling and trafficking, unaccounted imports and exports of gold, escaping tax evasions by buying and gifting jewellery are some of the ways that it functions.

Unlike gold that has always made the news for its high demand, import, export and grey market, the crafts people who works on this metal, i.e. the goldsmiths have always remained invisible in the public discourse. The gold jewellery manufacturing sector is one of the wide-spread small-scale industries of India. To make a piece of ornament that is in high demand in the consumer market, a large number of goldsmiths work for prolonged hours to get the desired design.

During the 1990s, India opened up to several economic reforms where the flow of goods, capital and labour were subjected to minimal governmental control. Increased migration and market competition and the emergence of new work/professions were some of the outcomes of the economic reforms. The case of goldsmiths migrating from Medinipur to Cuttack and Kanpur tells an interesting story of this process of transformation of labour. The paper focuses on the importance of multi-sited ethnography to understand how the changing market along with continuous regulations brought transformation in the traditional occupation and influenced the mobility of the artisans.

The traditional caste-based work structure imposed several restrictions and thus limited the competition within the artisan community. Occupational drift was opposed by the caste associations, and non-caste members were usually forbidden to practise the profession. The skills were transferred only to their next generation of kins (Anand K. Coomoraswamy 1909: 10). In the nineteenth century,

[1] Appadurai (1988) notes that things have no meanings apart from those that human transactions, attributions and motivations endow them.

trade guilds regulated competition among the members and imposed fines and punishment on them, if found guilty. Tirthankar Roy notes that guilds maintained the hierarchy of artisans and served as the quasi-administrative body that facilitated commercial transactions (Roy 2010). Mention about goldsmiths' guild is also found in epigraphs from Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Mathura and sites in Western Deccan (Kiran Kumar Thaplyal 1996: 29). Goldsmithing as an occupation forms a guild like structure even today. Residing in a particular area, following the same occupation and then passing on the craft, skill to the next generation, the craftsman association still operates like the traditional guild system. The traditional guild structure where the master craftsman occupies the highest position followed by the master *karigar*, journeymen and apprentice, is still found in the modern goldsmithery units.[2] The traditional banking, finance or regulatory functions of the guild are not found in the 'new' guilds formed by the 'new' migrant artisans. The role of guild in transferring knowledge to the apprentices is found even today. The introduction of machines, liberalised market and increased migration has not affected the artisans working practices. Instead, they learn to use the machines through apprenticeship from the members of the goldsmithery units. The entry of the 'new' artisans and breakdown of traditional caste-based goldsmithery units, did not witness a significant shift in the occupational structure with the growth of mechanisation as much by growing corporatism and continuous regulations on the import and export of gold.[3]

In the case of goldsmithing, the need for handwork in the making of specific jewellery cannot be substituted. Richard Sennett argues that it is misleading to assume that with the advent of industrial society, 'craftsmanship' is dying. Rather craftsmanship is an enduring, basic human impulse, the desire to do a job well for its own sake (Sennett 2008: 9). A craftsman gets into a dialogue between concrete practices thinking that it establishes a rhythm between problem-solving and problem finding. Drawing on a comparison between goldsmithing and glass workers, Sennett notes that goldsmiths' guilds were places for learning the skill. The apprentice goldsmith specialises on the craft by imitating the master at work. However, in the new way of making a glass pane, the glassworker cannot imitate the machine as the roller machine to make a piece of glass functions differently than the eye. It works to a

[2]Goldsmithing which was earlier a caste-based occupation became a non-caste or rather village network-based occupation. But till today, at the goldsmithing units the apprentices are given housing, food, clothes and trained in the skill by their patron. Once he learns the skills, he becomes a journeyman (when he is paid according to his work) and finally when he masters the skill, he becomes a master *karigar*. When the master *karigar* starts his own workshop and employs journeymen and apprentices under him, he becomes a master craftsman. It is the master craftsman who does most of the dealings.

[3]Roy (1996) in the context of the impact of foreign trade on crafts such as textiles pointed out that although the impact of foreign trade was crucial, there were also examples where the effect of trade was minor or indirect on the artisans. The artisans neither faced significant competition from imported goods nor were reduced to fodder for metropolitan industrialisation. They changed profoundly. Integrated markets and intra-craft competition also exposed an inherent weakness of craftsmanship. Beyond offering new opportunities, globalisation was potentially transformative in many other ways.

standard that the glassblower could never achieve by visual inspection (Sennett 2008: 100–101).

When the study focuses on a community or network of relationships, a variety of methods and sites emerge in order to fathom the intricate communication between them. Capturing these complex relationships demands an appropriate methodological approach. Traditional ethnography, as George E. Marcus notes, situates a researcher in one field site for an extended period. The researcher does not move across many spaces but gets to know one setting extremely well. However, sometimes the object of research poses questions that cannot be dealt through a single field as with the case of migrating goldsmiths (Marcus 1995). As the present study shows how a multi-sited ethnographic method proved to be most suitable in finding answers to the research questions raised.

6.2 Multi-sited Ethnography: An Overview

Marcus had noted that the field did exist objectively out there, but it is an emergent construction that the researcher developed though relations and networks all the way along. Connections are of equal importance to the fact that the fieldworker may find herself in Poland, Nigeria or India, for example in the beginning, middle or end of a course of research (Coleman and Hellermann 2011: 28). Bruno Ricco's study on Senegalese migrant community offers a pointer to this question. He found that the Senegalese returned to their place of origin in frequent intervals with the overall goal of creating an economic, social and spiritual life for themselves and their families in Senegal although they engaged themselves in economic transactions across international boundaries and over considerable distance spending much of their time away from their place of origin (Ricco 2011: 74). He cited Sayad's view that an immigrant is always also an emigrant. Therefore, investigating migrants and their families on both sides contributes to a better understanding of the migration process. Even the life of a settler who remains just intermittently in touch with the place of origin and seldom manages to visit home is better understood by taking into account the context of the place of origin through first-hand ethnographic exploration (Sayad 1999, in Ricco 2011). Ricco further referred to Marcus' (1995: 96) views that the 'circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities' are not so much as 'in diffuse time-space', but as embedded in social relations and migrants' experiences as actively shaping transnational fields (ibid.). According to Kanwal Mand, for anthropologists and those working in migration studies, a major spin-off from the debates about globalisation has been the mobility of people and their practices between places whereby migrants maintain ties simultaneously with the sending context and the point of arrival (in Coleman and Hellermann 2011). Ester Gallo has noted that it is useful to combine different ways of being in the field, not only orienting oneself towards archival research but also deciding to partially detach from the 'village site' in order to follow family and personal ties. He further noted that for understanding the multiple folds of translocal lives across different generations and the way these lead to the creation of renewed community identities mandate that we make a single site of research into a 'mobile one', framed on people's networks across different local

spaces (in Coleman and Hellermann 2011: 67). Multiple sites not only contribute to developing renewed relations between identity and places but have also enhanced a critical sensibility towards one's presence in the field and role in producing anthropological knowledge.

Matei Candae has argued that the strength of the multi-sited imaginary lies in enabling anthropologists to expand their horizons in an unprecedented way. The weakness of this method lies in its lack of attention to processes of bounding, selection and choice—processes which any ethnographer has to undertake to reduce the indeterminacy of field experience into a meaningful account (Candae 2009). Even Marcus himself first articulated three methodological anxieties which, according to him, could develop during the transition from single to multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995). First, concern around testing the limits of ethnography, attenuating the power of fieldwork and the loss of the subaltern. Multi-sited research, as Marcus noted, is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions and juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence with an explicit, posited logic of ethnography. It is also deeply ingrained in the revival of the practice of constructivism that includes practices of representation and investigation. Multi-sited ethnographies define their objects of study through several different modes or techniques. These techniques serve as practices of construction through movement and of tracing within different settings of a complex cultural phenomenon. Given an initial baseline conceptual identity, it turns out to be contingent and malleable as one traces it.

Kathryn Tomlinson notes that in a multi-sited project, the object of study dictated the selection of particular sites (Tomlinson 2011). The fieldworker makes strategic decisions in trying to capture the essence of the object of study. The fieldworker chooses an object of study and then follows it, but at some point, the need to search for junctures or sites where one can observe it becomes essential. Tomlinson further referred to Merry who argued that 'doing ethnography requires having a place to go where things are happening, where there are people to watch, events to follow, interactions to understand' (Merry 2000, in Tomlinson 2011). Conversely, in a multi-sited 'follow the people' project, the sites could become the people themselves and the various settings they find themselves in. However, finding or designing these sites as well as gaining access to them can be challenging (Coleman and Hellermann 2011: 168).

In our research, we found that multi-sited ethnography served as the appropriate method to study the migrated artisans from Medinipur, West Bengal. However, selecting the field to study the migrated goldsmiths from Medinipur to Cuttack, Odisha and Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh created a dilemma of whether to conduct an ethnography at their place of work (the destination) or in their place of origin, where their families are also settled (Medinipur). Thus, multi-sited ethnography served as an appropriate method to overcome the dilemma and to answer the research questions. Multiple methods were also used to understand how the continuous regulation of gold on the one hand and liberalisation of the market on the other influenced the work and mobility of the goldsmiths.

6.3 Data and Methods

6.3.1 Constructing the Field Study: The Researcher's Dilemma

When India introduced new economic reforms in the 1990s, it led to economic restructuring, institutional reforms, the emergence of new forms of work and work cultures along with other socio-economic changes. It opened up the economy to the forces of the free market: the free flow of goods, capital and movement of labour. It led to increased market competition and changed labour relations. Further, the economic reforms that emphasised flexibility in terms of labour markets, production and patterns of consumption led to globalised production and marketing of consumer goods. These reforms have had their influence on the informal gold jewellery manufacturing sector.

The Gold (Control) Act of 1968 which was meant to curb the demand for gold and its illicit trade was repealed in 1990. Through this act, the government had attempted to impose restrictions on goldsmiths, gold dealers and gold jewellery exporters by introducing licence, restricting private gold ownership and prohibiting the manufacturing of minted bars and medallions.[4] However, the realisation that the act had impeded the gold industry led to repeal of the act. With the repeal, the number of goldsmiths soared, and competition among them increased.[5] Many master craftsmen, certified or not, began to employ more than one employee to produce more and meet market demand.[6] The entry of goldsmiths from Medinipur offer an interesting case to this post-liberalised gold manufacturing industry.

Interaction with the local goldsmiths of Cuttack (Odisha) marked the beginning of the field study. The initial months of field study in Cuttack brought to the fore an interesting fact that most of the craftsmen in Cuttack were from Medinipur, West Bengal. When asked about their place of origin, the replies were—'I am from Ghatal, Medinipur'. The initial findings led to cross-check the situation in Kolkata (West Bengal) and Kanpur (U.P.) to find out—who were the goldsmiths in Kolkata and Kanpur?

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[4]The Act did not allow a certified goldsmith to receive more than 100 g of standard gold for manufacturing jewellery and to possess a stock of more than 300 g of primary gold. Further, according to the act certified goldsmiths could buy gold bars from a licensed refiner or dealer and receive gold for manufacturing purposes from a licensed dealer or the general public. They could not engage more than one hired labour, who would assist him but not make, manufacture, prepare, repair or process any article or ornament. Also refer to *Harakchand Ratanchand Banthia … vs Union of India And Ors* for an overview about the GCA of 1968.

[5]Hart (2006) rightly mentions that every attempt by the state is marked by the relation of 'negation' where some of the activities may break the law, through a breach of health and safety regulations, tax evasion and smuggling, the use of child labour or selling without a licence. Rule-breaking takes place both within bureaucracy and outside it.

[6]As per bullion analyst's estimates whereas Mumbai had about 150 jewellery shops located around Zaveri Bazar in South of Mumbai during the days of the GCA 1968, in 2014 every neighbourhood had a jewellery showroom.

Further interviews and group discussions revealed that the artisans were mostly the 'first generation' of goldsmiths from four sub-divisions of West Medinipur, West Bengal (i.e. Ghatal, Medinipur, Daspur I and Daspur II) travelling to different states within India and outside. Most of them also mentioned that they belong to the Mahishya community (68.33%) and that their parents were small landholders. While on the one hand, these artisans left their caste-based occupation to take up goldsmithing work, the caste-based hereditary occupation of goldsmithing also began to shift towards a non-caste-based occupation in modern times. Although the number of traditional caste-based goldsmiths declined, a new cluster of goldsmiths emerged. This study focuses on the movement of the 'new' goldsmiths to Cuttack, Kanpur and Kolkata and maps out how these groups, moved out of their villages to an urban space, leaving behind their hereditary occupation.

Field study in Cuttack, Kolkata and Kanpur and interviews with the goldsmiths provided insights into the demand for gold, continuous regulations imposed and its influence on the market and the work of the goldsmiths. Observations and group discussions with the goldsmiths also explained the functioning of the informal manufacturing unit amidst continuous regulations, existence of the illegal market and emergence of corporate enterprises. Travelling to the villages of Medinipur with the artisans we found that while the migration of goldsmiths had started in the 1980s after the devastating flood of 1978, a large-scale migration began in the 1990s. Unlike unskilled, landless migrants, these 'new' goldsmiths were small landholders who were forced to move out, because of periodic floods and frequent loss of crop. Most of them also had some experience of working on brass metal and copper. They used this knowledge to reskill themselves as goldsmiths. Once some of them gained proficiency, the village networks were activated to train and skill others in turn. Thus, a migration network developed for acquiring goldsmithing skill and moving to different cities in search of work.

Apart from open-ended interviews and observation, a structured interview schedule was used where 120 artisans were interviewed to study the mobility (inter- and intra-generational) of the goldsmiths. Multi-sited ethnography, oral history and records/reports helped us to understand the changes marked over time among the goldsmiths and the goldsmithery units. Oral history of the caste-based goldsmiths and the older artisans (first generation migrants) on the other hand highlighted the experiences and social life of the artisans and brought out the change in their work structures due to increased migration. The historical account of the crafts people (goldsmiths) and material (gold) served to understand the rapid social and economic changes that have initiated the emergence of a new workforce. Newspaper reports, gazetteers and other secondary sources (articles, historical books), supplemented the oral history.

While the primary focus of the fieldwork was to study the 'new' migrant goldsmiths in the gold manufacturing sector but meeting some of the jewellers, wholesale traders and traditional goldsmiths in Cuttack and Kanpur expanded the scope of the study. The precious metal that the artisans work with witness a continuous regulation imposed to reduce its demand. The high demand, continuous regulations and parallel functioning of a shadow market increase the risk of theft, cheating, fly-by-night

operations and presence of strongman. The emergent risks associated with the new system had to be countered by creating trust-worthy networks. The field study also revealed that the relation of trust that was previously maintained through caste shifted towards village networks. Village ties served as an important factor for their moving out of the village. These networks also mediate to overcome the risks involved in dealing with and handling the precious metal and maintain a relationship of trust.

The risk and need for trust also made the entry into the field extremely challenging. We had to develop trust through our networks and village ties to get an entry into the field. It was the village and kin networks of the second author that helped us to assure the artisans at every point that their responses would be used only for research purpose, kept confidential and not misused. Moreover, we used handwritten notes instead of recording as a response to their initial discomfort. Later on, some of the master craftsmen and jewellers allowed audio recording.

6.4 The Mobility of the 'New' Goldsmiths: Findings

A goldsmith from Medinipur starts his journey as a teenaged boy (whose parental generation were into agricultural occupation), move out of the village with the help of some contacts and begins to identify oneself as a *karigar* (apprentice when learning the skill and journeyman when he has learnt the work and finally a master *karigar* when he expertise the skill). When the master *karigar* expertise and begin to be recognised in the market, he aspires to open his own workshop and employ *karigars*. The attempt of a master craftsman to become a jeweller and own a jewellery showroom; the effort of an apprentice or journeyman to become a master craftsman, own a workshop and employ artisan—showcase their aspiration for intra-generational, upward occupational mobility. There are cases when some of these master craftsmen have become jewellers by opening their jewellery showrooms. Sometimes, when they are not successful, they take up employment as salesmen in some jewellery showrooms so that they get regular pay. As a master craftsman from Kolkata now working in a jewellery showroom in Cuttack viewed:

> I am working in this showroom for the last two years. Before this, I was a master craftsman. I had my workshop and had employed workers. I have passed 12th standard. Along with that I also learnt the skill (*karigar*i) from my uncle (paternal) during my young days. In the evenings I used to sit with him in his workshop and learn the skill. I faced a massive loss in this business. I did not receive the payments from the showroom owners for the delivered work orders, and as a result, I could not pay my *karigars*. When I went to get my payments, I faced unwanted bossing (*gundagiri*) as if I have taken away the money. My *karigars* began to leave me . Finally, I had to close my workshop … The only difference is that I was my own boss and had my *karigars*. Here I am under a boss, and I am his *karigar*. But still, this is much better (Interviewed in Cuttack, January 10, 2015).

The upward social mobility of this occupational group was also marked during the field study in Ghatal, Paschim Medinipur. Back in their village, these young men are referred to as 'gold engineers'. According to a village elder:

> They are sought after by prospective bride's families. Most of the villagers who have daughters, aspire to give their daughters in marriage to these gold engineers. They believe that their daughter would lead a happy and comfortable life if she marries a gold engineer (Interviewed in Ghatal, Paschim Medinipur, May 27, 2015).

Following the goldsmiths to their villages and interacting with their family and neighbours revealed that those who moved out of the village have improved their economic and financial condition. They have built brick houses in their villages and were able to send money to their parents. The well-settled ones have also built temples in the village and send money for developmental activities in the village or during village festivals. Those who have settled outside the village still own a piece of land in the village. They regularly call up their relatives, friends and neighbours and try to keep in touch and be informed about the happenings in the village. During any crises, they also prefer to return to their village. They feel that their village provides them with a secure environment.

Though they are considered as 'gold engineers' in their villages, however, these artisans and their wives do not want their children to take up this occupation. Most of the women (wives of these artisans who were back in the village), when interviewed, pointed out that they want their children to be educated and get a job with a regular pay. As wife of a master craftsman (interviewed in Kanpur, September 16, 2017) remarked:

> Our only concern is to give our children a better education, make them eligible to get a good job and get settled in life. There is no certainty in this goldsmith work. Although my husband is doing well, have work orders, have provided the family with a good living condition; still we do not want our children to get into this work. All this is because this work environment is not favourable to everyone. It teaches a person all the wrong things—from staying awake all night to finish the work orders to theft, cheating, drinking and smoking, lousy company, getting involved in the black market and most importantly the greed to earn more that would ultimately land the person in some trouble.

The narrative quoted above captures the uncertainty and precarity of the work. This precarity served as a strong motivation for the next generation to seek stable salaried jobs. Many families of the goldsmiths even agreed to the fact that this field of goldsmithing work is not safe. Goldsmiths from Medinipur, settled in Cuttack and Kanpur, reported that they face several challenges like no-work orders, irregular pay and unwanted bossings. From the in-depth interviews (using questionnaires) with the goldsmiths, it emerged that their earnings were very uncertain. Their answers to the question of how much they earn every month were answered as: 'it depends upon the work order and the season's demand and the master craftsman pays them on piece basis rather than a regular pay'.

Interviews with the artisans of Cuttack and Kanpur also pointed out that the profit that they used to make from goldsmithing have waned with changing times. The reason cited for this was that before the 1990s there were not many shops nor the current hallmarking system. Customers directly went to the goldsmiths for making their jewellery. So these goldsmiths were able to get their profit through 'wastage' or mixing alloy (due to the absence of hallmark). However, this is not possible in the present times. The artisans complained that the customers trust the big jewellers

who have a reputation for selling good quality ornaments, rather than medium and small jewellers. The big retail companies with their jewellery brand and repairing workshops, along with their logo on these products, guaranteed the customers carat issue and purity. This was absent in case of medium and small jewellers who gave work orders to the master craftsmen for making jewellery for their shops. The changing market demand has led to a situation where a large number of goldsmiths found themselves without work. Preference for the machine and readymade jewellery has also affected a large number of artisans. As a master craftsman remarked:

> With the developing technologies, many new designs and changes are coming up, and customers also prefer those new and latest designs, which we are unable to make. Customers today prefer lightweight and fashionable pieces of jewellery containing a minimal amount of gold. They prefer jewellery that would cost less but made up of pure 22-carat gold (referring to hallmarked gold). This is possible only through machines (like wiring machines or polish machine), not by hand. As a result, many artisans are forced out of work. Machines, on the other hand, are costly and unaffordable. Jewellers too have to first think of their customer's choice and preferences and their earnings. This has led them to keep more machine-made goods to satisfy customers by showing them a variety of ornaments. It is because of this that we are unable to get work orders.

During research we found that the regulations imposed by the state inturn influenced the market and the work of the goldsmiths. An example of the impact of state regulation was marked when the master craftsman of the goldsmithery units had to keep their workshops closed due to the ongoing strike called by the jeweller's associations all over India for nearly 44 days. The jewellers (sarafa) associations across the country called for an indefinite closure of all the jewellery shops to protest against the following government decisions in the Union Budget 2016 on 1 March 2016. Imposition of 1% excise duty on gold along with mandatory quoting of Permanent Account Number (PAN) by the customers for any transaction of rupees two lakh and above were the immediate trigger for these protest. The protesters also claimed that these measures would lead to harassment by the excise officials.[7] The jewellers and the bullion traders all over India continued with the strike against these decisions. When some of the Bengali artisans in Kanpur were contacted after about 20 days of the strike, most of them had gone back to their village. Those who stayed back did not want to speak on the issue. After much probing one of them said:

> *pata nahin kya hoga, kya hi bataye aap ko hum, kya ho raha hai aap dekh hi rahi ho…aab toh bas intezaar hi karna hai* … (Don't know what will happen, cannot say anything, you can yourself see the happenings … the only thing we can do now is to 'wait' …)

While the shops were closed, the clientele looked for other avenues for buying the auspicious metal. The Hindu belief of buying gold during a special occasion such as *Akshaya Tritiya* made many customers look either for alternatives such as buying gold online or wait patiently till the shops open for the upcoming marriage

[7] A similar excise tax which was imposed in 2012, according to the jewellers, led to a lot of 'harassment' and 'inspector raj'. Later on the tax was striked off after protest by the jewellers for around 21 days.

in their family. During the times of no-work or lack of work orders, many artisans were found searching for alternative work and planning to give up this occupation.[8]

In many budgetary decisions of the government to control gold what remains untold is the story of goldsmiths in India. The goldsmiths tell an interesting story of this complex world of work, network and a volatile market. They also reveal the changes in the gold market and how these changes have influenced the work of the goldsmiths and their migration. Facing a challenging and volatile gold market, they struggled to survive—they tried to get work orders, accomplish work tasks in time and compromise with the making charges.

6.5 Discussion and Conclusion

The gold jewellery manufacturing sector is one of the small-scale and informal industries of India. To make a piece of ornament that is in high demand in the consumer market, a large number of goldsmiths work for prolonged hours to get the desired design. The artisans moved out of their village to escape the lack of economic opportunity and severe flood situations in their village. The gold industry, on the other hand, expanded and provided an opportunity to these 'new goldsmiths' to join the workforce. The artisans developed a village network that brought in remittance, hope of upward mobility and a new identity to these first generation goldsmiths. The goldsmiths revealed how they migrate as a young apprentice and later on become a skilled artisan after learning the skill. Their work structure ensures them an entrepreneurial status once they master the skill and plan to start their own workshop. However, the community witnessed several challenges and transformations at different points of time. The goldsmiths move back and forth—across different locales and from their place of origin to the place of destination (i.e. workplace) to ensure a better living for their family.

To study the community of artisans, it became important to follow them and move across different sites along with them. In-depth interviews, observation and focused group discussions with the goldsmiths at their workplace became important to understand their work structure and transformations in the work process. Further, the stratified goldsmithery units that constitute different types of craftsmen, according to their mastery over the skill, made it necessary to interview different artisans, to get an overview of the workplace situation and working conditions. For explaining the mobility and precarity faced by the new goldsmiths, it became important to follow the artisans back to their villages and interview their kins, relatives and villagers. Structured questionnaires were also used to interview 120 artisans and to supplement the findings of the study. Interviews with some of the jewellers and wholesale traders revealed the market situations and the challenges faced by the jewellery manufacturers with the entry of corporate traders and machine-made jew-

[8]No-work or lack of work are mostly the outcome of regulations imposed on gold trade, low market demand due to off-season, crop failures, tax impositions or low growth rate.

ellery. Further secondary sources like reports by World Gold Council, Reserve Bank of India, and newspaper sources explained the macro-structure and functioning of the gold industry. Gazetteers and oral history provided historical knowledge about the artisan community. To understand these multiple layers and complexity of the manufacturing sector, it became important to use different methods. In this context, multi-sited ethnography and mixed method served to overcome the challenges faced by researchers.

Johnstone notes that the ethnographic studies of entrepreneurs may shed light on broader issues relating to the changing values of a culture or society because of the role entrepreneurs play in initiating bridging transactions that set the relative values assigned to various human activities, ideas, time, money, goods and services (Coleman and Hellermann 2011: 118). Multi-sited ethnography along with mixed-method approach reveals the macro- and micro-issues relating to the structure and functioning of the gold manufacturing sector and the inter-relationship between work, mobility and enterprise among the migrant goldsmiths.

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Part II
Research on Social Entrepreneur and Enterprises

Chapter 7
Motivational Model of Social Entrepreneurship: Exploring the Shaping of Engagement of Social Entrepreneur

Balram Bhushan

Abstract Value creation and capture connect the economy and society. Examining the relationship between them, this paper identified three types of social entrepreneurs. Further, I identified exemplar belonging to each type and analysed their motivational aspects. Here, Stimulus → Organism → Response (SOR) framework was used to develop a motivational model of social entrepreneurship. The findings elaborated that family and society are the two main sources of motivation. Both of them contribute differently and synergistically and facilitate the integration of 'social' and 'entrepreneurial' part of social entrepreneurship at the level of the organism and hence challenging the much-discussed integration of these two at the outcome level. Initially, negative emotion brought them in the process, but positive emotions kept them engaged. This transition of negative emotion to positive emotion created a self-perpetuating cycle of action–emotion sequence. Continued stimuli from society and family strengthen the process which resulted in expansion of ways of value creation.

Keywords Social entrepreneurship · Engagement · Value creation · Emotion · Society

7.1 Introduction

Social entrepreneurship is a unique opportunity to serve social needs by following entrepreneurial mechanism (Peredo and McLean 2006). The field is in the pre-paradigmatic stage and lacking dominant theory (Nicholls 2010). Yet, theory development is a debatable topic here, for example, Chell (2007) supports the need for theory development but Dacin et al. (2010) do not see any such need. Looking at the tautological nature of construct as a major challenge for theory building, Santos (2012) proposed 'positive theory of social entrepreneurship' by considering trade-

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off nature of 'value creation' and 'value capture'. But, between this trade-off does not capture all possibilities (Austin et al. 2006; Marshall 2011). It means this positive theory has narrower applicability (Agafonow 2014). In this line, no attempt is made to explore the mechanism through which different relationships between value creation and value capture serve social entrepreneurship.

Second challenging question is what motivates people to participate in the process of social entrepreneurship (Austin et al. 2006; Zahra et al. 2009). Integration of social work and psychology can help to understand the motivation of social entrepreneur (Mair and Martı´ 2006). For example, Miller et al. (2012) identified compassion as a prosocial motivation for social entrepreneurs. Critiquing their work, Arend (2013) asked future researchers to focus on affective exploratory variables and factors driving those emotions. Furthermore, Guclu, Dees, and Anderson (2002) emphasized on the interaction between person and society. But, there is no study which explains what happens within the person (at affective and cognitive level) due to this interaction of person and the outside world and how they respond to those changes and keep themselves engaged in the process of social entrepreneurship. Accordingly, I pose three research questions: what are the different possible relationship between value creation and value capture in the context of social entrepreneurship, what are the motivating factors for participating in social entrepreneurship process and finally, what keeps people engaged in the process of social entrepreneurship?

To answer the first research question, I examined the literature and identified three types of social entrepreneurship process based on different relationship between value capture and value creation. Further, it identified exemplars of each category and through empirical evidences developed a motivational model of social entrepreneurship on the basis of Stimulus → Organization → Response model to answer second and third research questions.

7.2 Value Creation Versus Value Capture and Social Action

Santos (2012) attempted to remove the 'social' adjective and concluded that social entrepreneurship is a process of maximizing value creation and satisfying value capture. But, this dichotomous differentiation is applicable to 'social enterprise' only (Agafonow 2014). As social entrepreneurship occurs across the for-profit, not-for-profit and hybrid organizations (Dees and Anderson 2003; Weerawardena and Mort 2006); hence, value creation and value capture may have complex associations. Apart from that, commercial entrepreneurship also creates value (Mizik and Jacobson 2003). But, the difference lies at the level of prioritising one over the other. In case of social entrepreneurship, value creation is ultimate objective and hence gets priority over value capture, but in case of commercial entrepreneurship, value is created for the purpose of value capture (Seelos and Mair 2005).

As social action of social entrepreneurs connecting value creation (measured at societal level) and value capture (measured at organizational level), hence it cannot be explained by separating economy and society. Based on Weber's (1978) work on

'*Economy and Society*', Kalberg (1980) discussed four types of rationality (practical rationality, theoretical rationality, substantive rationality and formal rationality) of such actions. Out of these, organizational theorists are familiar with formal rationality which is related to 'instrumentally rational' social action and substantive rationality which is related to 'value rational' social action as conceptualized by Weber (Townley 2002). Formal rationality is based on calculations on how to achieve particular ends, whereas substantive rationality helps in selectively picking worth pursuing ends (Parkan 2008). In other words, formal rationality is related to quality and criteria of decision-making to achieve a particular end and substantive rationality is related to selecting those ends. It means efficiency is related to the formal rationality, but emotionality is related to substantive rationality (Barbalet 2009). Substantive rationality helps economic actors to overcome the insufficiency and problematic aspects of decision-making (Berger 2008). Thus in views of Weber, substantive rationality is an analytical tool conveying that economic activities are meant to achieve ultimate ends with social intent. Weber also realized inherently complex relationship between formal and substantive rationality and concluded that these are inseparable (Glynn and Lounsbury 2005). Yet, these are capturing two different dimensions of social action. Often, they are antagonistic to each other, but finding synergy is not quite rare. When they are antagonising each other, then it is the social actor who takes a final disposition either in favour of calculability or in favour of values (Stinchcombe 1986). But, in case of synergy this calculability facilitates the actor towards the meaningful end (Eisen 1978).

In an organization, formal rationality is reflected through its mechanisms ensuring revenue from the organizational activity. This is what this paper conceptualizes as value capture activity. Similarly, organization-associated values in terms of their contribution to the advancement of society and the same are called here value creation. This value creation activity is related to substantive rationality.

Clearly, value creation by social entrepreneur needs explanation based on substantive rationality, and value capture can be explained by formal rationality. Based on the above discussions, there are three possible relationships between value creation and value capture if we examine them through the lens of formal and substantive rationality. Accordingly, this paper identifies three types of social entrepreneurs as per three relations between value capture and value creation.

Calculativist: these people display a high level of value capture and optimize at the value creation front. Although their primary objective is value creation, their calculated approaches ensure self-sufficiency. They maintain a synergistic relationship between value capture and value creation and never take a path where there is a possibility of trade-off between them. They articulate value-laden financial calculations to defend their social entrepreneurial action. Here, the relationship between value capture and value creation is synergistic. Founders of earned income-based social entrepreneurship organization are a typical representative of this category.

Consciousnist: these people display a strong connection and concern for the target population. Their purpose is not to achieve success and particularly not in terms of financial gains at all but to serve and empower the targeted population. Hence, they select an antagonistic relationship between value creation and value capture in favour

of value creation to benefit society. Here, there is a trade-off between value capture and value creation. The preference over one or the other is dependent on the value judgement of the actor. If a social entrepreneur is practising interventions based on voluntary contribution, then he belongs to this category.

Optimist: they are able to make their value-driven work visible to the upper and middle class in such a way that they also provide voluntary support to them. At the same time, they also enable the target population to contribute to the process of value creation. They are an optimist because they design their value capture and value creation activity in a sequential manner with the ultimate goal of value creation and value capturing ensures their financial stability. In other words, value capture acts as a means of value creation. Here, value creation and value capture are separate (temporally or spatially) and sequentially related activities. In case of temporal separation, the organization first captures the substantial value and then uses it for the purpose of value creation. In case of spatial separation, the organization operates at two geographically distinct places and captured value at one place (or time) is used to create value at other. Founders of hybrid social entrepreneurship organization fall under this category.

Explanation of action of social entrepreneur-based value creation and value capture connects an individual's action with its own environment. Motivated by the work of Lockett et al. (2014), Stimulus → Organism → Response model is introduced next to elaborate upon this connection and also to answer the remaining two research questions.

7.3 Stimulus → Organism → Response Model

Stimulus → Organism → Response attributes environment as a source of stimulus which triggers cognitive processes in the individual (Shaver and Scott 1991). Under the influence of the stimulus, the social entrepreneur takes action (Scaturo 2001) to serve the needs of the targeted population. The perspective of SOR provides an opportunity for theoretical development by linking cause and effect relationship. The same can also be achieved through qualitative methods while ensuring theoretical saturation (Partington 2000).

7.3.1 Stimulus

Social entrepreneurship is regarded as an entity belonging to the third sector (Perrini and Vurro 2006) and emerged due to distrust in NGOs, the apathy of business world and impotence of government which are supposed to serve the needs of people (Robinson 2006). Meeting basic needs is largely the responsibility of welfare state, but such systems are either unable or not willing to serve these needs of the people (Thompson et al. 2000). The condition of the targeted population, its cause, the role

of government and others are not under the control of social entrepreneur and are a strong source of the stimulus (Austin et al. 2006).

7.3.2 Organism

Dees (1998) called social entrepreneurs as 'rare breed' and this is consistent with the logic of the SOR model which explores why few people are affected by the stimulus but others are not. At the level of the individual, emotion (Miller et al. 2012), affects (Arend 2013) and cognitive lenses (Dacin et al. 2011) are important for theoretical development.

7.3.3 Response

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the motivation of social entrepreneurs to engage themselves in the process of social entrepreneurship. Hence, long-term engagement is the ultimate response of the social entrepreneurs for this research, and empirical investigation is conducted to explore the mechanism through which social entrepreneurs achieve this engagement.

7.4 Method and Empirical Setting

This paper attempts to answer 'how' questions, and hence, qualitative research design was selected. As questions are context-specific (process of social entrepreneurship), hence case-study approach was found suitable for this research. Furthermore, multiple case studies were conducted to ensure a robust foundation of theory building (Yin 2003). This also facilitated a higher level of accuracy and generalizable explanations than single-case study (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007). Furthermore, the grounded theory method of coding was practised to analyse the data.

7.4.1 Identifying the Cases

As there is no well-developed theory which can help to identify social entrepreneurs, hence I have generated a list of social entrepreneurs recognized by five prominent institutions in the field. These organizations are Ashoka, Santa Clara University, Skoll Foundation, Schwab Foundation and Echoing Green. This list was subjected to the following criteria:

a. For capturing multi-dimensionality of social entrepreneurship—the focal actor must be recognized by more than one organization.
b. In order to avoid mission drift—the person must be the founder of the venture and continuing in the same for more than 15 years.
c. The interventions practised by different persons of the sample must be significantly different.
d. The list generated after following above three processes must include founders following earned income, hybrid model and voluntary contribution-based interventions and hence capturing calculatives, consciousnist and optimist, respectively.

This resulted in 19 social entrepreneurs recognized by more than one institution and are actively engaged in the process of social entrepreneurship for more than 15 years. Then, I categorized all them into calculatives, optimists and consciousnists based on the nature of their intervention (earned income, hybrid model and voluntary contribution based). I have not followed the legal classification of for-profit or non-profit as a social entrepreneur might be following earned income strategy (hence calculative) but registers its organization as non-profit (a consciousnist).

7.4.2 Data Collection

In order to minimize the influence of the researcher, the data was collected from secondary sources through Internet searches. These include website information, archival information, YouTube videos, interviews at independent fora and newspaper reports. Search word includes the name of the founders and name of the organizations. Further, in order to eliminate interpretation of any third party, only quoted information was taken from written documents. Statements were carefully selected to avoid misrepresentation due to contextual variation. In this direction, special care was taken to remove all these circumstances where leading questions were asked. Data collected through multiple sources was used for data triangulation.

7.5 Data Analysis and Findings

7.5.1 First-Order Within-Case Analysis

The data analysis has three steps. First and second steps were related to within-case analysis and third step was related to cross-case analysis. In the first step, I have identified relevant constructs related to stimulus, organism and response. During this, I classified entire data into stimulus, organism and response. Information related to those aspects which were not under control of the social entrepreneurs was classified as stimulus. Affective and cognitive processes of social entrepreneurs

were categorized under organism and their actions were categorized under response. Following Strauss and Corbin (1990), every single piece of data was given minute attention. This helped me to develop a list of first-order codes (see Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3) belonging to different aggregate theoretical categories (stimulus, organism and response).

In the second step of data analysis, axial coding is done so as to develop second-order concepts and to get more abstract dimension which is existing across the cases (Corley and Gioia 2004). Here, I mixed deductive reasoning with inductive processes of data analysis at the first stage so as to maintain consistency with stimulus–organism–response model and generate theoretical categories covering first-order codes.

7.5.2 Second-Order Themes—Cross-Case Analysis

In the final and third step of data analysis, I have adopted inductive as well as deductive approaches. Here, I took the help of extant literature of social entrepreneurship and existing theories to connect the theoretical categories. Finally, a comparative analysis which is the outcome of a second-order case analysis is presented in Table 7.4.

7.6 Contributions and Implications

With the objective to understand how others (members of society) facilitate engagement of entrepreneurs in the process of social entrepreneurship, I started exploring different relationships between value capture and value creation. By taking inferences from Santos (2012), I have also identified three types of social entrepreneurs based on the relationship between value capture and value creation. As integration of entrepreneurial aspect, i.e. risk-taking (Sarasvathy 2001) and social aspect (Bergami and Bagozzi 2000) happens at the level of the individual, I have examined the life of one exemplar of all three types and explained the mechanism of their engagement. Now, I will discuss the findings in the context of extant literature to develop testable hypotheses.

7.6.1 Family, Individual and Action

Family plays an important role in the start-up's decision. It also helps in resource mobilization. Family can be a source of trigger that stimulates the entrepreneurial process. In case of the dual-income family, people will be more risk takers and hence take greater initiative in the direction of new venture creation (Aldrich and Cliff 2003). A decision to become the entrepreneur affects family relation and also influenced by the financial obligation of the person. Such a decision may jeopardize the standard

Table 7.1 Anshu Gupta: (The consciousnist)

First-order codes	Reference	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
I survived and someone else died (during winter) on the road, and it is a lack of clothing. It is highly preventable death	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J67Xxlo-TPk	Social justice violation	Stimulus
We have just ignored such disaster; the fire all across the country in the slums; the flood in eastern and north-eastern part of the country; which is literally become the ritual	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J67Xxlo-TPk	Non-responsiveness	
Meenakshi my wife, a support I can't explain and a friend Ajay, my parents too, who trusted me, made suggestions but never opposed … not a typical parental act	http://gunjanarora.blogspot.in/2006/11/initiative.html	Self-positioning	
I to myself recognize biggest product of subsidy … Every single person who have even studied in a private school is the biggest product of subsidy of the country	https://www.youtube.com/embed/C05CX-Xsy_k?autoplay=1	Welfare state policy	
Let me give you an example- A Dalit person somehow gets a chance to study and he becomes a scientist. He goes back to his village as a part of the national literacy mission	http://gunjanarora.blogspot.in/2006/11/initiative.html	Idealization	

(continued)

Table 7.1 (continued)

First-order codes	Reference	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
Once you see the impact of your work, you feel good; you enjoy	http://www.firstpost.com/india/as-you-pursue-your-goals-obstacles-become-irrelevant-magsaysay-awardee-anshu-gupta-on-running-goonj-2371100.html	Emotion	Organism
I am doing out of guilt (personal interaction) My source of inspiration is my anger	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O0XdtA3HjMM		
My professional journey began as a copywriter in an ad agency, followed by a stint in a public sector enterprise and finally, as a corporate communication manager. But in 1998, I left and formed Goonj—a voluntary organization, with a mission to address the most basic, but ignored need of clothing and the multifaceted role it plays in villages across India	http://www.firstpost.com/india/as-you-pursue-your-goals-obstacles-become-irrelevant-magsaysay-awardee-anshu-gupta-on-running-goonj-2371100.html	Risk-taking ability	
You need a lot of determination and faith in yourself. I still have a long way to go but this early lesson has helped me make some crucial decisions	http://gunjanarora.blogspot.in/	Commitment	

(continued)

Table 7.1 (continued)

First-order codes	Reference	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
I guess one of the reasons we the rich, the middle class don't fight all these things is because we have no moral right since we are the ones responsible for many of these evils	http://creative.sulekha.com/get-angry-stay-angry-but-for-heavens-sake-act_432015_blog	Ownership	Response
We (present system) do not take care of the local wisdom…I am learning every day from the lives of the villagers I meet when I travel…	http://www.brevis.co.in/anshu-gupta.html	Opportunity exploration	
We have laid the pipelines in the county, where we develop the systems in urban India, in rural India and in the middle path	http://khemkafoundation.in/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=242:creating-paradigms-where-trash-is-currency-anshu-gupta&Itemid=259	Opportunity restructure	
Have we been able to bring out even ten people out of poverty; the answer is no. why? Because ecosystem does not support … It's the 'keeda' (worm) inside me to do something different, to do something good and big for the society … the determination to reach that goal, which keeps me motivated. Once you see the impact of your work, you feel good; you enjoy … 17 years of operation and in 23 states	https://www.youtube.com/embed/C05CX-Xsy_k?autoplay=1	Engagement	

Table 7.2 Vijay Mahajan (The calculatives)

First-order codes	Reference	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
… We have this paradox in National statistics that in one hand unemployed … unemployment rate is as low as 8 to 9% … but our poverty ratio is around 25%. We have the phenomenon of working poor	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Rcr0H3kx8Y	Social justice violation	Stimulus
Why doesn't rest of world care about these issues. To me it is a kind of obvious … The problem that I have lived with all my life is that why efforts has been asymmetric	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EJ0vi2rhPDI	Non-responsiveness	
And yeah, throughout our history, including today, she has always earned more than me. So that makes a difference	https://archive.org/stream/StayHungryStayFoolish/STAY_HUNGRY_STAY_FOOLISH_djvu.txt	Self-positioning	
This scheme (Public Distribution System) is widely misused. Middlemen collect hundreds of ration cards in return for the promise of giving 15 kg out of 35 kgs rice for free, and a bottle of liquor costing Rs 50. Thus, the middleman spends Rs 80 per card. The balance of 20 kg rice is sold in the market for Rs 16, thus earning Rs 320	https://vijaymahajan.wordpress.com/2011/02/13/day-11-raipur-activists-and-ngos/	Welfare state policy	

(continued)

Table 7.2 (continued)

First-order codes	Reference	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
Once Gandhiji was convinced that there is truth in what the farmers are deprived of, he fought for the farmers and won this battle against injustice in just 6 months	https://vijaymahajan.wordpress.com/	Idealization	
We would go out to work in rural areas now and then and that would give me great pleasure and a sense of satisfaction …		Emotion	Organism
The problem was, Indian banks were still not willing to lend to us. We got very Frustrated	https://archive.org/stream/StayHungryStayFoolish/STAY_HUNGRY_STAY_FOOLISH_djvu.txt		
Yes, I made a mistake now let's find out how to fix it! … We went through very major turmoil, debate, demotivation. I came close to thinking that yeh sab bekaar hai. My life was wasted doing all this. Eventually we gathered our wits and crafted a new operating strategy	https://archive.org/stream/StayHungryStayFoolish/STAY_HUNGRY_STAY_FOOLISH_djvu.txt	Risk-taking ability	
Giving up my corporate, high-profile job was the inevitable that had to happen; not that it was hailed by one and all, but then my mind was made up …	https://archive.org/stream/StayHungryStayFoolish/STAY_HUNGRY_STAY_FOOLISH_djvu.txt	Commitment	

(continued)

Table 7.2 (continued)

First-order codes	Reference	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
I wanted to prove to myself and others that lending to the poor can be investment-worthy	https://archive.org/stream/StayHungryStayFoolish/STAY_HUNGRY_STAY_FOOLISH_djvu.txt	Ownership	Response
When I took over the Bihar projects, all the money had already been spent … But there were no benefits because of poor planning and implementation … I managed to turn around one village first. Once that happened, the word spread and I became more welcome in other villages	https://archive.org/stream/StayHungryStayFoolish/STAY_HUNGRY_STAY_FOOLISH_djvu.txt	Opportunity exploration	
The kind of things that one does in an organization every five years, we were doing every six months. We thought that it has been done. We have gone from a concept note to a local area bank in two years flat	https://archive.org/stream/StayHungryStayFoolish/STAY_HUNGRY_STAY_FOOLISH_djvu.txt	Opportunity reconstruction	
I will continue to search for deeper solution and not been satisfied till I can look at inner contradiction of these … To call it impact investing is still I think Newtonian …	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b1ui47Sej10	Engagement	

Table 7.3 Harish Hande (The optimists)

First-order codes	References	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
How do I tell kids that we are all part of the same society? That they need to learn from each other to create some sort of social equity?	http://www.livemint.com/Leisure/dLJtbPdbJeHgXmC6Qo2gWN/Harish-Hande–Here-comes-the-sun.html	Social injustice	Stimulus
The pani puri vendor has a thela (stall) which she struggles to protect while trying to prevent her stove from falling. We have sent men to the moon, we have satellites, we have created iPads but we have not created a good thela …	http://www.scholarsavenue.org/uncategorized/interview-with-dr-harish-hande/	Non-responsiveness	
She (wife) … Born and brought up in the US, and works as a software engineer there … She knew my life was in rural India. It's the shared belief in what each of us is doing that has helped us in sustaining our relationship for 20 years	http://electronicsb2b.efytimes.com/i-want-to-inspire-the-youth-to-change-the-face-of-rural-india-2/	Self-positioning	
I graduated from Indian Institute of Technology where I had subsidized education and subsidies are basically paid by the poor people …	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x69sA7EgSHE	Welfare state policy	

(continued)

Table 7.3 (continued)

First-order codes	References	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
So, he is 91. He is the only guy I know who was with Mahatma Gandhi and there is another guy I know now, who used to be driver of Martin Luther King. So, these are the guys who are actually talking about sustainability	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PTOHcNexRKI	Idealization	
Frankly speaking, enjoyed in 20 years, it is the same fun that I had in 20 years, that I had in 4 years of hostel life …	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x69sA7EgSHE	Emotion	Organism
Frustration is the best part of motivation. If you are not frustrated you can't be motivated …	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQOk0PlXnbI		
IITKGP really changed me completely not what I did in classes which I hardly did anything … It is 2 h … and 45 min of absolutely pure drill … after that 2 h and 45 min of that life, nothing can deter me	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PTOHcNexRKI	Risk-taking ability	

(continued)

Table 7.3 (continued)

First-order codes	References	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
Quitting has never occurred to me. There have been frustrations and plenty of them, but they were not from a personal point of view. I always ask, do we have the time and do we have the solution?	http://www.telegraphindia.com/1110911/jsp/7days/story_14492286.jsp	Commitment	
I would want to remove the boundaries that we have created in the world. I believe we are all the same, irrespective of the country we live in and the 'class' we belong to	http://electronicsb2b.efytimes.com/i-want-to-inspire-the-youth-to-change-the-face-of-rural-india-2/	Ownership	Response

(continued)

of living (Brockhaus 1980). So, people whose family income falls in the range of average or above average are more likely to explore independent opportunities and become self-employed. Addition to that, males from better-off families are more inclined towards looking for independent opportunities (Hundley 2006).

Now, I will go back to data and examine the family of these three focal actors and actions of their family. All these three focal actors married to a highly competent lady. Vijay Mahajan's wife was her classmate in IIMA. Harish Hande met her wife in the USA while pursuing his studies where she was also enrolled and Anshu Gupta also married to one of his classmates. All these three ladies were earning when these focal actors took the decision of founding the organization. All of them have very less number of dependent members in the family (two daughters of Harish Hande and they live in the USA with their mother and one daughter of Anshu Gupta). Apart from that, they also get support from their friends, for example, Goonj was founded with the help of few friends of Anshu Gupta. Vijay Mahajan also took the help of few of the friends during the initial days of BASIX. In case of Anshu Gupta, the first 67 cloths with which he started his work came from his family only.

Hence, I conclude here my first hypothesis as:

Table 7.3 (continued)

First-order codes	References	Theoretical categories	Aggregate theoretical dimension
On my field visit to Dominican Republic, I saw a lot of poverty and darkness and the two began to look like same thing to me … I decided to explore the potential technology had to improve lives, without urban frills	http://electronicsb2b.efytimes.com/i-want-to-inspire-the-youth-to-change-the-face-of-rural-india-2/	Opportunity exploration	
The credit of idea (Chitradurga Bus Project) actually came from the father of Don Bosco in the Chitradurga town … basically we sat with him … redesign the configuration of type of laptop, type of solar charging and it is done in way, now serves dual purpose	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x69sA7EgSHE	Opportunity reconstruction	
Once you get into this field, it is very addictive	(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQOk0PlXnbI)	Engagement	

Hypothesis 1. Self-positioning of the social entrepreneur increases the risk-taking ability of the individual, and hence, such individual takes ownership of the act of value creation.

Although the extant literature discussed the role of self-positioning with respect to family and friends but limited its implication to risk-taking and resource mobilization. The hypothesis above extends present conceptualization and connects risk-taking ability to the ownership of the act of value creation which is consistent with Stimulus → Organism → Response sequence.

Table 7.4 Cross-case comparison

Aggregate theoretical dimension	Theoretical category	Anshu Gupta	Vijay Mahajan	Harish Hande
Stimulus	Social injustice	In relation to self and highly personalized	In relation to nation and least personalized	In relation to society/class but relatively less personalized
	Non-responsiveness	For range of issues and highly individualized	For issues related to government policies and highly institutionalized	For range of issues and individualized with class concerns
	Self-positioning	Shifting of family responsibility more to wife and in later phase wife also got completely involvement. Support of friends in the process	Role of wife is more supportive and indirect. Integration of professional and personal life	Role of wife is more supportive and indirect. Support is much more professional with strong personal ties
	Welfare state policy	Recognize himself as one of the beneficiary of welfare state policy	Recognizes the inefficiency of welfare state policy	Recognize himself as one of the beneficiary of welfare state policy
	Idealization	Idealization based on the evident work done by role model and connecting them with related others	Idealization based on the evident work done by role model	Idealization as per the personal exposure and experience with the role model
Organism	Emotion	Anger, guilt	Frustration, 'not in peace'	Frustration, guilt, disappointment
		Feeling good, faith, satisfaction	Satisfaction, pleasure	Joy, love

(continued)

Table 7.4 (continued)

Aggregate theoretical dimension	Theoretical category	Anshu Gupta	Vijay Mahajan	Harish Hande
	Risk-taking ability	High level of risk by killing alternatives	Relatively lower level of risk with rationalized planning	High level of risk-taking by being ready for even worst situation
	Commitment	Gradual shaping of commitment 'with determination and faith'	Rationalized commitment so as to remain in the sector	Strong commitment with the decisive stand that 'quitting is not an option'
Response	Ownership	Class-level ownership of the cause with specific focus on middle class	Individualized level ownership to 'prove myself'	Cass level ownership of the cause with specific focus on elite class
	Opportunity exploration	Travelling and spending time with target group to explore local wisdom	Association with pre-existing system to learn from them and work to improve their efficiency	Travelling and listening target group to understand their problem so as to identify the opportunity
	Opportunity reconstruction	Diversification in wide range of activities based on the local needs	Diversification in related services keeping main focus primary	Integration of range of services from diverse range of players to make system efficient at every level
	Engagement	Ready with a package of changing life of people and call it 'trash-based economy'	Integrating service to take care of life from birth to death	Long-term goal of knowing 'rural India' without making any change in current approach

7.6.2 Society, Individual and Action

In this section, I am considering, social injustice, idealization, welfare state policy and non-responsiveness as representative of society, emotion and commitment represent organism and activities related to opportunity represent action.

Awareness of the suffering of others sensitizes justice-related cues and hence stimulates cognitive processes. Also, social injustice fuels negative emotions like anger, guilt, shame, etc., and under the influence of such emotion, people take action to eliminate such injustice (Lerner 2003). Apart from that, non-responsiveness of abled actors fuels emotions which facilitate corrective action (Kuhn 1998). Similarly, the presence of role model also promotes emotions in such a way that the person gets determined for the goal (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987). Finally, the last construct in this category is 'state policy'. After independence, India became a democratic country with a welfare state vision. Constitution of India aims to ensure social justice. So, the role to address various imbalances is taken by the government through various policies (Sarker 1994). In India, subsidy is one such welfare state policy.

Looking at the data, Anshu Gupta talks about a range of issues related to social injustice, welfare state policies and non-responsiveness of the common citizen and his most of the talk includes one or other emotional variables strengthening his commitment. Similarly, Harish Hande also talks about these issues but with relatively lesser intensity. The same is true for Vijay Mahajan also. Furthermore, Harish Hande's approach is to become like the needy person to understand the real issue while Anshu Gupta uses democratic discussion with the community to understand their need. Vijay Mahajan looks at the traditional serving which is not served to the target group. So, I conclude my second hypothesis as:

Hypothesis 2: Society stimulates emotions in the individual which gets translated into a commitment for designing the ways to create value by dealing with opportunities.

Here, I captured the holistic nature of society as a source of stimulus. Theoretical development examined each of the components (state policy, idealization, social injustice and non-responsiveness) in isolation. But, these do not work in isolation. For example, state policies set accountability, and idealization gives a lens to evaluate the level of social (in) justice in the action of an accountable actor. If the evaluator believes that appropriate measures are already in place, then such people will not get engaged in addressing social injustice otherwise he/she will.

7.6.3 Linking Actions of Social Entrepreneurs

Effectuation logic explains the process of opportunity creation (Bhowmick 2011). It suggests that the opportunities are not out there, but the actor contribution in the creation of socially relevant opportunities based on resources at hand (Corner and Ho 2010). But this is not a standalone process, and it requires multiple iterations based

on emerging resources at hand (Bhushan 2018). VanSandt et al. (2009) presented a sequence of events relating effectuation logic and socially entrepreneurial opportunity. It starts with effectual logic then goes identifying opportunity, followed by adding strategic partner, then to expanding stakeholder base and finally to impact. In a similar way, this paper proposes a model where the action starts with determining the pattern of ownership of the action followed by aspects of opportunity and then to engagement. As there is dealing with the opportunities through opportunity exploration and opportunity restricting (both together called here opportunity creation) is a continuous ongoing process, hence the resultant engagement is well sustained. Such engagement triggers positive emotions which further strengthen the interplay between opportunity exploration and opportunity restructuring. Here, aspects of opportunity include both opportunity exploration and opportunity restructuring. I see opportunity exploration similar to identifying opportunity and adding resources around it to realize the opportunity as opportunity restructuring.

Hypothesis 3: The process of social entrepreneurship action starts with ownership which determines the interplay between opportunity exploration and opportunity restructuring leading to engagement.

Adding dynamics to the opportunity creation based on resources at hand, I add to the effectuation logic by adding motive of the entrepreneur to the process of effectuation. In fact, the social entrepreneur does not start applying effectuation logic based on any resources at hand, and he selects the appropriate combination of value-driven resources at hand to create the opportunity. The interplay between opportunity exploration and opportunity restructuring reflects the integration of motive and the process.

7.6.4 Moderating Role of Society

Government can play a supportive, neutral or destructive role in the process of entrepreneurship. The role played by the government comes through policies which regulate the institutional environment under which entrepreneurs look for the opportunity (Minniti 2008). For example, government policy in India reduced the number of sectors in the public sector from 17 to 8 during reforms in 1991. Government policies also contributed to the success of software entrepreneurs (Majumdar 2007). Alternatively, extensive bureaucratic control by the government may lead to problems in doing business (Majumdar 2004). Depending on the context of their studies the authors looked at enabling, constraining and neutral role of government in the process of social entrepreneurship. Three cases of this paper indicate the same. For example, a regulation passed by the Andhra Pradesh government limited the opportunity of Vijay Mahajan; involvement of government's financial institution helped Harish Hande to design a customized package to the target population and neutral approach of the government towards issues related to clothing opened the door

of 'alternate economy' built by Anshu Gupta. So, I conclude this in the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: Government policies moderate the relationship between ownership and ways to create value in the process of social entrepreneurship. This moderation may be positive or negative dependent on enabling or restricting policies of the government.

Another construct related to society is 'social injustice' which strengthen the relationship between ways of value creation and engagement. For example, Anshu Gupta looks at a broader range of social inequality and he practices a range of activities while using cloths as currency in the direction of changing the ecosystem. Harish Hande looks for social injustice in the context of 'need' and 'wants', and he designs the services to increase 'expendable income' of the target population and hence talks about changing the life of people. Vijay Mahajan looks at social injustice in relation to livelihood so designs financial packages to take care of 'birth to death'. So, I conclude this in hypothesis 5.

Hypothesis 5: Social injustice moderates the relationship between ways of creating value and engagement in the process of social entrepreneurship.

But the process does not stop here. Continuous engagement of these actors triggers positive emotions. For example, in case of Anshu Gupta, it is a sense of doing 'good', in case of Harish Hande it is enjoyment and in case of Vijay Mahajan it is 'satisfaction'. I further argue that these positive emotions enhance the commitment of the actor so as to establish the virtuousness of the process of social entrepreneurship. This leads to our final hypothesis as:

Hypothesis 6: Engagement in the process of social entrepreneurship fuels positive emotions which add to the commitment and hence completes the self-perpetuating cycle of social entrepreneurship.

A summary of all this discussion is concluded in Fig. 7.1.

7.7 Limitations and Future Direction of Research

Although the criteria of case selection and selection of focal actors are stringent, the data is gathered through secondary sources. So, there is a need to verify the finding from the focal actors. Furthermore, there is a need to explore those cases where secondary data is not much available to draw any comprehensive conclusion. For addressing these two issues, further research is needed with primary data sources.

Secondly, in the process of social entrepreneurship apart from founders other members across the hierarchy are also engaged in the process of social entrepreneurship. The mechanism of their engagement may be different from that of the founders. As there is no secondary information available and social entrepreneurship looked at

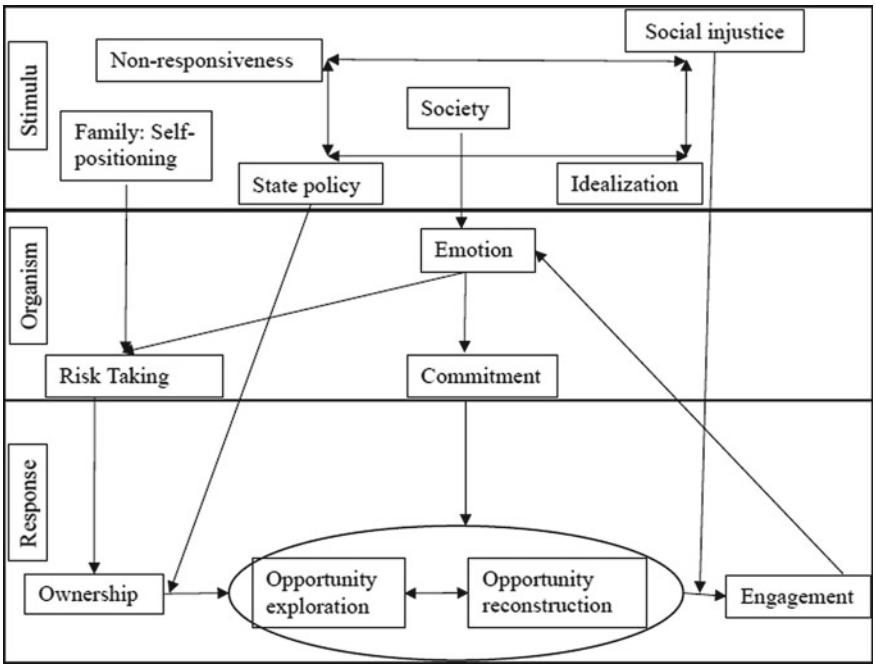

Fig. 7.1 Motivational model of social entrepreneurship

this issue, so participant observation and interview of these members of the organization will be helpful in addressing this concern. Third limitation is generalizability of the finding. Looking closely at this work, the purpose is not to test the theory but to develop a theory, and hence, generalization is not the intended purpose of this work. At this stage, I urge the research community to test the hypotheses developed in this paper so as to understand the applicability of the theory presented here.

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Chapter 8
The Effect of Emotional Intelligence, Empathy and Perceived Social Pressure on Predicting Social Entrepreneurial Intention: A Field Research

Preeti Tiwari, Anil K. Bhat and Jyoti

Abstract The objective of this study was to identify the role of emotional intelligence, empathy, and perceived social pressure on social entrepreneurial intentions among the students of premier technical universities in India using Shapero's theory of entrepreneurial event as the research framework. The structural model adequately fit the data. The test showed the good fit of the model. The derived statistics of model fit are: CMIN/DF = 1.79, IFI = 0.96, TLI = 0.94, CFI = 0.95 and RMSEA = 0.033. All the three antecedents showed a statistically significant relationship with the mediators. Findings of this research study also suggest that students with emotional intelligence are more inclined towards social entrepreneurial activities. The finding of this research study will facilitate policymakers and educators for promoting social entrepreneurial activities at the university level. Based on these results, educators may review support system that will prove helpful for students. This is one of its kinds of research conducted in the Indian context. Findings of this research will be helpful in predicting how the intention process of Indian students is affected by emotional intelligence, empathy and perceived social pressure.

Keywords Emotional intelligence · Empathy · Social pressure · Social · Entrepreneurial intention

8.1 Introduction

Social entrepreneurs are not-for-profit executives who pay increasing attention to market forces without losing sight of their underlying missions, to somehow balance

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moral imperatives and the profit motives—and that balancing act is the heart and soul of the movement (Boschee 1995). Social entrepreneurs are considered as one of the prominent pillars in delivering basic services and opportunities to the weaker section and other underdeveloped areas in India (Drayton 1993). These social ventures are different from each other and adopt the different business model in order to provide innovative, cost-efficient and often technology-driven business models that put forward essential services to those who are short of access (Waddock and Post 1995). Others are working hard at removing barriers that prevent access.

India's current population is 1.32 billion (132 crores) and it also has the world's second-largest labour force of 516.3 million people. In spite of the fact that the hourly wage rates in India have more than doubled over the few couples of years, the latest World Bank report states that approximately 350 million people in India currently live below the poverty line. This signifies that every third Indian is deprived of even basic necessities like nutrition, education and health care and many are still wracked by unemployment and illiteracy (Shaw and de Bruin 2013). Social entrepreneurs can prove helpful in eradicating these issues by placing those less fortunate on a pathway towards a meaningful life (Lans et al. 2014). India is set to become the world's youngest country with 64% of its population in the working age group (Haub and Sharma 2015). If this major chunk of the young population in India is encouraged to take up social entrepreneurship, it will impact the Indian economy significantly not only addressing the problem of unemployment but also several social problems in an affordable manner.

This motivated the authors to investigate what factors affect the intention formation process so as to encourage young generation towards social entrepreneurship. Social entrepreneurship in the context of India is still an understudied topic with limited research studies that usually fall short of empirical data to support. Research studies have been so far conducted in India mostly used case studies or storytelling approach. They were more focused towards the concept of social innovation through incubators and government initiatives (Sonne 2012) and towards cases of social entrepreneurs with the mission of rural development (Yadav and Goyal 2015). Selective research studies conducted in India in the field of social entrepreneurship are shown in Table 8.1.

Literature present in the area of social entrepreneurship is very limited and most of these social entrepreneurial studies situated in Western and developed countries (Tiwari et al. 2017). Moreover, social entrepreneurial literature dealing with the factors that lead to the development of social venture follow two different approaches. Through the first qualitative approaches, researchers have tried to find out the motivating factors for the social entrepreneur/nascent social entrepreneurs. And the second approach has tried to capture the pre-venture creation phase by quantitative approaches. This stream of researchers has tried to find out the factors that affect social entrepreneurial intention formation. Our research study also focuses on the intention formation process of social enterprise creation. Therefore, in this research study, we are not comparing India with other countries; this research study targets on identifying factors that facilitate the formulation of social entrepreneurship intentions in India context.

Table 8.1 Social entrepreneurial studies in India

S. No.	Author(s)/year	Nature of study
1	Mair and Ganly (2009)	Case study analysis of Gram Vikas in Orissa, India
2	Seth and Kumar (2011)	An explorative case study regarding social entrepreneurial ecosystem in India
3	Khanapuri and Khandelwal (2011)	Qualitative research study dealing with fair trade and scope of social entrepreneurship in India
4	Shukla (2012)	Working paper dealing with the contextual framework of social entrepreneurship in India
5	Datta and Gailey (2012)	Case study analysis of women cooperatives in India
6	Chowdhury and Santos (2010)	Case study analysis of Gram Vikas in India
7	Sonne (2012)	Case study of social business incubators like Villgro and Aavishkaar

Therefore, the objectives of our study are:

(1) To review and analyse the past literature on the antecedents used in the study.
(2) To empirically test the effect of emotional intelligence, empathy and perceived social pressure on social entrepreneurial intentions.
(3) To develop and validate a conceptual model depicting the role of Shapero's theory of entrepreneurial event as a moderator in predicting social entrepreneurial intentions.

In this research study, the sample of young undergraduate's students of premier technical institutes in India has been taken.

8.2 Literature Review

Social entrepreneurship is similar to the commercial business entity in opportunity recognition, innovation, creativity, self-efficacy, social support system and venture funding (Dees and Elias 1998). These similarities lie due to the fact that the affirmation of social entrepreneurship seems to be associated with the inception of an entrepreneurial phenomenon, which imitates an aspiration to restore the equilibrium between its two principle factors, viz. the economy and social development (Prabhu 1999). The major challenge in understanding social entrepreneurship lies in understanding the limitations of what we mean by social. The term "social" refers to initiatives aimed at helping others (Harding 2004). Social entrepreneurship is the sign of philanthropy. It is based on moral function and moral liability (Prabhu 1999). In other words, profit creation might be the "central idea" of entrepreneurship it does

not neglect other motivational factors. Researchers in the area of entrepreneurship focus on the fact that all start-ups are social in the view that all ventures create value (Spear 2005).

Social entrepreneurship is similar to the commercial business entity in opportunity recognition, innovation, creativity, self-efficacy, social support system and venture funding (Dees and Elias 1998). These similarities lie due to the fact that the affirmation of social entrepreneurship seems to be associated with the inception of an entrepreneurial phenomenon, which imitates an aspiration to restore the equilibrium between its two principle factors, viz. the economy and social development (Prabhu 1999). Social entrepreneurship generally focuses on innovation and opportunity recognition, and for this, they work with—not against—market forces. Therefore on the basis of literature, "***social entrepreneurship is a process that begins with perceived social opportunity, transfers it into an enterprise model, determine and achieves the wealth essential to execute the enterprise, initiates and grows the enterprise and yields the future upon goal achievement of the enterprise's goal***". It can take many forms, from starting a business to expanding an organization, to partnering with another firm. Researchers identified that social entrepreneurship is a process that can create value by utilizing resources in innovative ways. For fulfilling their primary motives, social enterprise explores and exploits opportunities that can create social value by facilitating social change or meeting social needs. Many researchers viewed social entrepreneurship as a process that not only offers services and products but can also lead to the formation of new organizations. From an academic research perspective, social entrepreneurship as a field of research is indisputably enjoying an "emerging excitement" (Urban and Kujinga 2017). Due to limited research in this field, this area is facing two major challenges. Firstly, social entrepreneurship is considered as a by-product of bigger concept entrepreneurship, therefore, this evident from the lack of theoretical literature related to social entrepreneurship and lack of consensus regarding how to define social entrepreneurship has not been achieved. Secondly, social entrepreneurship research is caught in between seemingly demands significance and intransigence (Mair and Martí 2006). Therefore, this research study tried to bridge the gap in the field by combining various entrepreneurial aspects in social entrepreneurial research.

The reason for using the intention to analyse start-up formation is very simple. Entrepreneurship is a multi-step, conscious and planned process, and all planned processes are intentional (Krueger et al. 2000). Thus, taking into consideration entrepreneurship as a multi-step procedure heading towards venture development, intention can be taken as opening step and should be carefully examined (Lee et al. 2011). In the entrepreneurial intention research studies, various models have been used over the year in order to measure entrepreneurial intentions (Bird 1988; Boyd and Vozikis 1994; Shapero 1975; Shapero and Sokol 1982; Ajzen 1991; Krueger 1993). An interesting facet of these intention models is that they did not test the actual behaviour but tried to focus on the factors leading and influencing intentions. Researchers in the field of entrepreneurship research suggested various factors that affect entrepreneurial intentions (Bird 1988; Liñán et al. 2011; Morris et al. 2005). These factors/antecedents are categorized as cognitive, motivational/non-

motivational or situational (Liñán and Chen 2009; Shane et al. 2003; Venkataraman and Shane 2000).

Research studies in the area of intentions focused on the fact that these individual-level factors do not affect the dependent variable (intention) directly. But these factors first affect attitude and which afterwards influence intentions (Krueger 2006). In the present study for identifying the social entrepreneurial intention among students in an Indian context, the authors have used Shapero's theory of entrepreneurial event as the research framework measuring the effect of perceived desirability, perceived feasibility, emotional intelligence, empathy and perceived social pressure towards social entrepreneurial intention.

8.3 Theoretical Framework

8.3.1 Social Entrepreneurship Intention Model

In the previous sections of this paper, researchers highlighted the role of the intentions/intentional models and affecting factors that influence entrepreneurial intention process. This section deals with literature pertaining to social entrepreneurial intentions. Mair and Noboa (2006) first proposed a social entrepreneurial intention formation.

In their seminal work, they used individual-level antecedents in order to measure intentions. The basic assumption of Mair and Noboa (2006) model is that intention to start social enterprise development through perception to desirability, which was affected by cognitive emotional comprise of empathy as an emotional factor and perceived feasibility, which has influence from enablers consisting of self-efficacy and social support (Mair and Martí 2006). Figure 8.1 shows the Mair and Noboa (2006) social entrepreneurial intention model.

This model is considered as the first model that specifically developed in order to measure social entrepreneurial intentions. In this model, Mair and Noboa adopted classical previously tested model and expand the model by adding constructs of perceived desirability and perceived feasibility. Antecedents that distinguish this model from traditional entrepreneurial models are empathy and moral judgment. However, researchers cannot deny the fact that everyone who is imbibing with empathy and moral judgment become a social entrepreneur. But the certain level of empathy and moral judgment is required to trigger the social entrepreneurial intention process (Mair and Martí 2006). After that, some attempts were made by researchers in order to predict social intention formation. To empirically validate the Mair and Noboa (2006) conceptual work, the first attempt was done by Hockerts' (2015). In Hockerts' (2015) work, he modified the model by deleting mediating variables (adopted from Shapero's work, viz. perceived desirability and perceived feasibility) from his proposed model. In his social entrepreneurial intention model, the direct relationship between individual-level antecedent's, viz. moral

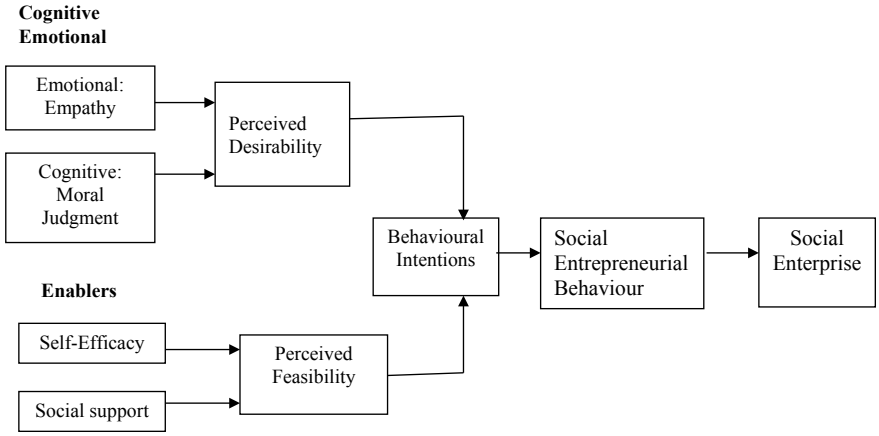

Fig. 8.1 Social entrepreneurship intention model. *Source* Based on Mair and Noboa (2006)

obligation, entrepreneurial self-efficacy, empathy and perceived social support and their effect on social entrepreneurial intention has been tested. Furthermore, additional antecedent's, i.e. prior experience in social entrepreneurial activities and social entrepreneurial education has been included in the modified model. For empirical validation, Hockerts' (2015) used three different samples and found some mixed results in relation to empathy. One sample showed a positive significant relationship between empathy and social entrepreneurial intentions, and others showed an insignificant relationship between the two.

As we can see social entrepreneurship as a research field lack theory-based empirical research. Therefore, our research study adds to the literature in the field of social entrepreneurial by proposing a theory-based empirical research perspective.

8.4 Research Gap and Proposed Research Model

In their seminal work, Shapero and Sokol (1982) identified the social dimensions which may affect entrepreneurship (Ernst 2011). The emphasis on the importance of the business communities or strong social groups (e.g. Marwar in India) which are more entrepreneurial active than those who are less entrepreneurial oriented groups. To tackle the problem of differentiating between entrepreneur and the differences between one-time, nascent and multiple entrepreneurs, Shapero and Sokol focus on the "Entrepreneurial Event". In their research study, event is considered as a dependent variable and entrepreneur as an independent variable, as are the social, economic, political and cultural factors immediate it. "Each entrepreneurial event is the endpoint of a process and the beginning of another" (Shapero and Sokol 1982). As

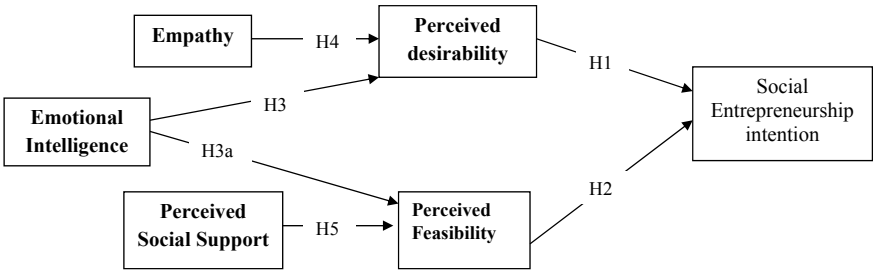

Fig. 8.2 Proposed research model. *Source* Based on Mair and Noboa (2006)

the sample population for this research is nascent entrepreneurs, therefore, we have used Shapero and Sokol's (1982) model of the entrepreneurial event as a research framework. Figure 8.2 shows the proposed model used for the validation of results.

8.5 Hypothesis Development

8.5.1 Social Entrepreneurial Intention (SEI)

The theory of planned behaviour stated that intentions can be proved to be an important tool to predict consequent behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein 1970). Researchers emphasize the importance of intentions in the field of entrepreneurship and used different criteria to describe intention. Bird (1988) defines intention as a state of mind that motivates the person towards a certain goal or path. Intention can be considered as a precondition that governs planned behaviour (Bird and Truls 2004). According to Krueger and Brazeal (1994), "Entrepreneurial intention can be defined as the commitment of a person towards some future behaviour, which is projected towards starting, a business or an organization". Various research studies emphasize the importance of intentions as one of the crucial analysts in predicting planned behaviour (Krueger and Brazeal 1994). Thus, researchers stumble on the fact that entrepreneurial intention is an indispensable tendency for the formation of enterprise and an emerging research area that attract a substantial amount of research. Configuration of the social entrepreneurial intention is the area which is barely touched by researcher. Ziegler (2009) emphasized the fact that factors/motivation that forces people to become social entrepreneur. Thus, to identify what are the factors that facilitate individual to opt for social entrepreneur still required lot of research.

8.5.2 Shapero's Theory of Entrepreneurial Event

Shapero and Sokol's (1982) model of the entrepreneurial event presents a process model of new enterprise formation. The researchers argued that inertia leads human action and as a result, there needed to be a transferable event to push or pull an individual to change course and in this case to found a business. In relation to the theory, the three major factors that are estimated to influence an individual's intentions to act in a certain way are perceived desirability, perceived feasibility and propensity to act. Perceived desirability can be understood as to how striking the idea of starting up a venture is. Perceived feasibility is the belief of the person that he/she is competent enough to initiate effectively a business whereas propensity to act is considered as the personal outlook to act on one's decisions (Izquierdo 2011). Krueger (1993) in his research study found that these three factors of Shapero's theory explained half of the variance in the intention process whereas perceived feasibility emerged as the antecedent with the highest explanatory power. Fitzsimmons and Douglas (2011) found that both perceived desirability and perceived feasibility showed a positive significant relationship with entrepreneurial intentions.

8.5.3 Perceived Desirability (PD), Perceived Feasibility (PF) and Social Entrepreneurial Intention (SEI)

Perceived desirability is defined as the degree to which one finds the viewpoint of starting a business to be striking; in real meaning, it reflects one's effect towards entrepreneurship. It reflects the personal attractiveness like empathy and emotional moral judgement of starting a social enterprise (Krueger et al. 2000). Perceived feasibility, on the other hand, refers to the level or degree of personal capability to start an enterprise as experienced by the person. Whereas past experience and a common sense of self-confidence in one's skills and abilities to successfully complete tasks have been found to relate to this belief, it is self-efficacy that has repeatedly been identified as the significant antecedent variable to focus feasibility perceptions (Guzmán-Alfonso and Guzmán-Cuevas 2012). Entrepreneurial self-efficacy, which refers to an individual's estimation of assurance in, his or her ability to successfully start a business (McGee et al. 2009) is found to be the strongest indicator of entrepreneurial intentions (Olanrewaju 2013). Various prominent researchers in the field of entrepreneurship proved that perceived desirability and perceived feasibility have the positive impact on entrepreneurial intentions (Engle et al. 2010; Iakovleva et al. 2011; Krueger 2007; Shepherd and Patzelt 2011; Wilson et al. 2007). Segal et al. (2005) test the effect of entrepreneurial personality traits in order to predict entrepreneurial intentions by keeping perceived feasibility and perceived desirability. Results of the study showed perceived feasibility and perceived desirability significantly predict entrepreneurial intentions. Therefore, the basis of literature researchers formed the following hypothesis.

H1: There is a significant positive relationship between perceived desirability and social entrepreneurial intention.
H2: There is a significant positive relationship between perceived feasibility and social entrepreneurial intention.

8.5.3.1 Emotional Intelligence (EmInt)

The concept of emotional intelligence was made popular by Thorndike in 1920 when he highlighted the fact that the idea of emotional intelligence is directly related to social intelligence. As defined by Thorndike, emotional intelligence is the capability to understand not only our own emotions but emotions and feelings of others (Thorndike 1937). Later on, Gardner (2004) proposed a "Multiple Intelligence Theory" which states about seven intelligence areas. There are two streams of researchers in the area of emotional intelligence. The first one emphasis on the mental ability model by Salovey and Mayer (1990) and the second stream of researchers focus on a mixed approach (Gardner 2004). In this paper, we are using a mixed model in which need for achievement and flexibility facilitate a person to deal with one's emotions and relationships (Boren 2010).

Very few research studies in the area of entrepreneurial intentions tried to locate the relationship between emotional intelligence and entrepreneurial intentions. Zampetakis et al. (2009) in his research study tried to measure the influencing power of emotional intelligence on creativity, proactivity and attitude towards becoming an entrepreneur. One of the major findings of his research study is that he found a significant and positive relationship between all the three actors. Apart from this, there are other prominent studies who conveyed the importance of emotional intelligence in handling various emotional situations like stress and emotional breakdown (Slaski and Cartwright 2002). The art of managing stress is often showed a positive relationship with attitude towards entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial intentions. The utility of emotional intelligence as individual-level antecedents is not studied in the area of social entrepreneurship. Social entrepreneurs have to deal with a lot of emotions and channelling and managing them is very important. Therefore, keeping this in mind it is always advisable to use emotional intelligence to predict social entrepreneurial intentions. Therefore, following hypothesis formed on the basis of the above explanation:

H3: Emotional intelligence has a positive effect on the perceived desirability of social entrepreneurship.
H3a: Emotional intelligence has a positive effect on the perceived feasibility of social entrepreneurship.

8.5.3.2 Empathy (Emp)

Empathy is defined as a person's ability to access another person's state of mind in particular circumstances (Mcdonald and Messinger 2013). Mair and Noboa (2006) described empathy as an antecedent of attitude towards the behaviour. According to social cognition theory of Bandura, Empathy can be divided into two parts, viz. emotional and cognitive (Bandura 1999). Emotional empathy deals with the emotional response that a person has towards others whereas, in cognitive aspect, empathetic person imaginatively acquires the role of the other and is able to estimates the feelings and actions of others (Bandura and Bandura 1997).

Social entrepreneurship is all about understanding the difficulties faced by other people and convert that social problem as an opportunity for the betterment of the people (Prahalad 2009). In the literature of social entrepreneurship, empathy acquires an important place. Mair and Noboa (2006) pointed out that empathy is a personality trait that differentiates a social entrepreneur from business entrepreneurs. An empathic connection is a strong force in deciding to help someone.

Mair and Noboa (2006) used empathy as an antecedent of the perceived desirability. Perceived desirability can be understood as to how attractive the idea of starting up a venture is. Whereas empathy is positively associated with the desire to help others, hence Mair and Noboa (2006) concluded that a certain level of empathy is required in order to develop perceived social venture desirability, which in turn will lead to intentions of creating a social venture.

In the study of Ernst (2011), she used empathy as a pro-social personality trait that affects social entrepreneurial intention. In her study, empathy showed a negative and insignificant relationship with the attitude and the intention. A meta-analysis conducted by Borman et al. (2001) found a positive relationship between empathy and the desire to help others. Thus, prominent researchers like Dees (1998), Harding and Cowling (2006), Forster and Grichnik (2013) have identified empathy as an antecedent for social entrepreneurship. Hockerts's (2015, 2017) also measured the effect of empathy on social entrepreneurial intentions. The findings of Hockerts' study were very mixed, i.e. one model showed a positive relationship with empathy whereas in other model empathy showed an insignificant relationship with the intentions. As both Hockerts' (2015) and Ernst (2011) have suggested, empathy as an antecedent to the social entrepreneurial intention required further investigation. Therefore, in this research study, we use cognitive empathy, i.e. capability of understanding others emotional state of mind as an antecedent (Hockerts 2015). Based on the above discussion, we next propose the following hypothesis:

H4: Empathy is positively related to perceived desirability of social entrepreneurship.

8.5.3.3 Perceived Social Pressure (PSP)

It refers to the perceived social pressure to execute or not to execute the behaviour which comprises the pressure of family, friends and other important people.

Researcher unanimously agreed about the societal pressure in carrying out certain behaviour but not aligned regarding the actual source of pressure (Liñán 2004). In India the perceived social pressure influence the personality of the people very strongly. In the theory of planned behaviour, the term perceived social pressure was defined separately as subjective norms (Ajzen and Fishbein 1977). But in relation to perceived desirability and perceived feasibility, this variable is not tested much. Therefore, on the basis of literature researcher formed the following hypothesis:

H5: Perceived social pressure is positively associated with perceived feasibility of social entrepreneurship.

8.6 Research Methodology

8.6.1 Data Collection and Sample

For data analysis, SPSS version 20 is used and the researcher used the same software to test Cronbach's alpha reliability and validity of the questionnaire. Descriptive statistics are used to describe the basic features of the data in a study. They provide simple summaries about the sample and the measures. The objective of this study was to assess the effect of identified critical antecedents on entrepreneurial intentions. Structural equation modelling was used to identify the relationship between antecedents and intentions.

Various researchers (Krueger et al. 2000; Urban 2013; Liñán et al. 2011) applied SEM to develop an intention-based model. This methodology can prove to be an important tool to increase the credibility and reliability of the results of this study and also let for better comparisons among the result derived.

Sample selection is based on Krueger (1993) who mentioned that in order to predict entrepreneurial intention; sample selection should be done from the population which is on the edge of choosing a career. Therefore, we collected data from the premier private university in India. We used convenience sampling to collect primary data through questionnaire. For this research study, we collected data from the final year students of engineering and management as they are having more confident about their respective career choice. 650 questionnaires were distributed to the students out of which we received 400 completed questionnaires corresponding to a 61.5% response rate. 82% of the respondents were male and 18% were female.

8.6.2 Measures

Covariate control variable like age, gender was excluded and for rest of the variable multi-item scales were used. The seven-point Likert scale is used to measure responses ranging from one, "strongly disagree", to seven "strongly agree".

8.6.3 Questionnaire Development and Measurement

8.6.3.1 Dependent Variable: Social Entrepreneurial Intention

The social entrepreneurial intention was examined by using a modified version of the scale developed by Chen et al. (1998) (Liñán and Chen 2006). Five-item scale is used to measure it and the sample item is "I am determined to create a social enterprise in the future". Cronbach's alpha is 0.912.

8.6.3.2 Independent Variables

Perceived Desirability (PD), Perceived Feasibility (PF)

In order to measure Kickul and Krueger (2004), eight-item scale was used. Items comprised of "How attractive is starting and running your own business?", "How desirable is starting and running your own business?", "How feasible would it be for you to start and run your own business?" Cronbach's alpha for perceived desirability is 0.831 and for perceived feasibility is 0.844.

Emotional Intelligence (EmInt)

To measure emotional intelligence short form (TEIQue-SF) was used. TEIQue-SF is a standard questionnaire comprised of 30 items like "expressing my emotions with words is not a problem for me"; out of the total 30 items, 15 items of the scale were negatively worded. Cronbach's alpha is 0.853.

Empathy (Emp)

Hockerts (2015) developed the social entrepreneurial antecedent scale (SEAS) in order to measure moral obligation, empathy, previous experience in social activities and social entrepreneurial self-efficacy. It is a newly developed scale in the field of social entrepreneurial research. Therefore, a six-item questionnaire was used. Cronbach's alpha is 0.712

Perceived Social Pressure (PSP)

The perceived social pressure was measured using (Liñán and Chen 2006) scale. A four-item scale was used to measure PSP and items like "My parents are positively oriented towards a career as an entrepreneur". Cronbach's alpha is 0.767.

8.7 Data Analysis and Findings

8.7.1 Exploratory Factor Analysis

An exploratory factor analysis was carried out to find out the dimensionality of the items. Factorability of data is tested using Bartlett's test of sphericity and the Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin's (KMO) test to measure sampling sufficiency. In EFA, KMO value of 0.819 was derived and significant value of Bartlett's test ($\chi^2 = 557$, df = 598, $p < 0.000$) was generated depict the adequacy of sampling (Hair et al. 2009).

8.7.2 Reliability of the Scales

According to the rule of thumb, if Cronbach's Alpha is equal or higher to 0.70, then it is considered as good reliability. All independent variables are in good reliability. Cronbach's alpha ATB ($\alpha = 0.803$), SN ($\alpha = 0.662$), PBC ($\alpha = 0.845$), EdBkg ($\alpha = 0.721$), Prevexp ($\alpha = 0.742$), empathy ($\alpha = 0.711$) and moral obligation ($\alpha = 0.754$). Except for subjective norms, all independent Cronbach's Alpha is above 0.70. The dependent variable, a social entrepreneurial intention is also showing tremendous reliability result with Cronbach's Alpha of 0.911. Thus, α-value shows the internal consistency of the items authenticates the reliability of scales used in the study.

8.7.3 Validity Analysis

PCA, i.e. principal component analysis was used by the researcher to measure the construct validity. Bartlett's test of sphericity and Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin's (KMO) test were conducted before PCA. The result of both tests shows that PCA is an appropriate technique for data analysis. Convergent validity is derived by factor loadings higher than 0.50. Items were grouped easily and there were no overlapping of items.

8.7.4 Confirmatory Factor Analysis—Measurement Model

Confirmatory factor analysis was used on three control variables, viz. gender, family business background and entrepreneurial educational background and loads on five independent variables (perceived desirability, perceived feasibility, emotional intelligence, empathy and perceived social pressure). Various fit indices were used as a base for probable structural equation modelling to confirm the model which is shown below.

Chi-square (χ^2) value was calculated and normally insignificant value of χ^2 considered good for the fit model. The χ^2/df was 2.263 ($\chi^2/df < 5.0$) which is considered an acceptable model (Sewell 1992). RMSEA value of the measurement model was 0.05 (90% confidence level) and RMR value was 0.05. Descriptive statistics and correlation were shown in Table 8.2.

Derived GFI value was 0.85 and AGFI = 0.87. Comparative fit indices of measurement model were 0.91 and TLI = 0.83. Therefore, it showed that the model is moderately fit. Furthermore, the average variance extracted for the antecedents was as follows: 0.779 for perceived desirability, 0.851 for perceived feasibility, 0.698 for emotional intelligence, 0.586 for educational background, 0.844 for self-efficacy, 0.729 for empathy, 0.624 for moral obligation and 0.593 for previous experience. Summary of derived statistics for the measurement model is shown in Table 8.3.

8.7.5 Structural Model

For hypothesis testing we used SEM. The test showed a good fit of the model. The derived statistics of model fit are CMIN/DF = 1.79, IFI = 0.96, TLI = 0.94, CFI = 0.95 and RMSEA = 0.033. The variables in the model explain 49.67% of the social entrepreneurial intentions. Summary of derived statistics for the measurement model is shown in Table 8.4.

As shown in Fig. 8.3, empathy showed a statistically significant relationship between medium impact ($\beta = 0.61$, $p < 0.01$). An R^2 of 0.21 means that a medium quantity of the variance of perceived desirability is explained by empathy. Similarly, perceived social support showed a statistically significant relationship between medium impact ($\beta = 0.48$, $p < 0.01$). Emotional intelligence showed a statistically significant relationship of medium impact with perceived desirability ($\beta = 0.55$, $p < 0.01$) and high impact with perceived feasibility ($\beta = 0.64$, $p < 0.01$). These results are better than the previous study of Ernst (2011) where empathy and social support does not show any relationship with mediators.

Table 8.2 Descriptive statistics (mean and standard deviation) and correlation of the variables used in the study

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	PD	PF	EmInt	Emp	PSP	PSP	SEI
1. Perceived desirability	6.72	1.89	(0.73)						
2. Perceived feasibility	7.38	1.46	0.34	(0.66)					
3. Emotional intelligence	5.55	1.02	0.68*	0.68*	(0.88)				
4. Empathy	3.85	1.25	0.62*	0.62*	0.62*	(0.75)			
5. Perceived social pressure	4.19	1.11	0.45*	−0.005	0.22*	0.43*	(0.74)	(0.74)	
6. Social entrepreneurial intentions	6.11	1.67	0.56*	0.56*	0.63*	0.51*	0.44*	0.44*	(0.81)

Note Diagonal values are the square root of AVE between the variables and their items and off-diagonal elements are correlations: $*p < 0.05$. To measure discriminant validity, diagonal values should be higher than off-diagonals values in the same row and column

PD—perceived desirability, *PF*—perceived feasibility, *EmInt*—emotional intelligence, *Emp*—Empathy, *PSP*—perceived social pressure, *SEI*—social entrepreneurial intentions

Table 8.3 Measurement model

S. No.	Model fit		Absolute measures			Incremental fit measures		Parsimonious fit measures	RMSEA
Model 1	χ^2	χ^2/df	RMR	GFI	AGFI	CFI	TLI	PCFI	
	740.456	1.927	0.021	0.855	0.87	0.913	0.83	0.066	0.055

Table 8.4 Derived statistics for model fit

S. No.	Model fit		Absolute measures			Incremental fit measures		Parsimonious fit measures	RMSEA
Model 1	χ^2	χ^2/df	RMR	GFI	AGFI	CFI	TLI	PCFI	
	485.32	1.79	0.041	0.91	0.921	0.95	0.94	0.52	0.033

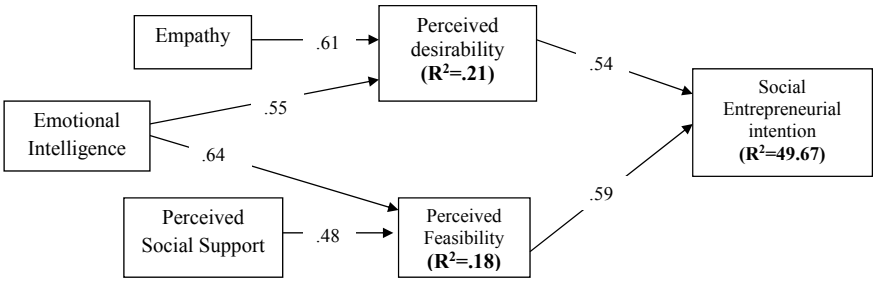

Fig. 8.3 Structural model

8.7.6 Hypotheses Testing

Table 8.5 shows the relationship between antecedents, mediators and entrepreneurial intentions. All the three antecedents', viz. emotional intelligence, empathy and per-

Table 8.5 Hypothesis testing

Hypothesis	Estimate (β)	S.E.	C.R. (t-value)	P	Results significant at
H1:PD → SEI	0.465	0.145	3.203	***	0.001
H2:PF → SEI	0.346	0.065	5.311	***	0.001
H3:EmInt → PD	0.609	0.057	10.630	***	0.001
H3a:EmInt → PF	0.224	0.034	6.496	***	0.001
H4:Emp → PD	0.342	0.067	10.152	***	0.001
H5:PSP → PF	0.398	0.017	6.005	***	0.001

PD—perceived desirability, *PF*—perceived feasibility, *EmInt*—emotional intelligence, *Emp*—empathy, *PSP*—perceived social pressure, *SEI*—social entrepreneurial intentions

ceived social pressure showed a significant relationship with both mediators, viz. perceived desirability and perceived feasibility. Perceived desirability and perceived feasibility showed a significant relationship with social entrepreneurial intentions. Hence, all hypotheses are accepted.

8.8 Findings and Discussion

Mair and Noboa (2006) made the first attempt to propose a model to predict social entrepreneurial intention. Mair and Noboa's model was not the comprehensive model but what differentiates this model is the fact that it is focused on social entrepreneurship. The only attempt at empirical verification of the Mair/Noboa model has been carried out by Hockerts (2015). In his research study, he measures the direct effect of moral obligation, empathy and social support on the social entrepreneurial intention. Therefore, Kai Hockerts in their research study completely ignores the argument presented by authors (Ajzen 1991; Ajzen and Fishbein 1970; Krueger and Carsrud 1993) where they said that it is not appropriate to directly test the effect of antecedents on entrepreneurial intention. In this research study, researcher used Mair and Noboa (2006) and Ernst (2011) research study as a starting point. Ernst (2011) was the first research study in the area of social entrepreneurship that tried to find out the factors responsible for intention formation by adopting TPB as mediator. This research study can be considered as the first research study in the field of social entrepreneurial research that measured the effect of emotional intelligence. The basic highlight of this research study is that it tried to club antecedents and tried to find out the relationship with the corresponding mediator. In previous studies of Foster et al. (2013) and Hockerts (2015), empathy showed a positive effect on intention formation whereas in Ernst (2011) showed negative influence on ATB. In this research study empathy showed a strong relationship with perceived desirability. Furthermore in relation to control variables gender did not play any significant relationship with social entrepreneurship intention ($\beta = -0.184$, $p = 0.643$). Students with family business are more willing to opt for social entrepreneurship as a career ($\beta = 0.226^{**}$, $p < 0.05$; ** = significant level 0.05). This is the first empirical study conducted in India in the field of social entrepreneurship. It used a sample of 400 students to quantitatively analyse the factor identified from the literature. Therefore, this research study can be proved helpful in this part of the world where social entrepreneurship as a phenomenon is growing at a tremendous speed but research in this field is still struggling to pave their path.

8.9 Practical Implications

The practical implications of these results suggest that efforts aimed at increasing social entrepreneurial activity may want to consider the variables studied in this paper. Both interested policymakers and business schools wanting to boost the proportion of their alumni involved in social entrepreneurship can take away perceived social support seem to be the most impactful measures. Moreover, both variables seem to be open to manipulation. As Ashoka started an initiative known as "Ashoka Empathy Initiative" that facilitates school to go for a collaborative initiative to indulge young students with the feeling of empathy. Concretely, interested business schools should engage in and try to measure the effect of service learning that exposes students to social problems first hand and can start some programmes that increase empathetic behaviour of the students. The findings from this paper would suggest that service learning in social organizations will tend to promote social entrepreneurial intentions via the antecedents discussed in this paper. The findings also suggest that interventions could be aimed at eliciting empathy with disadvantaged groups, as well as highlighting the availability of support systems. Stressing society's moral obligation seems to be less important. Moreover, the results also suggest that interventions that bring individuals in direct contact with social problems are likely to elicit an increase in social entrepreneurial intentions. Optional volunteering programmes required service learning components, project work in locations with high degrees of social problems would suggest themselves as a measure schools and universities might undertake.

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Chapter 9
Social Entrepreneur Alliance: Collaborating to Co-create Shared Value

N. Barnabas, M. V. Ravikumar and Ramesh Narasimhan

Abstract The purpose of this chapter is to address the limitations in the IOR and Social Alliance literature with regard to the discussion on Social Entrepreneur Alliance, especially in the context of the BoP in emerging countries. An integration of Collaborative Value Creation (CVC) framework and Shared Value (SV) perspective in the literature led to the formulation of a set of propositions. A case study of a Social Entrepreneur Alliance was used to instantiate the propositions to improve the comprehension. A set of exploratory Propositions pivoted around the Social Entrepreneur Alliance link the salient constructs culled from the literature. These illuminate how and why a Social Entrepreneur Alliance could harness the power of collaborative creation of shared value to gain speed, scale and sustainability while delivering on its primary purpose and promise of social impact, especially in the face of daunting challenges that characterize the BoP context of emerging countries. The case study does not validate the propositions, but only serves to instantiate the same by providing a real-world contextual narrative. The integrated perspective and the attendant propositions could provide useful insights for a Social Entrepreneur and its social impact investors—in choosing their partners, in identifying the potential sources of value, in specifying the types of value created and in exploring and evaluating the current as well as the future opportunities for collaborative engagement. Corporates would also benefit from a deeper understanding of the dimensions of collaborative creation of shared value which could guide their CSR investment decision making.

Keywords Social entrepreneurship · Social alliance · Collaboration · Co-creation · Shared value · Inter-organizational relationship

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9.1 Introduction

Social alliance, which is a partnership between a for-profit business enterprise and one or more non-profit organizations (NPOs), has been gaining popularity among practitioners as well as academics in the west. The drivers behind this phenomenon are multiple. A growing number of NPOs competing for the same traditional funding pie have been feeling under-resourced in comparison with their missions and demand for their services (Berger et al. 2004). Another driving factor is the growing complexity of social problems rendering single-sector attempts to solve, especially by the government sector, ineffective leading to sector-failure (Bryson et al. 2006). Several surveys of the corporate sector, though mainly in the west, have unequivocally and overwhelmingly pointed to the rising emphasis on corporate citizenship as an instrument of partnership with NPOs to address societal issues (Rondinelli and London 2003). Austin and Seitanidi have reported of 'an unprecedented proliferation of accelerated interdependence across the public, profit and non-profit sectors' (Austin and Seitanidi 2012a).

The literature on inter-organizational relationships (IORs) is prodigious and has been investigated by multiple disciplines (Austin 2000). Theories have been propounded to explain the motivations driving collaboration between organizations. The Resource Dependency Theory posits that organizations choose to engage in collaborative behaviour motivated by the deficiency of specific resources which could be acquired from the alliance partner, and thus reduce the dependence on the market for these resources (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Galaskiewicz (1985) proposed that an organization seeks association with another in order to gain legitimization by enhancing its reputation and credibility. The Social Exchange theory conceptualizes the collaboration between organizations as a reciprocal and commensurate exchange of value (Oliver 1990). The Strategic Management Theory views collaborations as engendering strategic advantages through collective action (Gray and Wood 1991). Williamson (1985) propounded the theory of Transaction Cost Economics (TCE) to explain that organizations may elect to combine their resources through a contractual arrangement motivated by productivity gains. However, there are two major limitations of this literature. First, these theories discuss IOR occurring within the same sector, mainly the business sector, largely ignoring the emerging phenomenon of cross-sector collaboration. Secondly, the extant IOR theories do not deal with issues of how and why collaborations develop, operate and lead to intended outcomes, which become salient in cross-sector collaborations. Even the nascent literature on cross-sector IOR, which is referred to Social Alliance, suffers from limitations. It is slanted towards collaboration between business enterprises and NPOs. It has ignored the study of alliances between social enterprise and other actors—other social enterprises, NPOs or business enterprises. Another shortcoming in the literature is contextual. The social alliance dialogue has remained mostly western in context and to the best of our knowledge, there is no significant study dealing with the unique and varied challenges in addressing the societal issues of the BoP in emerging countries. In this paper, we address the aforementioned gaps in the literature.

We shall refer to the alliance between the Social Entrepreneur (SE) and other actors as the Social Entrepreneurial Alliance (SEA). There are several distinguishing characteristics of a SEA. Unlike a typical Social Alliance, which is a dyadic Business—NPO alliance, the Social Entrepreneurial Alliance (SEA) is likely to be a multi-party collaboration. Therefore, such an alliance, logically, would pose more challenges on multiple dimensions—both in the content and the process of strategic management. However, the SE alliance does not suffer from the inherent and fundamental challenge of incompatibility and incongruence with respect to the mission, goals and values that a typical Business—NPO Social Alliance is fraught with (Austin and Seitanidi 2012b; Berger et al. 2004). On the other hand, the key strategic advantage of a Social Alliance is the distinctively different and hence potentially complementary nature of the organization-specific resources of the partners (Austin 2010). According to Porter and Kramer (2011), the 'real social entrepreneurship should be measured by its ability to create shared value, not just social benefits' (pp. 70). The expectation that a SE Alliance should simultaneously create societal and economic value, i.e. shared value only heightens the challenges. This sets up within the SE an internal tension—balancing profit generation and social purpose realization. Furthermore, the SE, in its drive to maximize social impact by rapidly scaling up, faces a dilemma with regard to the dependence on external source of funds, which could potentially affect its pursuit of the social purpose. These distinguishing characteristics influence the strategic management of the SEA.

This paper discusses the collaborative power of SEA in creating shared value. The actors in such an alliance combine their resources to create value for themselves as well as the society at large. We propose that this *form* of social entrepreneurship could prove to be far more effective in delivering outcomes than either social entrepreneurs acting independently or an alliance between a business enterprise and an NPO. We also propose that this arrangement holds a better promise of crafting innovative solutions to the more complex social problems, and its deployment and delivery on a scale and speed that is necessary to make a significant impact, especially in the larger and populous emerging countries. Such an alliance model, if replicated or imitated by competing social Enterprises or Entrepreneurs would not only accelerate the social impact but also lead to the creation of a stable ecosystem for sustaining the change (Martin and Osberg 2007). In the Indian context, we believe that an in-depth understanding of the alliance processes would also contribute towards the productive use of resources under the obligatory CSR commitment of the business sector. This paper is divided into eight sections, following this introduction. We explain the design of our study and the use of an illustrative case study in the methodology section. In the following three sections, we describe the conceptual frameworks on collaborative value creation and shared value creation, explaining the rationale for our choice of the specific dimensions, and then share our conceptualization based on an integration of the two frameworks. The fifth section builds the eight exploratory propositions linking the relevant constructs drawn from the integrated perspective.

This is followed by an abridged narration of the case study, which is then used in the subsequent section to instantiate the propositions raised earlier. We conclude our paper with a discussion of its contribution to the literature on social alliance and shared value, as well as its implications for practitioners.

9.2 Methodology

This study is presented in two parts—(i) We raise a set of exploratory propositions, which have to be tested, and (ii) we use a case study to illustrate the propositions to improve its comprehension (Yin 2003). This is not a validation of the propositions. Our case study is a Social Entrepreneur Alliance centred on Drishti Eye Hospitals (Drishti), a social enterprise aimed at delivering affordable eye care to the segments of citizens at the bottom of the pyramid (BoP). We chose this case study because (i) Drishti had formed alliances with business, NPO and a social enterprise, (ii) Drishti was engaged in the healthcare sector which was a critical national priority, (iii) the magnitude of the societal problem of avoidable blindness among the half-billion affected people and hence the urgency to scale up rapidly, but in a sustainable manner, (iv) the humongous challenges in reaching and serving the BoP segments mostly located in remote geographies, (v) failure of the government sector in solving the problem of avoidable blindness and (vi) the willingness and enthusiasm of the promoter to share information and data about the activities. Data was collected from primary and secondary sources. Articles and press reports about Drishti and its alliance partners were used as secondary sources. Primary data was collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews with key personnel at Drishti and its alliance partners. Each interview, on an average, lasted for two hours.

9.3 Collaborating to Co-create Value

Value creation is central to any cross-sector partnership or collaboration. The premise is that the partners create more value together than they could do separately, by 'linking or sharing [of] information, resources, activities and capabilities' (Bryson et al. 2006, pp. 44). We adopt this perspective since we are interested in exploring the pathways by which a Social Entrepreneurial Alliance (SEA) could achieve a sustainable social impact on a scale and at a speed that would make a difference. In this endeavour, we have chosen to use the Collaborative Value Creation (CVC) framework proposed by Austin and Seitanidi (2012b) in view of its comprehensive treatment of the conception, creation and capture of value. The authors define collaborative value as the 'transitory and enduring benefits, relative to the cost, that are generated due to the interaction of the collaborators and that accrue to organizations, individuals and society' (pp. 3). There are two perspectives in the CVC framework that we found most salient for the purpose of our study. First, the conceptualization of

the variation in the sources and types of value created, as the nature of partnership changes on a continuum, ranging from sole-creation to co-creation. Sole-creation is characterized by a unilateral flow of a generic resource such as money (or in kind), from the donor to the recipient organization, an absence of linked interests between the partners and hence a lack of motivation to engage in regular interactions to share knowledge and joint problem solving. In such an engagement, the value created through the collaboration remains modest and temporary to all the beneficiaries, either internal or external to the collaboration. Clearly, sole-creation does not exploit the potential to create collaborative value. However, philanthropy, the early stage of a typical partnership, begins on this note. On the other hand, in co-creation the partners marshal the distinctive competencies of their respective organizations, which are complementary, and the presence of closely linked interests motivates the partners to engage in intimate interactions to combine the disparate resources to create something of unique value to all the beneficiaries, internal as well as external. It would be insightful for an SEA to determine its position and evolution of the partnerships along this continuum. Secondly, the framework provides a useful window into the processes of partnership formation and implementation and its implications for the value creation for internal and external beneficiaries who may be individuals, organizations or the society. The formation and selection phase of the partnership serves as a critical window to its value creation potential. During this phase, the partners get to assess not only how their self-interests are linked together but also linked to the broader social good. This is also an assessment of the compatibility or fit between the partner organizations, which is essential for the co-creation process in which the different and distinctive organization-specific competencies are co-mingled through close interactions to deliver unique value to all. Implementation is where the rubber meets the road. The CVC framework posits sound governance processes covering objective setting; MoU formulation and deciding on some structure and process for managing the partnership. The framework is particularly useful in its comprehensive specification of the locus of value creation at all the three levels—micro (individual), meso (organizational) and macro (societal), within the partnerships as well as outside. As the nature of the collaborative engagement evolves from sole-creation towards co-creation, a synergy is generated between the internal economic value and the external social value in a virtuous cycle. The Social Entrepreneur Alliance could potentially position itself to create synergistic value. We propose that Porter and Kramer (2011), through their shared value framework, offer additional leverage for the SEA to gain scale, speed and sustainability, to which we turn now.

9.4 Creating Shared Value

Porter and Kramer (2011, pp. 66) define shared value (SV) as the 'policies and operating practices that enhance the competitiveness of a company while simultaneously advancing the economic and social conditions in the communities in which it operates'. This definition implies a mutual interdependence of community and

company needs. This is in agreement with the synergistic value construct in the CVC framework discussed above. The authors clarify that shared value is about increasing the total value pie—both economic value and social value, and not about sharing the company's economic pie with society. In this sense, Social Entrepreneurs are, innately, creators of shared value. The shared value framework unpacks three key potential sources and the mechanism of shared value creation—(i) by defining the product markets to be served on the basis of societal needs, (ii) by reimagining the value chain activities and (iii) by eliminating or at least mitigating the weaknesses in the supportive infrastructure. Thus, the shared value framework further illuminates the pathways opened up by the CVC framework, as discussed above, of value creation by the SEA. The unmet social needs of the BoP segments present opportunities for value creation in the form of unique products or services and delivery systems. The value chain offers a variety of opportunities to the SEA for the creation of shared value, through innovative approaches across activities like creation, production, marketing and distribution of products or services, especially in the BoP context. Finally, shared value is also created as the SEA attempts to overcome the deficiencies in the supportive infrastructure such as the lack of training facilities, poor logistics, socio-cultural barriers and institutional 'holes'. Overcoming these barriers improves organizational productivity, as it strengthens social infrastructure. Interesting insights could be drawn when the power and the process of collaboration is brought to bear on the creation of shared value. We discuss these in the next section.

9.5 Co-creating Shared Value Through Collaboration

In this section, we integrate the CVC and the SV frameworks to raise a set of propositions predicated on the premise that Social Enterprises could be more effective if they co-create shared value by collaborating with other Social Enterprises, Business Enterprises or Non-Profit Organizations (NPO). This would be necessary to ensure lasting and transformational benefit to society, which sets a SE apart from pure business entrepreneurs or pure NPOs (Martin and Osberg 2007). The speed, scalability and sustainability of the outcomes of a SE are enhanced through collaborative co-creation. The degree to which these are achieved distinguishes a SE from Social Service or a Social Activist (Martin and Osberg 2007). We conceptualize the three ways of creation of shared value as happening either through 'sole-creation' at one end of the continuum or through 'co-creation' at the other end (Refer Fig. 9.1).

This would help in exploring how and why a Social Entrepreneur (SE) could collaborate with other actors to create social as well as economic value by rapidly scaling up its impact in a sustainable manner. The integrated conceptualization provides insight into the multiple dimensions of collaborative creation of shared value. Firstly, from a static partnership content perspective, it spotlights the sources of value that are tapped to create a bundle of different types of value, as the nature of relationship evolves from philanthropy to transformation. Next, from a dynamic partnership process perspective, the formation, selection and the execution of the partnership

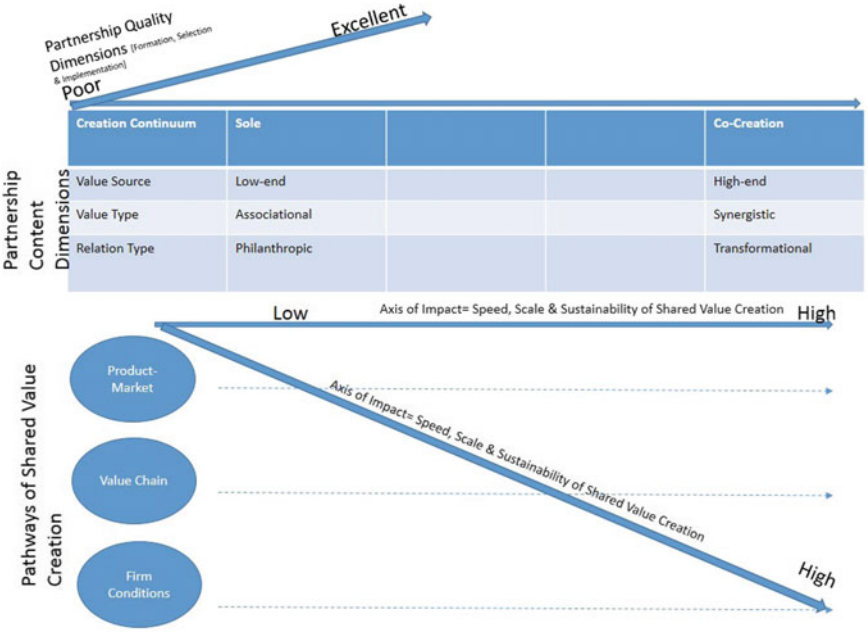

Fig. 9.1 Three ways of creation of shared value

serve as powerful probes not only into the diagnosis of the current quality of partnership but also the prognosis and the promise of the evolving collaboration. The Axis of Impact represents the speed, scale and the sustainability of shared value creation, as the collaboration shifts from sole to co-creation, and from product-market pathway to the framework conditions. Finally, the integrated perspective facilitates the decomposition of the shared value in terms of the type of value created and the multiplicity of beneficiaries of value, both internal as well as external to the partnership. Thus, this integrated conceptualization provides a unique panoramic perspective, static as well as dynamic, into collaborative creation of shared value. This leads us to raise a set of propositions, to, whom we turn, in the next section.

9.6 SE Alliance as a Shared Value Co-creation Platform: Exploratory Propositions

In this section, we build propositions about the effectiveness of the SEA by linking the elements of the CVC framework and the SV perspective. First, we present six propositions based on the static constructs of the CVC, followed by three propositions drawing upon the dynamic process-oriented formulations of the same framework. When an SE attempts to serve the product markets at the BoP in a developing coun-

try mainly through individual efforts, it is logical to conclude that speed, scalability and sustainability would suffer. Similarly, leveraging the rich vain of opportunities embedded in the complex value chain is more effectively accomplished in collaboration with partners than working alone. Finally, creating shared value by fixing the weaknesses in the social and institutional infrastructure is a demanding task, best done through an alliance of partners. In general, a SEA helps in sharing the cost, building a coalition of support and assembling the right mix of skills (Porter and Kramer 2011).

9.6.1 Shared Value—Sole Versus Co-creation

Serving the product markets redefined on the basis of societal needs calls for innovations in the product or service design, development and delivery. These require an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the consumer behaviour, preferences and predilections deeply embedded within the community of potential customers. The SE may not have the appropriate competence, which may have to be drawn upon from an NPO through partnership. Even after the product or service is launched in the market, the rate of diffusion could be accelerated leveraging the NPO's legitimacy, awareness of the social forces and its distinct networks. In both cases, the outcomes are most satisfactory when the self-interests of the partners are linked to the value created for each other and to the community. If the SE is endowed with a deep knowledge of the local communities, but lacks the competence to design, develop and market the product or service, then it could leverage the competence of a pure business enterprise, which has the requisite competence. Co-creation demands that the alliance leverages these sources of value. This leads to our first proposition.

Proposition 1 *A Social Enterprise (SE) is likely to be more effective in the creation of Shared Value if it is co-created with partners than sole-created by the SE alone.*

9.6.2 Shared Value Co-creation—Speed, Scale and Sustainability

A Social Enterprise engaged in the BoP context needs to rapidly scale up in a sustainable manner, in order to achieve the desired social impact, which is its primary purpose. There are several reasons for this: (a) A meaningful social impact is predicated on reaching BoP segments of some reasonable size, by scaling up the activities as quickly as possible, (b) the affordability of the product or service would imply achieving high volumes to achieve financial viability and hence sustainability of the SE and (c) economic value creation is the key to appeal to the capital market for funding the speed and the scale of operations necessary for social impact and viability. To create this shared value, an SE needs not only a generic resource such as money

but also complementary organization-specific resources to address the contextual challenges of the BoP. We, therefore, propose our next proposition.

Proposition 2 *The Social Entrepreneur is more likely to achieve a sustainable and faster scale-up of outcomes through collaborative co-creation of shared value.*

9.6.3 Shared Value Through a Collaborative Value Chain

The BoP markets in the emerging countries are dogged by logistic challenges in reaching widely scattered underdeveloped communities. Reaching such remote corners on their own is a Herculean task stretching the typically thin resources and narrow skill sets of SEs. A collaborative approach could help overcome these constraints and achieve its socio-economic goals. This leads to our next proposition.

Proposition 3 *The Social Entrepreneur is likely to be more effective in creating Shared Value through a collaborative value chain.*

9.6.4 Weakness in Frame Conditions and Collaborative Efforts

BoP markets are characterized by extremely weak conditions pertaining to logistics, suppliers, distribution channels, training facilities, educational institutes and even the overall market organization. This hampers the productivity of the SE and the innovation activities. The SE creates shared value as it tries to overcome these bottlenecks. This is 'best done in conjunction with partners' (Porter and Kramer 2011, pp. 73). This would help 'share the cost, win support and assemble the right skills' (Porter and Kramer 2011, pp. 75). Hence, our third proposition articulates these linkages.

Proposition 4 *The Social Entrepreneur is more likely to create shared value by overcoming the weaknesses in the framework conditions through collaborative alliance.*

9.6.5 Variation in Co-creation Potential Across Pathways of Shared Value

In general, SEs are more likely to be successful if they co-create shared value, than sole-create on their own. Among the three ways of creating shared value, cluster development demands partnerships with strong-linked interests, in which the distinctive complementary competencies are leveraged through close interactions to

co-create innovative solutions to overcome the weaknesses in the framework conditions. The next is the value chain way of creating shared value, which is more aligned with the normal operations of the SE and hence is a more familiar territory. However, delivering value to the BoP, especially in the context of a developing country, is more cost-effective if done through a partnership. A collaborative value chain would help enhance the speed and the scale of impact, and improve the sustainability of the SE. But, the partners ought to be motivated by linked interests and forge close interactions based on mutual trust, relational capital and engage in solving the operational problems. Lastly, redefining, developing and delivering value to the product market based on the societal needs could be achieved through SE's own core competencies, or with a partnership involving moderate levels of co-creation. This leads us to the next proposition.

Proposition 5 *Co-creation has greatest potential to create shared value through cluster development, followed by Value Chain activities, and finally, the Product-Market re-conception.*

9.6.6 Process Dimensions of SE Alliance

Since the 'correct partnership is everything', we now turn to the process dimensions of an SEA, namely the formation, selection and the implementation of the alliance (Austin and Seitanidi 2012a, p. 932). An early informal assessment of the partnership potential to deliver shared value is an indispensable and an integral part of the process of formation and selection of partners (Austin and Seitanidi 2012a). The congruence of the perceptions of the partners about the social problem is a key determinant of the fit and compatibility within the partnership. This also serves to link the individual interests of the partners and further help connect with the broader social benefits. The complementarity in the resources of the partners, especially intangible ones like the skills, knowledge and capability, offers potential for unique combinations leading to innovative solutions for creating shared value. This leads to the following proposition.

Proposition 6 *An SEA is more likely to be successful in co-creating shared value if the process of formation and selection of partners ensures their linked interests and complementarity of resources.*

Austin and Seitanidi (2012a) have identified five different processes of governance such as setting objectives and structural specifications, formulating rules and regulations, drafting a MoU, establishing leadership positions, deciding organizational structures and agreeing on the partnership management. These facilitate compatibility among the partners and clarify the larger purpose of the partnership. More significantly, periodic performance and problem-solving interactions promote information and knowledge sharing and help build trust and mutual respect among the partner organizations. These lead to successful co-creation of innovative products,

services and skills. Therefore, our next proposition reflects the relationship between strength of governance process and the successful co-creation.

Proposition 7 *A SEA is more likely to be successful in co-creating value if strong governance processes support the implementation of the partnership.*

The internal benefits, which directly accrue to the partner organizations, are the most common measure of value at the meso-level. The benefits could be both intangible and tangible, and the specific benefits would vary depending on the nature of the alliance partner—a business, NPO or an SE. The micro-level benefits, especially to the employees of the partner organizations, could arise due to their participation in the relevant programs. The benefits could be both tangible and psychological—better knowledge of the sector, broadening of perspectives, acquisition of new technical skills, psychological satisfaction from contributing to social betterment, sense of responsibility and reduction of stress level (Bhattacharya et al. 2009). The individual level of benefits is reported to be a key differentiator in the study of shared value creation (Waddock 2010). The external value creation happens at the micro-level—the intended individual beneficiaries of the initiative. Other organizations could also benefit from adopting the new service or product innovation created by the SEA. Finally, at the society level, the value could show up in systemic changes. Thus, the engagement of the alliance partners across all the three domains of shared value creation amplifies and expands the scope of benefits covering the micro-, meso- and the macro-level, both internal and external to the partnership. This leads to the following proposition.

Proposition 8 *The Shared Value, when co-created by the SEA is more likely to have a comprehensive impact since the loci of value creation would cover the micro, meso and macro levels, both internal and external.*

In the following section, we present a brief description of the case, which shall be used in the subsequent section to illustrate the propositions in order to improve its comprehension, especially in the context of the real-world challenges a SE encounters serving the BoP segments.

9.7 Drishti Hospitals—A Case Study of a Social Entrepreneur Alliance

9.7.1 Background

Envisioned as a for-profit Social Enterprise, Disha Medical Services Pvt. Ltd. was established in 2011 by a team of three techno-entrepreneurs led by Kiran Anandampillai (Kiran). Their mission was ‘to deliver affordable eye care in underserved markets’, through a hub-and-spoke network of facilities branded as Drishti Eye Hospitals (Drishti). They were seed-funded by Lok Capital, a social impact venture

capital fund. The founders believed that serving the healthcare needs of the 1.2 billion people at the base of the pyramid demanded viable business solutions and not just philanthropy. Hence, Drishti was funded and managed like a commercial enterprise with the primary social objective of delivering affordable eye care solutions to address the problem of avoidable blindness. Kiran believed that Drishti had to achieve speed, scalability and the sustainability of its business model. This was necessary to demonstrate the feasibility of the model and the promise of appropriate financial returns in order to attract funding from the capital market. It was also necessary to achieve Drishti's stated social mission by aiming at a high scale of impact. Kiran summed up the criticality of scale, speed and sustainability: 'Drishti model is based on low price and high volume. It is a matter of how much time is required to reach that volume. We have set of fixed costs, which give us certain capacity to deliver services. As long as we get the capacity utilization up, our business model is going to work. It is a question of how much time we take to reach that volume level and sustain it'. By 2016, Drishti grew into a chain of three base hospitals with nine attached vision centres and the goal was to have a hospital each in all the 30 districts of Karnataka by the year 2020.

9.7.2 The Indian Healthcare Milieu

India ranked among the lowest on public health care spending at a dismal 1.3% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a little over a third of China's spending. The failure of the government sector led to the rapid rise of the for-profit private sector which came to own about 93% of the hospitals in the country, 70% of which were concentrated in the cities. But 70% of the Indian population and 78% of those in the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid (BoP) lived in rural India, with just about 1% of them having any medical insurance coverage. Therefore, health care was way beyond the means of most in rural India. The low purchasing power coupled with poor infrastructure and the absence of institutions for market formation and efficient operations, rendered rural India totally unattractive for the mainstream private commercial hospitals. Therefore, the availability, accessibility and affordability of quality health care were a major problem in rural India, and a humongous challenge for the BoP.

The eye care challenge in the country was more daunting. About half the population needed some kind of vision correction. The country was home to about 12 million blinds, 80% of who were classified as avoidable blindness and hence could be cured. But the majority of the blind belonged to the BoP in rural India. There was only one ophthalmologist for every 60,000 people in the country and the ratio was worse in the BoP market. Moreover, the quality and reliability in eye care services demanded expensive diagnostic and surgical facilities and highly skilled manpower, rendering eye care services costly. In a typical urban hospital, consultation fee was over ₹300, prescription glasses cost around ₹1000 a pair and an eye surgery over ₹10,000. These affected the availability, accessibility and the affordability of eye care to the

BoP segments. The government-initiated National Programme for Control of Blindness (NPCB) proved ineffective due to poor execution, infrastructure bottlenecks; poor quality of surgery and inadequate post-operative care. It was in this bleak scenario, the founding team of Drishti sensed profitable opportunities for the delivery of affordable eye care solutions that would have a significant impact on the scourge of avoidable blindness.

9.7.3 Design of a Sustainable Eye Care Model for the BoP Market

The team realized that extending the urban eye care model of large hospitals would not be suitable for the BoP market. Instead, Drishti adopted a hub-and-spoke model. A mid-size base-hospital at the district headquarters with surgical facilities served as the hub and the vision centres at smaller towns within a radius of 70 km from the base-hospital which were equipped to offer basic ophthalmic screening and consultation services were the spokes. Mobile Eye Clinics, equipped to conduct basic eye check, prescribe and dispense spectacles, extended Drishti's reach into remote villages of the district. The base-hospital could conduct 300 eye surgeries in a month. Around 40 patients visited the vision centre daily. Every month around 22 mobile eye clinic camps were conducted covering about 15 villages, with about 150 people attending each camp. Drishti charged consultation fees of ₹100 for patients who walked into its hospital and vision centers but was waived if the patient was not able to pay. Prescription glasses were priced from ₹300 onwards and the cost of cataract surgeries ranged from ₹ 3800 to ₹25,000, depending on the cost and quality of the intraocular lenses. Drishti provided free consultation and charged a nominal ₹30 for a pair of spectacles to the patients attending its mobile eye camps sponsored by donors. Free cataract surgeries were performed for poor patients over 60 years old who were not health-insured. Kiran felt that this model of eye care delivery would be economically sustainable only if Drishti could scale up rapidly to achieve high volumes.

9.7.4 Go-to-Market Challenge

Drishti's Go-to-Market strategy revolved around deep rural penetration through blanket coverage of each Taluka. Drishti had to overcome marketing and logistic challenges. The main challenge was to overcome the social perception against wearing spectacles, considered a sign of physical disability, especially for the girls. This social attitude, coupled with the poor purchasing power, hard-to-reach locations of the patients, heightened the grass-root marketing problems. Kiran believed that only a sustained communication campaign to build awareness about the need for preventive eye care and building an adequate distribution infrastructure for delivering

affordable service at their doorstep could work. The rural physical infrastructure was so weak that even the basic ancillary services like transportation, electricity and a clean place for conducting the examination of the patients, or an optical shop, did not exist in most of these villages. The go-to-market challenge became acute due to the severe shortage of qualified ophthalmologists and optometrists in the remote geographies.

9.7.5 The Collaboration Imperative

Drishti sought the partnership of social enterprises and NGOs who were familiar with the rural context and had complimentary capabilities. Drishti collaborated with Disha workers who went door-to-door educating the villagers about the need for preventive eye care. These workers knew the local community and hence were acceptable for the villagers. They conducted initial screening and qualified people for the forthcoming mobile eye camps to be held in the village. These workers also follow up on the use of glasses given to the village school children under sponsored mobile eye camps, especially conducted for the schools. The Disha workers provided the much-needed continuity for Drishti and served as the critical link at the village level. In a typical month, Drishti held 22 such mobile camps across 15 villages. Kiran commented: 'I am trying to reach the grassroots. I don't think it would be possible to reach them without the support of collaborative partners like this'.

Drishti had another partnership, with the Heads Held High (HHH), a social enterprise with a focus on the employability of the rural youth. Drishti supplied the spectacles to HHH who acted as rural opticians in selling these glasses. Customers who were diagnosed with an eye problem were referred to Drishti's hospital for further treatment. The association with an eye hospital enhanced the credibility of the HHH sales personnel.

Drishti also collaborated with the 2.5 New Vision Generation (2.5 NVG), the social impact division of Essilor International S.A., and a global leader in ophthalmological solutions. This enabled an assured supply of high-quality lenses for even the cheapest spectacles dispensed by Drishti, helping the latter meet its goal of providing affordable quality eye care. 2.5 NVG also partially funded the specially fitted bus used by Drishti for conducting eye camps in villages. After the screening, the bus-transported patients who needed advanced treatment and surgery to Drishti's base-hospital. Drishti arranged to deliver glasses at the patients' doorstep, solving the challenge of last-mile connectivity in the delivery of eye care services. This partnership also contributed significantly to 2.5 NVG mission, as summed up by its Vice President, Saugata Banerjee: 'We have to create new vision-people who are not wearing glasses, should get access to a pair of glasses. In India, we have 550 million people who need a pair of glasses, but don't have. It is a Herculean task'.

Drishti's collaboration with the CSR division of Titan Industries ensured the supply of high-quality frames through the latter's procurement department. The part-

nership with Rotary International, a global NGO, helped Drishti subsidise the free cataract surgeries of poor patients.

Drishti had to grapple with the challenge of recruitment and training of optometrists its facilities located far away from the urban centres. A potential partnership with Minto Hospital, a respected government hospital in Bangalore, with a large ophthalmology and optometrist training facility, could help Drishti overcome the challenge.

9.7.6 The Collaboration Governance Process and Outcomes

Drishti solicited each alliance after a process of due diligence. The partners would formalize a memorandum of understanding (MoU) based on shared interests in addressing the social problem and complementarity of their respective skills and resources. The partners often viewed the SE Alliance as social initiatives allowing latitude based on trust in each other's capability. Saugata of 2.5 NVG said, 'We believe that Drishti is well versed in community camps and we never tell them where to go and how to go'. The MoU identified the leadership in the partnership, the deliverables expected from the partners, and the periodic performance review mechanisms. Saugata continued, '… Having said that we do sit down every month to review performance and to discuss where we can play an active role … in fact as part of the metric for Drishti, we insisted even the number of days that the bus should be used in the field. In the agreement, we specify all these—number of days, number of people screened, number of spectacles dispensed, etc.' Drishti measured the social impact of each alliance in terms of number of patients, number of surgeries and the number of spectacles sold or distributed. Kiran had been successful in providing affordable and quality eye care services to the underserved markets. Kiran as well as his investors were satisfied with the financial returns.

9.8 Instantiation of the Propositions

We shall instantiate Propositions 1–5 with the Drishti case study. First, we illustrate the Propositions: 1–5, which deals with the static dimensions of the collaborative value creation. Then, we exemplify Propositions: 6–8, formulated based on the dynamics of the process of partnership formation.

9.8.1 *Effective Shared Value Creation Through Collaboration*

Alliances helped Drishti create social as well as economic value more effectively. The collaboration with Disha workers created awareness about avoidable blindness among the villagers, identified genuine customers for Drishti's spectacles and ophthalmological services and also generated supplemental earnings for the village women workers. The partnership with HHH put in place the much-needed sales and distribution channel in rural geographies for Drishti while it created employment for the rural youth. The partnership with 2.5 NVG was instrumental in making quality lenses affordable and available to the patients at the camps but also helped both partners earn sustainable economic returns. The collaboration with Rotary International made the Vision Centre economically viable to support free surgeries for poor patients. The tie-up with Titan-made quality spectacles affordable to a large number of rural schoolgirls, as it helped Drishti earn some surplus. Kiran, the co-founder of Drishti summed up the contributions of these collaborations. 'I don't think it would be possible to reach at taluk and district level operation without the support of collaborative partners like this [Disha workers, HHH and NVG]. It would be critical for the game to make it [collaboration] happen.'

9.8.2 *Rapid and Sustainable Scale up Through Collaboration*

For Drishti, the complementary capabilities of the collaborators contributed to speed as well as the scale of shared value creation. For instance, the deployment of Disha workers and the support of HHH sales personnel helped Drishti quickly and effectively scale up its village-level campaigns as well as the sale of spectacles. The multi-partner collaboration creates synergy. The Disha workers do the preliminary screening of the villagers, qualify them for the eye camps and follow up where patients have been advised further treatment or surgery, enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of the campaigns. If we don't take care of them, they are lost. This also the requisite leads for HHH to sell the spectacles. 2.5 NVG collaboration could lead to the expansion of the fleet of buses and the geographic scope of the campaign. Titan partnership supports and supplements scale-up of village-level activities through its scheme of spectacles for the schoolgirls. The equipment funding by Rotary International supports sustainable scale-up of the Vision Centers. These collaborations, therefore, enable Drishti to expand its reach of the BoP and build the volumes required to achieve the returns expected by its financial partners, thus creating shared value.

9.8.3 Creation of Shared Value Through Collaborative Value Chain

An SE's collaborations could have positive influence along its entire value chain, either directly creating or enabling creation of shared value. Drishti benefits from the Titan procurement team's expertise in sourcing the best quality frames at lower prices, which, in turn, helps Drishti, achieve its social mission affordable eye care in an economically sustainable manner. Similarly, NVG's world-class R&D and production facility assures supply of quality lenses at affordable price. The Disha workers and the HHH serve as the links at the delivery end of the value chain, while enabling creation and satisfaction of demand for both spectacles and eye care services, have a direct social impact in the form of creation of rural women and youth employment.

9.8.4 Overcoming Weaknesses in Frame Conditions Through Collaborations

Drishti has been able to manage the constraints of operating in a BoP market partly through collaboration with multiple partners. The partnership with Disha and HHH had, to some degree, helped Drishti address the acute deficiencies with regard to the availability of established channels of distribution and sales in the BoP markets. The most debilitating weakness in the rural infrastructural frame has been availability of experienced ophthalmologists for Drishti's Hospital's and Vision centres located in district and taluka headquarters farther away from major cities. Drishti has sought to address this through a partnership arrangement with individual doctors. This challenge could also be addressed by collaborating with other such eye hospitals to influence government policies on telemedicine. Another illustration of overcoming this frame weakness is by collaborating with medical colleges for recruitment of talent. Lack of training facilities for the paramedical staff is sought is overcome through collaboration with Minto Hospital at Bangalore, which could potentially lead to the creation of community centres of training and development of talent pool of optometrists and opticians in rural areas. Similarly, Drishti could collaborate with governments, NGOs and health insurance providers in creating awareness about insurance and improve the penetration of health insurance among the BoP.

9.8.5 Variation in Impact of Collaborative Co-creation

Drishti's collaboration with 2.5 NVG is primarily geared towards the development and exploitation of the product-market potential for affordable spectacles and ophthalmology services at the BoP. In comparison, its collaboration with Disha workers

and HHH is aimed at value chain activities like distribution and selling at the village level. This engagement, while serving the needs of the BoP for affordable eye care products and solutions like in the previous case, has a greater social impact by creating jobs for rural women and youth. Therefore, the shared value created through value chain collaboration is more than that of pure product-market collaboration. The impact is likely to be much more if the collaboration is forged with the purpose of cluster development in order to overcome the weakness in the frame conditions. The potential collaboration with Minto Hospital to eventually create a community facility to train para medical staff could have a multiplier impact as part of a powerful eye care or even healthcare ecosystem.

9.8.6 Influence of the Process of Formation and Selection

The process of formation of the partnership between Drishti and the 2.5 NVG Division of Essilor had been greatly influenced by the latter's long experience of partnership with several organizations across the world. Essilor 2.5 NVG followed a process of multiple levels of discussion with its partner-candidate organizations and allowed for at least one-year time to facilitate mutual understanding. This was done in view of the challenges involved in serving the BoP market, which was the main focus of the 2.5 NVG division. Drishti and Essilor interests were linked towards serving the rural market, which had 550 million people who needed glasses, currently neither affordable nor available in their villages. This ensured a high degree of compatibility in the partnership. Drishti's efforts to reach and serve the inaccessible geographies was complemented by 2.5 NVG through a supply chain which assured quality lenses at stable prices, and partial funding of the specially equipped bus for conducting rural eye camps. Similar degree of compatibility due to linked interest is exhibited in the Drishti–HHH partnership.

9.8.7 Influence of Strong Governance Processes

A MoU governed the partnership between Drishti and Essilor 2.5 NVG. 2.5 NVG would 'review with Drishti, every quarter, the deliverables like the number of days of usage of the bus, the number of people screened, spectacles sold, revenue generated, cost of goods sold—like a proper business plan. Monthly reports have to be filed by the partner. If there is a major problem, the bus could be taken back from the partner.'—said Saugata Banerjee—VP, 2.5 NVG. The capital investment in the bus is expected to pay off through the revenue realized through the sale of spectacles. This self-sustaining model has ensured that surplus is generated for investment in the second bus, expanding the reach of the campaign and thus cementing the partnership. It is too early to say whether this model of campaigning would become a standard

to be followed by the partners while scaling up their efforts. Similar process of governance was evident in the other partnerships too.

9.8.8 Comprehensive Outcomes Due to Collaborative Co-creation of Shared Value

Drishti being a small start-up social entrepreneur, gained visibility and legitimacy at the village level, through its association with Essilor 2.5 NVG. Similarly, 2.5 NVG also gained local credibility due to its association with Drishti as a 'community hospital'. Both the partners gained economic value through the supply and distribution of affordable quality lenses. These exemplify internal value creation at the meso (organization)-level. Drishti also gained transferred value—both in terms of partial funding for its campaign bus as well as the campaign capability of 2.5 NVG. The partnership also created external value at the micro (individual)-level. The villagers benefited due to the availability of free eye check-up services, affordable quality lenses from a global leader in lenses and access to affordable eye surgeries. But the consequential social and economic impact of better vision of the village community was awaiting measurement. The collaboration between Drishti and the Disha workers also created external value at the micro (individual)-level through gainful employment and earnings for the village women. Similarly, the Drishti–HHH partnership also created external value in the form of rural youth employment. Both these partnerships have also created value arising out of the close interaction and sharing of local knowledge and solutions which could potentially accelerate the diffusion of preventive eye care practices among the BoP sections of society. A potential internal value that could accrue to Drishti, as an organization, is in the form of its ability to recruit and retain critical talent like ophthalmologists and optometrists, due to the appeal of its strong social commitment. The latter, as individuals, could also gain value through a sense of social empowerment and engagement in the medical profession, otherwise associated with crass commercialism.

9.9 Conclusions and Discussion

This paper contributes to the literature, both conceptual and contextual, on IOR and Social Alliance, as well as offers useful pointers for practitioners. First of all, this paper expands the concept of a typically dyadic Business-NPO Social Alliance, to a more encompassing and inclusive concept of multi-stakeholder Social Entrepreneurial Alliance. Secondly, the paper has raised several exploratory propositions to illuminate the novel pathways by which a Social Enterprise, through collaborative co-creation, could gain scale, speed and sustainability, to achieve significant societal impact. This is in conformity with Martin and Osberg (2007) definition of

social entrepreneurship, as distinctly different from social activism and social service. These propositions, by pointing out the plausible pathways, also address the gap in the IOR literature with regard to how and why partnerships achieve their outcomes. Thirdly, the paper instantiates the propositions using the case of a Social Enterprise Alliance aimed at serving the BoP segments of people in the Indian context, correcting the contextual imbalance in the Social Alliance dialogue, which has been predominantly developed-country-centric. Finally, the propositions provide the much-needed platform and directions for future research, especially in the context of BoP challenges in emerging countries. The integrative perspective of the paper spotlights the challenges and opportunities, with regard to both the value chain and the weaknesses in the framework conditions, in addressing the socio-economic issues in the context of developing countries like India. Social Entrepreneurs, current as well as aspiring, could develop and leverage their collaborative capabilities to accelerate the social impact of their enterprises. The Impact VC investors would also find this perspective useful and could assess the collaborative potential of the ventures and the capability, among other metrics, of the applicants. Policy-makers could gain significant insight into the potential or actual social impact of their schemes, based on the multilevel and multiple types of value creation articulated in the framework. Our study does not validate the propositions, pointing the direction for future research.

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Chapter 10
Social Entrepreneurship and Quality of Life of Beneficiaries

Neeti Singh

Abstract This chapter begins with two types of methodological issues. The first is the one which appears general in social entrepreneurship research, and the second is the one which appeared in the research analysis, as the effects of social entrepreneurship on the beneficiaries in India, a sociological perspective. The first type of methodological issues is existent in the social entrepreneurship literature and is widely accepted. The main focus of this chapter is on the second type, which is explained through the various stages of this research went through to understand and analyse the real changes in the life of beneficiaries. Knowing that social entrepreneurship research has multiple facets, hybridity, complexity, and ambiguity, the conventional strategies of conducting research are questionable. The capabilities approach is used as a qualitative method that overcomes such hurdles and provides an optimal base to this analysis.

Keywords Social entrepreneurship · Sociological perspective · Capabilities approach · Functionings and capabilities · Conversion factors

10.1 Introduction

This inquiry in the area of social entrepreneurship begun with gaining knowledge from the literature about what social entrepreneurship means. To seek the definition of social entrepreneurship or what it means is important as a first step in the study of social entrepreneurship. The answer to this lies in the literature of social entrepreneurship, which actually does not provide any universally acceptable definition of social entrepreneurship. But instead, it helps to arrive at certain features that are termed as the characteristics of social entrepreneurship in this study. These characteristics play a role in separating social entrepreneurship from other organizations and ascertain that there is a very thin line separating social entrepreneurship from the

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non-profit organization or a corporate indulging in a socially relevant business.[1] The characteristics that emerged in the literature are: social entrepreneurship has a greater focus to impact the lives of the people living at the bottom of the pyramid[2]; social entrepreneurship focuses on creating value; it originates with the socially relevant mission and constantly innovates to retain it. These characteristics have helped in separating social entrepreneurship from other organizations and ascertain that there is a very thin line separating social entrepreneurship from the non-profit organization or a corporate indulging in a socially relevant business. Also, the very premise of social entrepreneurship is not economic, neither for its own entity nor for its beneficiaries. This distinction is important to set the process of the analysing social entrepreneurship that looks beyond the economic interests of both the organization and its beneficiaries.

The above characteristics helped in conceptualizing social entrepreneurship and formulating a working definition which provides a theoretical base for the research. Social entrepreneurship is—*a process that is sustainable and enterprising and is intended to meet the needs of the people excluded from the larger folds of the society, by using innovative ideas to keep the mission socially relevant and create social value.* While arriving at this working definition, the ends were kept open for all the marginalized sections of people, be it economic, social, or political, to broaden the scope of social entrepreneurship. This could be possible because there are no concrete boundaries drawn for social entrepreneurship.

The analysis begins with looking for an answer to the question on 'how social entrepreneurship influences the lives of its beneficiaries?' The study sets the course for planning the appropriate methodology to examine the beneficiaries to understand the effects of social entrepreneurship on their lives. As the study progresses, it looks at the literature again to gain insights into how social entrepreneurship influences the lives of the beneficiaries, and seeks material on how capabilities affect the lives of the people. We have looked into the works of Strawn (2006) and Ziegler (2010) where the latter suggests that social entrepreneurs are the change agents, and the former looks into the capabilities among the artisans that correspond to the freedom of living the kind of life that the person values.

One also needs to note that traditional entrepreneurs imagine and fashion needs of the people to which they offer solutions, while social entrepreneurs address existing societal needs to which they provide workable solutions (Yujuico 2008). Thus, the focus of social entrepreneurship is on existing 'social needs', which explains the mission of social entrepreneurship. The 'existing societal needs' do not pertain to immediate economic gains; rather, they deal with the needs of the people living in poverty. The focus of social entrepreneurship on existing 'social needs' not just keeps

[1]People who have received services from either of the two social enterprises are the beneficiaries of the corresponding case.

[2]The "base (or bottom) of the pyramid" was first used in a paper written by two University of Michigan professors in 2002. In "The fortune at the bottom of the pyramid," C. K. Prahalad and Stuart Hart indicated that the global population is divided into three segments, based on purchasing power parity (PPP). The base of the pyramid customer is defined as those with a PPP of less than $1,500 per year.

the mission socially relevant and creates social value, but also brings about change in the well-being and the quality of life of its beneficiaries.

10.2 Methodology

The first requirement is that we select the cases for our study. The cases were selected based on whether the organization met the working definition of social entrepreneurship. It is important to note that social entrepreneurship in India is recognized to have emerged as business instruments to address the issues of poverty, unemployment, and inequality in society, through their socially oriented business innovations (Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship 2015). Social entrepreneurship is active in the fields of agriculture, education, energy, health, livelihood development, to water and sanitation (Allen et al. 2012). Social entrepreneurship having such wide scope requires that the test cases of social entrepreneurship be from the same field.

Both the social enterprises (included in this study) worked in the areas of health, livelihood, and education. Along with, it also shares the same social and cultural environment to have a valid comparison between the individual beneficiaries of the two social entreprises. The uniformity of income and social status of the target group was desirable in this comparison; the diversity of urban and rural settings was also sought. *Industree* and *Maya Organic* met the above-set criteria; also, both have caught the attention in the literature for the impact they have generated in the social context. They are widely regarded as successful examples of social entrepreneurship, which have had an impact on the lives of the poor and marginalized communities through the innovative ways of reaching out to them.

The paper deals with the research question: How does social entrepreneurship influence the lives of its beneficiaries? The discussion so far has provided grounds for outlining the methodological settings for this research question. The epistemology of this research can most aptly be built on interpretivism because the subjects of social sciences (i.e. people) are different from the objects of the natural sciences (i.e. atoms and waves). The focus of the study is on the beneficiaries of social entrepreneurship, who are studied to discern the effects on their well-being and the quality of life. The focus on the people, i.e. the beneficiaries, also enables social entrepreneurship to have a socially relevant mission. This also establishes that social entrepreneurship is a phenomenon that cannot be studied in the same manner as the natural sciences study the natural world, and sets the ontological position of the research. This provides evidence to show that social entrepreneurship is a 'social reality' that shifts and emerges from the actions of individuals (Bryman 2012).

Field observations were made involving the beneficiaries of both the cases. It is a qualitative study in which primary data were collected through close interaction with the respondents and with the use of semi-structured interviews. Informal discussions with the beneficiaries further helped to gain a deeper perspective of their lives. The respondents are mainly artisans who are skilled, and semi-skilled workers. Considering the qualitative nature of the study, the sample size was kept relatively

small. The sample size was restricted to forty beneficiaries in each of the two cases, and finally, seventy-nine interviews were conducted in total. A purposive selection of the beneficiaries led to the inclusion of a majority of women beneficiaries in the sample.

The information collected from the field helped arriving at how social entrepreneurship affects the lives of its beneficiaries. The field observation and the epistemological stand support each other and support the view that social entrepreneurship plays a role in changing the quality of life of its beneficiaries. After examining the existing approaches to the study of the quality of life, the capabilities approach was found to be most suitable for this sociological inquiry.

The study employs the capabilities approach in the quality of life analysis. It is mostly in the form of a quantitative method, but here it is adopted as a qualitative method, oriented towards descriptive analysis (Robeyns 2005), because as a qualitative method it can realize 'the full analytical potential of Sen's work' (Verd and López 2011: 9) and can focus on the enhancement of capabilities that occurs due to social entrepreneurship.

10.3 Case Description

Case one is *Industree Crafts Foundation*[3] *(ICF),* and case two is *Maya Organic.*[4] The mission of *Industree* is to provide the market for traditional crafts and support people's livelihood in a way that is commercially viable, self-sustainable, and market-oriented (http://motherearth.co.in, 2016). *Maya Organic* has the mission to focus on traditional crafts as a viable livelihood option by redistributing profits, safeguarding fair labour practices along with social and environmental sustainability (http://mayaorganic.com, 2016). Both the organizations are comparable because they are working in the field of livelihood by engaging with traditional crafts, and are situated in and around the Bengaluru city, which provides a similar geographic and socio-economic environment.

Both in the literature and in actual situation of social entrepreneurship in India, it appears that the legal structures are not considered important while labelling an organization to be a social enterprise. For that reason, we see that in the literature, social entrepreneurship is considered as a socially oriented venture that can be either non-profit/for-profit or hybrid. While defining an organization as a social enterprise, greater importance is given to the goal of the organization, which is to solve social

[3] *Industree* is a hybrid social enterprise incorporated in the year 1994, and Industree Crafts Foundation came into existence in the year 2000. The latter helps individual artisans' collectives to become self-governed producer groups, i.e. self-help groups (SHGs). The head office and the main work unit are situated in Bengaluru city.

[4] *Maya Organic* is a not-for-profit social enterprise and is recognized as a Fair Trade Organization, which works with the lacware cluster in southern India to produce high-quality wooden toys. Lacware is a traditional handicraft from Karnataka, India, and artisans in Channapatna practice it. This is a small town located 60 km from Bengaluru city.

problems or market failures through entrepreneurial approaches (Dawans and Kim Alter 2009). Support to the view that the role of legal structure plays a minimal role in defining an organization to be a social enterprise increases with the fact[5] that most of the social enterprises in India are registered as private/public limited. The influence of the point that most of the social enterprises chose to have a legal structure of a for-profit also reflected in the present two cases as well that both are recognized as social enterprises, but their legal structures are different. In case 1, *Industree* Foundation is the non-profit wing and *Industree* Crafts Private Limited is the for-profit entity. The former works on building up the production base to enable artisans to become owners of their enterprises, and the latter deals with design, distribution, retail, and export. The two collaborate to make it a hybrid organization. *Maya Organic* is a non-profit company registered under Section 25 of the Indian Companies Act. This indicates that in social entrepreneurship different legal forms may be adopted so that no compromises are made in the social relevance of the mission and creation of social value.

10.4 Quality of Life of the Beneficiaries

As mentioned above, the methodological requirements mean that arriving at a framework to study the quality of life is necessary, which permits us to consider those aspects of life which shape the well-being beyond the command of economic resources, and may include subjective aspects (Brinkerhoff et al. 1997). Thus, through deductive reasoning multiple theories have been considered to study the quality of life, to provide the basis for the framework for this research. This requires that we first examine existing theories and search for one that considers those aspects of the beneficiaries' lives that shapes their well-being beyond the command of economic resources, and may include subjective aspects (Brinkerhoff et al. 1997).

This sociological perspective considers that well-being depends on what resources may enable us to do and to be, and one's ability to convert resources into a good life differs from person to person. Thus, this study requires indicators that go beyond income and consumption to incorporate non-monetary aspects of the quality of life (Stiglitz et al. 2010). This means the subjective well-being approach and the utilitarian approach to the quality of life may not provide the right information, or let us gain the knowledge about the influences of social entrepreneurship on the well-being and the quality of life of people. Thus, the capabilities approach was chosen for this study since it provides an option to examine the quality of life and the well-being not through economic factors or the subjective choices that people make, but through the freedom or opportunities available to them. An advantage of using the capabilities approach is that the 'human development index' launched by the UNDP in 1990 considers capabilities, as it is rooted in a notion of development conceived as a process of enlarging people's choices and opportunities. It is an important objective

[5]This is supported by the facts presented in Intellecap, 2012.

of the capabilities approach in the development to maximize people's capabilities and the freedom to pursue the kinds of lives that they value.

The capabilities as discussed by Nussbaum are pertinent in the discussion of the components of well-being, where she describes ten central human capabilities, which can be studied as internal capabilities and external conditions of an individual. Capabilities are also defined as 'ends and means for human development', indicating that capabilities are a means of development. It is important to know that social entrepreneurship affects internal capabilities and external conditions in such a way that it improves different forms of capital: human, natural,[6] social, physical, and financial, which together have the capacity to enhance human well-being. This indicates that social entrepreneurship establishes the link with well-being by providing intuitive solutions that are integrated into local settings, to the societal problems that existed before its intervention (Ziegler et al. 2012). More importantly, it means that social entrepreneurship provides solutions by involving one or several capabilities, which affect the above-mentioned forms of capital, where capital means a stock of anything that has the capacity to generate a flow of benefits (Yujuico 2008). For example, social entrepreneurship builds natural capital by being mindful of environmental issues.

In the course of the study, it emerged that the changes in the quality of life and the well-being of the beneficiaries are the most important changes brought about by social entrepreneurship. Thus, individual beneficiaries from both the cases of social entrepreneurship have been studied for multidimensional nature of quality of life experienced by them. Considering the qualitative nature of the study, the sample size is relatively small, fixed to forty beneficiaries each of the two cases. Both the cases were observed to provide solutions to one or more of the problems that have a direct bearing on the capabilities of the beneficiaries and provide them opportunities to improve their living conditions. The case study allowed me to investigate social entrepreneurship in a holistic manner and focusing on meaningful characteristics of social entrepreneurship as a real-life event. The various diverse aspects of beneficiaries' lives were observed, such as psychological conditions, autonomy, safety, leisure time, and social awareness to name a few.

As a quality of life study using the capabilities approach, the focus was on the conversion factors which are instrumental in hindering or facilitating the transformation of resources into effective *freedoms*. The relationship between *resources*, *capabilities,* and *functionings* is described in the figure. This shifts the focus from *functionings* to *capabilities* because it signifies *'freedoms'* that have intrinsic importance for the beneficiaries' achievement of well-being.

Data on substantive basic *functionings* of the beneficiaries: safety, health, education, and employment of the beneficiaries were collected. The *capabilities* related to abilities, skills, resources, and opportunities were also observed, which were brought

[6]Natural capital is that part of the natural world which humans make some use of or from which they derive some benefit. It can be energy and matter that yield valuable goods or services (Porritt 2005).

to the beneficiaries by social entrepreneurship. This provides the information on post-social entrepreneurship intervention.

The capabilities approach was used as a descriptive tool that helped in capturing the different layers of complexities. It revealed that different individuals have reasons to value different things at different points of time, which means that the 'beings' and 'doings' differ from person to person, more so from the beneficiaries of *Industree* to the beneficiaries of *Maya Organic*. The analysis considers that an individual's ability to convert goods into a *functioning* is influenced by three conversion factors. Thus, the descriptive approach provided full potential to the study to capture the qualitative changes and best suited these circumstances where we had to describe the living conditions of the beneficiaries.

The beneficiaries from *Industree* represent the urban lower-income workers, and *Maya Organic* represents rural workers who are mostly landless. Social entrepreneurship has benefited them to create their livelihood and in providing them an organized workplace where the beneficiaries can work all the year round to secure a sustainable income. Beneficiaries of *Industree* are mainly third- to first-generation migrants from neighbouring states of Andhra Pradesh/Telangana and Tamil Nadu. A few have been associated with their craft before coming into association with the *Industree*. Beneficiaries of *Maya Organic* on the other hand are mainly from parts of Channapatna town. A majority were engaged in wooden toy-making units, and here the beneficiaries were newly trained along with the new women entrants, to make world-class toys, which are mainly exported. The comparison between the changes experienced by the beneficiaries in the two cases provides insights about the extent to which social entrepreneurship affects the lives of the people and on the quality of life. The social entrepreneurial efforts are at the level of social structure and entail changes in multiple areas of the beneficiaries' lives.

The research adds empirical substance to explain how the social agenda of social entrepreneurship is met, which required the identification of factors that reflect the capabilities of the beneficiaries. These factors include the flow of information to the beneficiary regarding her surroundings, difference in her level of participation in family decision-making, before and after becoming a beneficiary of social entrepreneurship, economic empowerment, spatial mobility, social status, decision-making, social relationships, and state of social and economic empowerment. There are subjective aspects playing a role in finding how the people with greater capacities in valuable domains of life are able to lead a better life even if the beneficiaries have access to fewer economic resources. For instance, a woman gains autonomy by becoming a beneficiary of a social enterprise; this may open doors to many avenues in her life to make her life better.

The study looks into the non-monetary aspects of 'autonomy', their effects on well-being, and the greater capacities that enable a beneficiary to have a better life despite commanding fewer economic resources. A few economic determinants of well-being are also used along with the non-monetary indicators of the quality of life (Stiglitz et al. 2010), because beneficiaries' income alone does not provide the whole story about she is fairing in life. It is each individual's unique characteristics that matter in assessing societal well-being (Banerjee 2015).

10.5 Analysis Through the Capabilities Approach

The capabilities approach developed by Amartya Sen argues that the quality of life should be conceived and measured directly in terms of *functionings* and *capabilities* instead of resources or utility, where well-being means the ability to achieve valuable *functionings*. In the capabilities approach, the notion of freedom is important because it tells about the full range of opportunities open to people, with an emphasis on the importance of empowering people to help themselves (Alkire 2008).

The study looks at the well-being and quality of life experienced by individual beneficiaries or a small group of people under prevailing social and economic conditions (Moller and Schlemmer in Brinkerhoff et al. 1997). To meet the above, we need to devise a methodological criterion to observe the degrees of well-being and life experiences of the beneficiaries, by developing measures of quality of life and well-being. The capabilities approach is used as a methodological criterion that allows for understanding the state of basic needs, prevailing economic and social conditions, and considering the geographical movement and the psychological state of the beneficiaries (Brinkerhoff et al. 1997).

There can be various approaches that can be employed in this analysis of quality of life. There are approaches which were developed within the economic traditions and are based on the notion of fair allocation. But these can help only to address the issue of how to include non-market aspects of the quality of life into a broader measure of well-being (Boadway and Bruce in Stiglitz et al. 2010). The assessment of quality of life based on economic resources does not provide valid results because there are instances where beneficiaries with lower economic resources are happier and more prosperous than those with higher economic resources. The approaches based on psychological factors are based on the notion of subjective well-being, are linked to the utilitarian tradition, and view individuals as the best judges of their own conditions. In these approaches, the quality of life is reflected exclusively in the subjective states of each person, which are described variously as utility, happiness, and satisfaction (Stiglitz et al. 2010). These approaches miss out on providing a fair assessment of the quality of life because the beneficiaries miss an important aspect, that is, what if a person living as a destitute just accepts her state, due to religious or social reasons. Thus, satisfaction with their life and happiness is an important evaluation of a life, but it is not the best-suited indicator or aggregator for general well-being (van Ootegem and Verhofstadt 2012).

Thus, the approaches based on economic factors and the utilitarian approaches by themselves cannot provide the holistic picture of the quality of life and well-being of the beneficiaries in this study. This being a sociological study seeks deeper insights of the social dynamics, resultant changes in society, and individual level. Thus, the focus was moved to the third type of approaches which are rooted in the notion of *capabilities*. Sen considers well-being as the achievement of valuable *functionings*, consisting of various 'beings' and 'doings'. And the individual well-being can be evaluated at three conceptually distinguishable levels: the possibilities or opportunities one has in life (*capabilities*), the actual life situations one faces

(*functionings*), and the general life satisfaction or happiness (or satisfaction with life domains) (van Ootegem and Verhofstadt 2012).

The capabilities approach is viewed as an alternative perspective to social justice (Banerjee 2015). Sen points out that a just society expands people's freedoms and opportunities to lead a life of their choice, which enhances their well-being and improves their quality of life. As suggested above, Nussbaum has contributed significantly to this field of study. Social entrepreneurship can be observed from the viewpoint of social justice, by looking at it as a medium or a process to create social value, by bringing social justice in terms of providing freedoms and opportunities for its beneficiaries, which helps them improve their quality of life. Right now, the focus is not on the philosophical view of social justice, but understanding the dynamics of how the process of social entrepreneurship leads to certain changes, resulting in the well-being and the quality of life of the beneficiaries. It is to study how social entrepreneurship meets social needs, which we look at in terms of the quality of life enhancement through and improvement in *capabilities*.

This analysis also considers that according to Amartya Sen *capabilities* are different from *functionings*. If we consider working as *functioning*, then *capabilities* are the 'possibility' of working that resulted from interrelated abilities and opportunities. This brings the focus on the possibilities of working, which is understood as freedom or opportunities to work (Banerjee 2015). Alkire (2005) explains that *capabilities* are formed of two important parts that is valuable beings and doings (*functionings*), and freedom. Sen has united these two different concepts, and if we fail to include either of them in this research, then it will be a misinterpretation of this approach.

The focus now shifts to the opportunities created by social entrepreneurship for the beneficiaries, which brings about changes in the lives of its beneficiaries that have implications on their well-being and quality of life. In the close interaction with the beneficiaries, factors of both the basic *functionings* (being nourished, safe, healthy, educated, and employed) and the complex *functionings* (being able to participate in the life of a community, having autonomy, and being empowered) were considered. These are the substantive *functionings*, and they are complemented by instrumental *capabilities* that are related to rights, opportunities, and entitlements that help in the expansion of people's well-being. In our study, we collected data based on the five types of instrumental freedoms[7]: political, economic, social, transparency guarantees, and protective security (Sen 1999). This was done through questions based on political, economic, and social autonomy and question related to safety.

Information related to the instrumental *capabilities* is important in this study because it contributes to the information on general *capabilities* of a person. Information on the substantive and instrumental *capabilities* of the beneficiaries helps in shaping their well-being and defines their quality of life. Thus, the capabilities approach becomes a normative framework for the empirical assessment of individ-

[7]Example of political freedoms is civil rights; economic freedom is consumption, production or exchange, availability and access to finance, and distribution of national wealth; social freedom is education, and healthcare transparency guarantees are trust and openness, and lack of corruption; protective security is the presence of a social safety net with fixed institutional arrangements and ad hoc arrangements.

ual beneficiaries' well-being and quality of life. The capabilities approach allows the assessment of the effects of social entrepreneurship on the capacity of the beneficiaries, which follow by achieving adequate income to generate *capabilities* to reach certain minimal levels of *functioning* required for survival and well-being (Banerjee 2015).

There was a methodological challenge while conducting the study, i.e. quantitative versus qualitative, because the studies based on the capabilities approach are more visible in the quantitative domain. But qualitative analysis emerged as the best option for this study, where small groups of beneficiaries were to be studied, which also allowed for a fuller review of the individual's view on what constitutes a 'good life'.

10.6 Operationalizing the Study

Somewhere in the methodological realm, spreading from the theoretical framework to operationalization, evidence from the literature must also be placed and supported with the evidence from the cases studied here. The study carried out with the beneficiaries of *Industree* and *Maya Organic* has narrated myriad stories of their life, seeing a variety of changes, ranging from changes in women taking household decisions, to gain spatial mobility and economic empowerment. All have visible effects of beneficiaries' quality of life.

The full potential of the capabilities approach was brought out when it was used as a descriptive tool that can reveal layers of complexities that a quantitative analysis cannot capture and may not be well accepted by traditional economic analysis (Robeyns 2005). The capabilities approach allowed for an inquiry into the realm of the freedom domains and addressed beneficiaries' preference and available resources into effective achievements (Bovin 2014).

The analysis is carried through a definitive theoretical framework of the capabilities approach, which made it possible to overcome hurdles posed by the unprocessed narratives and descriptions that are not considered as scientific evidence on the effects of the quality of life of the beneficiaries. Even though the capabilities theory is not intended to provide a ready-made tool for the measurement of well-being (Alkire 2005; Fleurbaey 2005; Gasper 2007; Kuklys 2004), the challenge was overcome by the individual-level interactions.

In this study, we look at the conversion factors that help in arriving at the empirical evidence. Conversion factors were identified for both the cases, which are: personal skills, social norms, and logistics, and they influenced beneficiaries' individual *capabilities*. An individual's ability to convert goods into *functioning* is influenced by three conversion factors: personal conversion factors (such as intelligence, training, and skills among others); environmental conversion factors (such as geographical location and logistics); and social conversion factors (such as social norms and power relations) (van Ootegem and Verhofstadt 2012). However, in the study the focus was on 'individual beneficiary's ability to convert social entrepreneurship impetus into *functioning*'. In both the cases, beneficiaries' *functionings* were influenced by at least

three conversion factors, which influenced their *capabilities* and is an estimate used for assessing their quality of life. The study also looked into the broader social and institutional context that affects a person's *capability* set (Robeyns 2005).

Beneficiaries get the choice to turn their extended *capabilities* set into *functioning* through social entrepreneurship. This means that the choices made by an individual beneficiary define her idea of well-being. Thus, two individual beneficiaries can have different levels of achieved *functionings* based on the choices made by them. The choices made by them are important for this analysis. This is also reflected in the chart below (Figs. 10.1 and 10.2), where all the beneficiaries of both the cases are provided with sustainable income, but not all become economically empowered. The results shown below emerge from the answers to the questions related to the family and economic decision-making of the beneficiaries, who are mostly women.

The study carries a descriptive analysis of the information collected from field based on the framework provided by Robeyns (2005). This analysis helps in identifying the changes experienced by the beneficiaries by using the actual conversion factors and choices that affected the beneficiaries. They indicate how the larger question of the assessment of the quality of life of the beneficiaries is carried through in the space of *functionings* (Table 10.1).

The other general observations from the field about the beneficiaries of *Industree* are that there are three breaks during the working hours for tea and lunch. The beneficiaries reported these breaks to be very important to get refreshed and regain their nerve after working hard in craftwork, which is also a strain on their eyes and requires precision of hands. The beneficiaries from *Industree* were quite aware of their surroundings and were engaged in other jobs before coming together to form

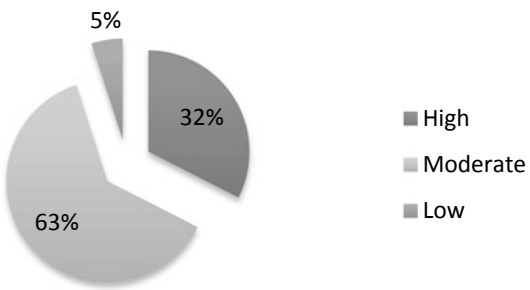

Fig. 10.1 Levels of economic empowerment among Industree beneficiaries

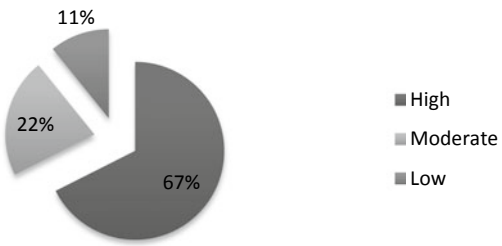

Fig. 10.2 Economic empowerment among the beneficiaries of Maya Organic

Table 10.1 Thick description of a worker at Industree

Change in well-being	SE impetus	Conversion factors (reasons why change became possible)	Capability	Choice	Functioning (achieved or not)
Employment opportunity	Skills or availability of raw material	Personal conversion factor (PCF): Education and age of the beneficiary Environmental conversion factor (ECF): Availability of market for the crafted products and the infrastructural support Social conversion factor (SCF): Acceptance by the family and society of women to travel for work	Freedom or opportunity to work in a healthy environment and have a sustainable income	If the women workers have young children, they choose to not work Or, there is fear of exploitation	Workers may choose to engage in a more lucrative job
Spatial mobility	SE commits to provide well-equipped workplace	Personal conversion factor (PCF): Beneficiary shows capacity to manage household work with a job Environmental conversion factor (ECF): Well-equipped workplace, meeting environmental needs and is safe Social conversion factor (SCF): Beneficiary shares the economic burden of the family	Freedom or opportunity to move out of home to became socially aware	Confidence to move freely out of home	Spatial mobility is an important step towards self-reliance and autonomy

(continued)

Table 10.1 (continued)

Change in well-being	SE impetus	Conversion factors (reasons why change became possible)	Capability	Choice	Functioning (achieved or not)
Sense of dignity	Work culture to respect individuals	Personal conversion factor (PCF): Humane approach to work Environmental conversion factor (ECF): In a self-help group, each member has equal right Social conversion factor (SCF): Individual rights were considered important for a low-income worker	Freedom or opportunity to be part of semi-organized sector	Work satisfaction	Low-income individuals becoming part of organized sector and have sustainable income
Improved housing conditions (an indirect effect of SE impetus)	More private space in the house	Personal conversion factor (PCF): Financial income of the beneficiary increase spending on housing Environmental conversion factor (ECF): Sustainable source of income allows beneficiary to take a step to improve their housing condition Social conversion factor (SCF): When there is an acceptance of women as a decision-maker in the family and her opinion about improving housing condition is considered by the family	Freedom of healthy housing (with better sanitation, ventilation, and space)	Prospects of comfortable living	There are cases when beneficiary could buy own house after settling down finances

Framework: Robeyns (2005a)

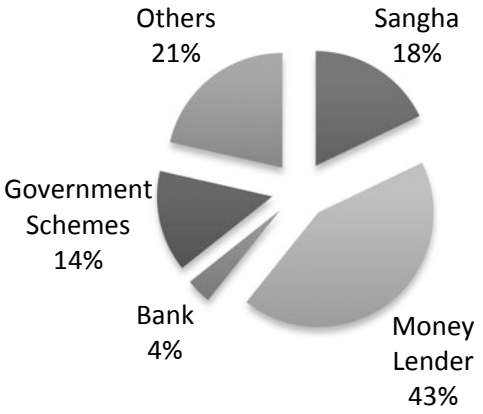

Fig. 10.3 Source of debt for the beneficiaries of Industree

the self-help groups under the social entrepreneurship. The beneficiaries had a high degree of understanding of the benefits that beneficiaries were provided at *Industree.* Here, a free facility of day care is available for their children, and free transport, which are crucial in addressing personal conversion factors of the beneficiaries. Similarly, the healthy work environment, in terms of not only the physical infrastructure but also the work ethic, where there is no work pressure or work-related stress, facilitates the environmental conversion factors of the beneficiaries.

Both in *Industree* and in *Maya Organic*, there are skill enhancement training provided to the beneficiaries, which helps them learn at the individual level and adds to their personal conversion factors. In both the cases, the beneficiaries have formed committees who pool in their savings. Any member of the group who is in financial distress can borrow money from this pool. This practice provides a certain element of financial security to the beneficiaries. Figure 10.3 shows the levels of beneficiaries engage in these committees or *sangha*. However, the observation is that in *Industree* the dependence on the *sangha* is less compared to the beneficiaries of *Maya Organic* (Fig. 10.4) that is because the beneficiaries living in Bangalore have better capacity to avail credit than the beneficiaries living in Channapatna. The cost of living is higher in Bengaluru due to which the need for money is so high and the beneficiaries can save less.

10.7 Conclusion

Research in the area of social entrepreneurship has been gaining momentum in the last decade, due to which most of the available academic literature is on conceptualizing and theorizing on social entrepreneurship. In this study, the focus is kept on finding out the effects of social entrepreneurship on the *capabilities* of the beneficiaries, which improves their well-being and the quality of life. Robeyns' (2005) descriptive framework helped provide descriptive results that are accompanied by narra-

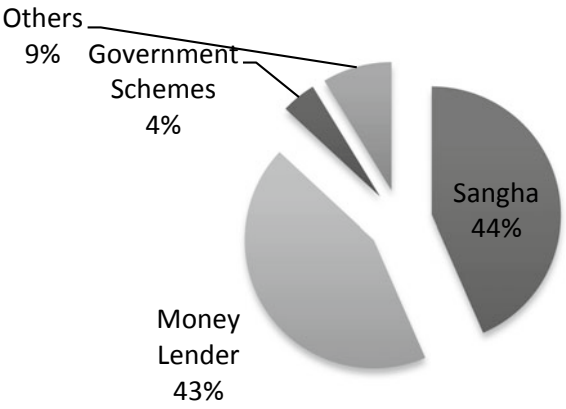

Fig. 10.4 Source of debt for the beneficiaries of Maya Organic

tives. This research stands out from the predominantly quantitative studies within the capabilities approach and aims to establish the capabilities approach as a qualitative approach oriented towards descriptive analysis. This study was carried out with the confidence that qualitative analysis can bring the capabilities approach. The choice of employing the capabilities approach in this study also strengthens the sociological analysis by engaging with issues that are of central concern to sociology.

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Part III
Perspectives from Practice Methodologies

Chapter 11
Entrepreneurship: Nation as a Context

Archana Singh and Satyajit Majumdar

Abstract Entrepreneurship contributes not only to economic growth, but also to overall development of the country. Entrepreneurship is highly contextual. It is important to understand how 'context' influences entrepreneurship, because country-specific intervention is needed to promote entrepreneurship in different countries. Thus, the present study considers 'Nation' as a context at the primary level and then analyses country-specific micro-level contextual factors to understand its impact on entrepreneurship. Recognizing the commonality of culture in 'South Asian Nations' and 'Central Asian Nations', and also uniqueness in historical backgrounds, five countries—Bangladesh, India, Kazakhstan, Nepal and Russia—have been chosen purposely for the study. We used 'Narrative Perspective' for this Phenomenological study to build up narratives on important concepts. Theory building approach suggested by Carlile and Christensen (The cycles of theory building in management research, 2005) and Christensen (The ongoing process of building a theory of disruption. J Prod Innov Manage 23:39–55, 2006) has also inspired the study. Based on the findings, several propositions have been developed, which open up the agenda for future research.

Keywords Entrepreneurship · Social entrepreneurship · South Asia · Central Asia · Bangladesh · India · Kazakhstan · Nepal · Russia

11.1 Introduction

Entrepreneurship is beneficial for economic growth and for overall development of the country (Smith 2010; Paltasingh 2012; Naudé 2013). Entrepreneurship is the creation of organizations, and entrepreneurs create the organizations (Gartner 1988).

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These entrepreneurs are multifaceted individuals (Lazear 2005). They identify and pursue opportunities, mobilize resources and act innovatively to create economic value. They also take risks. Entrepreneurs play important role and take up specific functions in the economy, and they engender relatively much employment creation, productivity growth, and produce and commercialize high-quality innovations (van Praag and Versloot 2007). They need not to be superb at anything necessarily, but have to be sufficiently skilled in a variety of areas to put together the many ingredients required to create a successful business (Lazear 2005). This indicates the importance of entrepreneurship education for the countries.

Especially in less developed and developing countries, 'entrepreneurship based development strategy' can positively impact growth and development by (a) removing distortions present in their markets, (b) encouraging human capital development, (c) better allocating scarce resources through market processes and (d) providing employment alternatives to the public sector (Acs and Virgill 2009). However, it is important to note that entrepreneurship is highly contextual (Zahra 2007; Welter 2011).

The behavioural theory of entrepreneurship also states that behaviour of an individual is an outcome of the interaction between person and situation/context (Gartner 1985, 1988). Context not only influences the individuals, who identify and pursue entrepreneurial opportunities, but also indicates the time to start entrepreneurship, different context-specific entrepreneurial process, reason of pursuing opportunities, type of entrepreneurship (social/commercial), entrepreneurial models, specific challenges and strategies used to face those context-specific challenges. In sum, 'context' is important for understanding when, how and why entrepreneurship happens and who gets involved (Welter 2011).

The contextual nature of entrepreneurship emphasizes the need of country-specific intervention to promote entrepreneurship in different countries, as the educational systems differ in countries in terms of amount of specialization that has direct implications on the entrepreneurs in that country (Lazear 2005). In this regard, Paltasingh (2012) emphasized the need of facilitating entrepreneurship education through partnership, policies and introduction of appropriate curriculum in developing countries like India.

In this chapter, we have considered 'Nation' as the 'context'. While we have been posing broader questions on the attributes which collectively can explain the country-specific dimensions to entrepreneurship opportunity, we also aspired to use a research methodology not popular in entrepreneurship research but have demonstrated potential to take us forward to fulfil our research agenda with better explanation. Our work is on perspective building and hence opens up an agenda for future research. We have chosen 'Narrative Perspective' as research methodology, while choosing individual experts from different countries, to build up narratives on important concepts (Chamberlain 1990). In our study, the experts chosen in such a way that they are deeply associated in the discipline of entrepreneurship by virtue of being educators in formal or informal roles, administrators driving entrepreneurship development programmes in their respective countries and also involved in mentoring entrepreneurs to establish enterprises. We are aware that entrepreneurship is a multi-dimensional and

multi-disciplinary subject and involves several stakeholders to provide data for theorization. Hence, we have chosen these expert-individuals (from different countries) in such way that they are capable enough to provide us information from multiple stakeholders' view. Hence, we call these experts as 'data points' to provide us insights on entrepreneurship opportunity in their respective countries. We remained aware about the points of view generally considered in Narrative Perspective and have asked our data points to provide us two views—the 'first party' to narrate or provide their own experiences, facts and details and the 'second party' to narrate about others who associates with the subject of entrepreneurship and the narration is beyond their roles. This demanded significant preparation. We have been in regular communication with our data points have provided with detailed notes and questions to answer through email. The answers provided by them were collated, and further questions were asked to fill the data gaps. At the end, we have invited them at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India, in a discussion session and presented them the insights we have gathered through the data, patterns generated or otherwise while asking them to collectively participate in final round of deliberations to get finer details. They were allowed to discuss among themselves during and before the session about the respective experiences and insights. We explained them the purpose of this process of data collection spread in several rounds and also asked them to refine their inputs in the subsequent round. We, the authors were also the data points for India as we have been involved in this discipline of entrepreneurship as educators, mentors and consultants. In this way, we have provided all the points of view—the first party, the second party (as above) and the third party. Our role from the third party point of view was to facilitate in bringing out the knowledge out of data beyond the first and the second parties. We provoked thoughts and posed questions to set the direction to our selected data points to articulate and provide us insights on their respective contexts and experiences. Also we have been the facilitators to collate the information and continuously seeking clarifications, as needed, to draw meaning and patterns from the data provided by our data points.

In sum, considering the importance of 'context' in entrepreneurship in general and entrepreneurship opportunity in specific, this chapter presents and discusses entrepreneurial process in five different nations as a context—India, Nepal, Kazakhstan, Bangladesh and Russia—and theorizes the phenomenon for deeper understanding.

11.2 Literature Review: Entrepreneurship and Economic Development (Developing and Developed Country Context)

11.2.1 What Is Entrepreneurship?

Literature reflects that there is no agreed upon definition of what an entrepreneur is or does (Cunningham and Lischeron 1991; Ripsas 1998). The term entrepreneur has been used to define a wide range of activities such as creation, founding, adapting and managing a venture (Cunningham and Lischeron 1991). The term 'entrepreneurship' has diverse range of meanings, and therefore, no single discipline is sufficient to explain it optimally. Entrepreneurship is therefore interdisciplinary concept (Ripsas 1998). To explain it, researchers have borrowed popular theories from other disciplines, mainly from sociology, psychology and economics, and adapted to the study of the diverse entrepreneurial phenomena (Zahra 2007).

Gartner (1988) found that studies of psychological characteristics of entrepreneurs, sociological explanations of entrepreneurship cultures, economic and demographic explanations of entrepreneurial locations, etc., begin with the creation of new organizations. '*Entrepreneurship is the creation of new organisations*' (Gartner 1988, p. 62). Gartner (1985, 1988) explained entrepreneurship as 'creation of new organizations' and entrepreneurship as 'a behavioural concept'. From this, the discussion on entrepreneurship has shifted from traits and personality characteristics (of the entrepreneur) to the process of new venture/organization creation, and the entrepreneur is part of the complex process of new venture creation. This approach considers 'organization' as the unit of analysis, and the individual is viewed from the perspective of the activities undertaken to enable the organization to come into existence.

Earlier studies on entrepreneurship were mostly based on the questions 'who is an entrepreneur' and 'what he does'. Later the focus shifted to understanding and explaining the nexus of the lucrative opportunities and the presence of enterprising individuals (Venkatarman 1997). Later many scholars (Zahra 2007; Welter 2011) emphasized on the importance of context in understanding entrepreneurship. While we take an overview of research arena of entrepreneurship, we find Cunningham and Lischeron (1991) categorizing theories of entrepreneurship into six different schools of thought on the basis of emphasis on personal characteristics, opportunities, management and the need for adapting an existing venture, as presented in Table 11.1.

Among the above schools of thought, the 'Great Person' theory and the 'Psychological Characteristics' theory are related to the assessment of the person and the abilities, 'The Classical School' is related to innovation and opportunity recognition, while 'The Management School' and 'The Leadership School' are related to acting and managing the organization, and 'The Intrapreneurship School of Entrepreneurship' focuses on reassessing and adapting aspects of the entrepreneurial process in organizations. We conclude that different perspectives (from various disciplines) have

Table 11.1 Theories of entrepreneurship

School of thought	Focus
The Great Person School	Entrepreneur has an intuitive ability—a sixth sense and traits and instincts he/she is born with
The Psychological Characteristics School	Entrepreneurs have unique values, attitudes and needs which drive them
The Classical School	Central characteristic of entrepreneurial behaviour is innovation (Schumpeter)
The Management School	Entrepreneurs are organizers of economic value; they organize, own, manage and assume risk
The Leadership School	Entrepreneurs are leaders of people; they possess ability to adapt their style to the needs of the people
The Intrapreneurship School	Entrepreneurial skills can be useful in complex organizations

been used to explain entrepreneurship and there have been attempts on adoption of interdisciplinary approach (Ripsas 1998; Ireland and Webb 2007) and harmonizing different perspectives (Moroz and Hindle 2011).

11.2.2 Context and Entrepreneurship

As referred above, 'Context' is emphasized as an important factor influencing the entrepreneurial process. Hence, we need to address the question—'What it means in entrepreneurship?' According to Welter (2011), '*In management research, context refers to circumstances, conditions, situations, or environments that are external to the respective phenomenon and enable or constrain it*' (2011, p. 167). In other words, '*Context simultaneously provides individuals with entrepreneurial opportunities and sets boundaries for their actions; in other words, individuals may experience it as asset and liability*' (Welter 2011, pp. 165–166). Context is outside of the control of the entrepreneurship and also influences success or failure (Wei-Skillern et al. 2007).

The details of contextual factors are explained by authors. These include the social context (household and family embeddedness/contexts), the spatial/geographical context (bridging between social and institutional contexts), and the institutional context (including the societal dimension of entrepreneurship) (Welter 2011). Misra and Kumar (2000) emphasized on demographic characteristics (profile of entrepreneurs'-family background, birth order, age, educational level of parents, sex, marital status, previous work experience), and psychological characteristics (motivational tendencies of entrepreneurs) as background factors in conceptualizing entrepreneurship. Paltasingh (2012) also agreed that age, gender, work status, education, income, and perceptions are significant socio-economic factors for an individual to tale decision to start a business. According to Austin et al. (2006), the macro-economy, the tax and regulatory, and the socio-political environment are important contextual factors

in the commercial sector. On the other hand, it is also argued that some cultures lack 'entrepreneurial spirit' (Boettke and Coyne 2009) and due to contextual differences, entrepreneurial activities and opportunities differ significantly across societies and nations (Boettke and Coyne 2009). The above literature reference confirms that context plays significant role in entrepreneurship. Now we know that the factors involved are ranging from personal, social, economic, institutional to political complexities while 'culture' and 'regional specificities' are critical to understand entrepreneurial process with a specific country.

Research on 'context and entrepreneurship' also varies across countries. For example, Shinnar et al. (2012) examined how culture and gender shape individual perceptions of barriers to entrepreneurship and intentions to become an entrepreneur in three nations, namely China, USA, and Belgium, and found that both, culture and gender, moderate the relationship between the perceived importance of some of the barriers and entrepreneurial intentions in these countries. Bird (1988) reported that entrepreneurial intention is influenced by two elements: first, personal history (such as prior experience as an entrepreneur), current personality characteristics, and second, individual variables which include social, political and economic variables to create the context for entrepreneurship. However, we do not find in-depth studies on entrepreneurship on macro-level and micro-level contextual factors in the countries which share similar cultures. Recognizing the importance of 'culture' in entrepreneurship, there is a strong need to conduct studies to bridge the gap in the existing literature. Thus, our study aims to understand and explain entrepreneurial process in the countries which share common culture. In particular, we have two research questions—first, how does context influence entrepreneurship, and second, how do entrepreneurs influence the context, if they do so?

11.3 Research Setting

In our research, we have considered 'Nation' as a context. We clarify, 'Nation' is not 'State'. 'Nation' is a psychocultural concept, whereas 'State' is primarily a political–legal entity (Rejai and Enloe 1969). Rejai and Enloe (1969) defined 'Nation' as '*a relatively large group of people who feel that they belong together by virtue of sharing one or more such traits as common language, religion or race, common history or tradition, common set of customs, and common destiny*' (p. 141). In simple words, a Nation is a group of people who share the same culture—usually a group of people larger than a village, clan or city-state.

On the other hand, 'State' refers to '*an independent and autonomous political structure over a specific territory, with a comprehensive legal system and a sufficient concentration of power to maintain law and order*' (Rejai and Enloe 1969, p. 143). 'State' and 'Country' are synonymous and both apply to self-governing political entities.

Nation and state may exist independently of one another and also coincide (ibid.). When a nation of people has an independent State of their own, it is often known as

a 'Nation-State'. In other words, a 'Nation-State' is a nation that possesses political sovereignty, and it is socially cohesive as well as politically organized and independent (Rejai and Enloe 1969).

We, in particular, were interested to see how 'Nation' as a context influences entrepreneurship. Thus, we decided to focus, first on 'Nation' and then move on to micro-level contextual variables. Considering the growing number of start-ups and entrepreneurship promotion efforts, we decided to focus on 'South Asian Nations' and 'Central Asian Nations'. It is important to know that the 'Asian culture' is not individualistic like 'Western culture', and therefore, entrepreneur from this region may not be a rebel like entrepreneur from Western culture (https://techcrunch.com, 2013). We also report that all the South Asian and Central Asian Nations together face similar challenges and have almost identical opportunities. Due to slow or less job creation and employment opportunities, youth are forced to migrate to other regions and countries. They also look for alternate vocations in their own countries. Governments in these countries have to pay attention to job creation and also to promote entrepreneurship as a powerful alternative which adds value to economic development. Recognizing the commonality of culture (different from the Western culture) and similarity in problems faced, and entrepreneurship development we have chosen mainly 'South Asian Nations' and 'Central Asian Nations' as the subject for our study. In the next step, we purposively chose five countries—Bangladesh, India, Kazakhstan, Nepal and Russia (in alphabetical order)—for our study. The choice of these countries is also influenced by our awareness of their historical backgrounds which is the core of Narrative Perspective. Also these countries have uniqueness of our interests on them. For example, Bangladesh shares common history with India and later became an independent country, India has a legacy of socialistic and protected economy which enforced entrepreneurship and local manufacturing, Kazakhstan has the history of Russian economic arrangement and now pursuing entrepreneurship as means to create livelihood and self-employment, Nepal is young democracy and slowly opening up to the global market phenomenon facing challenges to overcome huge dependence on international donations and grants, and Russia is a large economy influenced by Communist ideology and cold-war situation while facing challenge of geographical spread and less jobs. Though Kazakhstan and Russia as countries are not in South Asia as political entities, they possess several Asian cultural features (Central Asian) and hence form extended entities of our position on the concept of 'Nation' explained above which is a critical aspect in Narrative Perspective-based research.

11.4 Research Method

Inspired by Christensen's approach on theory building (Carlile and Christensen 2005; Christensen 2006), we first attempted to understand the phenomena to theorize. 'Theorizing' is an ongoing activity-abstracting, generalizing, relating, selecting, explaining, synthesizing and idealizing (Weick 1995). It consists of three components—

description, creation of concepts and explanation—which summarizes progress, gives direction and serves as place markers. It has vestiges of theory, but is not themselves theories. Its spin outs are data, lists of variables, diagrams and hypotheses. Hence, theorization never ends.

Since, we were interested in perspective building and identifying the issues for future research, we have chosen 'Narrative Perspective' as research methodology as suggested by Chamberlain (1990). Chamberlain (1990) considers Narrative Perspective as a 'Phenomenological Meditation' and important method to unfold 'perception' on a matter of interest. It centres on process of language, perception, experience and concept.

Thus, after selecting the countries, we identified the data point of our study—one expert for each from Bangladesh, Kazakhstan, Nepal and Russia—to collect information and to engage with them in seeking the narratives on important concepts. As explained, we ourselves provided data on India. We have taken care in selecting the data points—the individuals who could provide us objective and in-depth information on entrepreneurship development in their respective countries. We have accepted that the data being provided by them would also relate to their own perceptions because of their deep understanding and involvement in entrepreneurship development-related activities. They have been actively engaged in promoting entrepreneurship and have experience, information, in-depth knowledge and exposure of the ecosystem for entrepreneurship development in their countries. They were capable to make commentary on both the entrepreneurial process and entrepreneurship ecosystem in their respective country' context. Their names are:

1. Syed Saad Andaleeb, Vice Chancellor, BRAC University, Bangladesh
2. Satyajit Majumdar, Professor and Chairperson, and Archana Singh, Assistant Professor, Centre for Social Entrepreneurship, Tata Institute if Social Sciences, Mumbai, India
3. Emin Askerov, Social Entrepreneur, Astan, Kazakhstan
4. Narottam Aryal, Executive Director, King's College, Kathmandu, Nepal
5. Irina Serbina, President, Centre for Social Innovation, Omsk, Russian Federation

These individuals were actively engaged in promoting entrepreneurship in their respective countries. They had great experience, information, in-depth knowledge and exposure of the ecosystem for entrepreneurship development in their countries.

We conducted in-depth interviews with them in multiple rounds to explore the contextual factors influencing entrepreneurship in their respective countries. Data was collected from these data points mainly around the themes like need specificity, opportunity identification, resource mobilization, innovation (technological and social) and risk-taking. They provided us general data in their own capacity and also specific to our study. We completed data collection in three months, from November 2016 to January 2017. Interviews were transcribed and analysed using the method of 'coding' (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Sub-themes were developed, and inter-relationships and explanations were established among them to theorize. We developed propositions, wherever possible, based on the patterns and also identified the variations. Logical arrangement of propositions has potential for further research

and hence generalization which is also a step towards theory building. We re-state that theory is important for in explaining why, how, etc., in order to predict phenomena. Also, we report the gaps or the unanswered questions, which can be taken up in future studies.

11.5 Findings and Discussion

11.5.1 Need Specificity—Country

We found that in all these South Asian and Central Asian Nations, entrepreneurship, including social entrepreneurship, is emerging because of certain country-specific contexts. The need-driven factors, primarily, in Nepal, are because returning back of Nepalese after working and/or pursuing higher education abroad. After coming back, they feel enthusiastic to do something in their own country while facing lack of job opportunities. There is also growing need of freedom of expression and aspiration among Nepalese youths. Thus, they are turning towards entrepreneurship. In India, the motivation to pursue entrepreneurship is self-driven. The specific need in Kazakhstan is livelihood creation for the youth. Social entrepreneurship is also emerging strong to create job opportunities, because of the huge population of disabled people and unemployment. Emin Askerov mentioned,

> There are many problems in our society, most important are disable people among 17 million people we have about 700,000 disable people, most of them don't have a job.

Entrepreneurship in Kazakhstan has started becoming popular only since two years. As per the official figures, there are 120 social entrepreneurs in Kazakhstan. Similar to Nepal, India and Kazakhstan, Bangladesh also faces the issues of limited employment opportunities. **Syed Saad Andaleeb** says

> Bangladesh has a burgeoning youth population. In the 18–25 year age cohort, there are 30+ million youth. Roughly 10% get enrolled in higher education. The rest must find means of sustenance. Because only a few industries have developed well (RMG, software, services), opportunities are limited. To ensure that this youth population does not fall into poverty and the attendant despair (leading to unsocial engagement or careers of disrepute), their energies must be properly channelled. Entrepreneurship opportunities are vital to have them stay the course and make a living that is in consonance with their desires and consistent with national goals.

Due to absence of job opportunities and livelihood, youth in Bangladesh pursue entrepreneurship. In Russia, the Government is playing significant role to promote social entrepreneurship. **Irina Serbina** quotes,

> The development of social entrepreneurship in our country is closely connected with the solution of specific social problems of the areas. One of the instruments of territorial development and problem solving of certain social groups is the Social Entrepreneurship School (Omsk Social Entrepreneurship School in Omsk region).

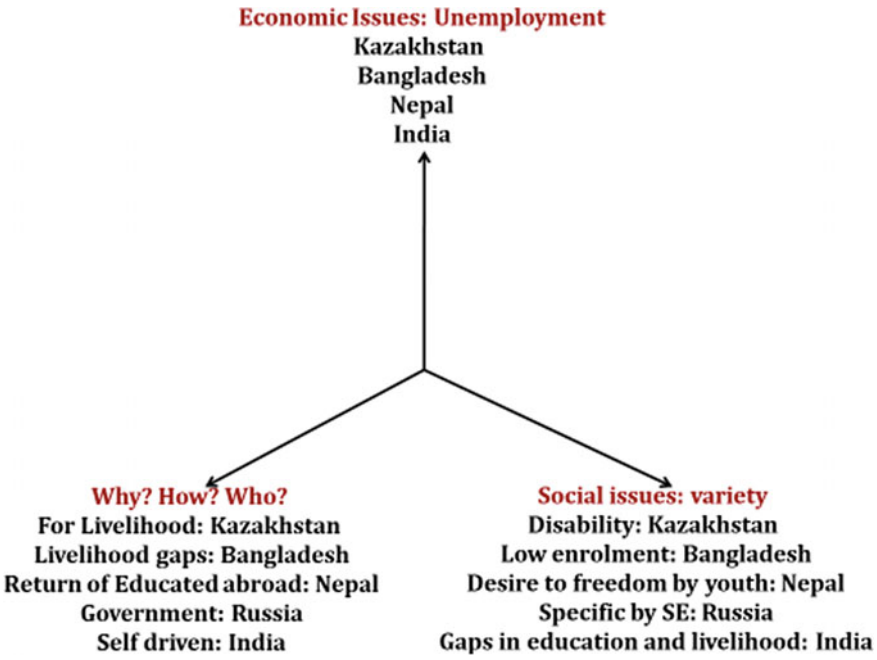

Fig. 11.1 Country-specific needs and entrepreneurship

We found that in these countries entrepreneurship is at nascent stage and country-specific social and economic problems influence emergence and development of entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship. This is mapped in Fig. 11.1. Hence, we propose,

Proposition 1 *Entrepreneurial approach is new and at the nascent in South Asia, and country-specific social and economic issues (problems/needs) influence entrepreneurship development.*

However, several important questions still remain unanswered. For example, there was less clarity as of now on how do entrepreneurs approach the social and economic issues (problems/needs) in the country context.

11.5.2 Opportunity Identification

We tried to explore 'Who influences the opportunity selection in these countries?' and also 'What is the role of Government of the respective country?' We found diverse views on this. The factors not only reside within the country (such as culture, Government, gaps in performance of Government and market in addressing specific needs, and other micro-phenomenon) but beyond. For example, in Nepal,

youth are motivated by the success of entrepreneurs of other countries (especially in the developed societies). Family background, Nepalese youth returning back after higher studies abroad or after working for several years have also influenced the entrepreneurship development in Nepal. Growth in number of business and social enterprises are evident, but the social entrepreneurs have higher social recognition as compared to the business entrepreneurs. Social entrepreneurs are intrinsically motivated to help others while business entrepreneurs pursue their passion and earn.

In Russia, Government plays the influencing role in promoting social entrepreneurship. The Federal Government identifies the specific social problems to be addressed and expects the social entrepreneurs to consider them as opportunities. **Irina Serbina** quotes,

> Our organization works in 19 subjects of the Russian Federation in this field, such as problem of children queues to preschool institutions, queues problem for the elderly into elderly houses.

Significant amount of support comes from the Government and universities. Interest-free finance is one such critical support. Though the influence and support from the Government is significant in Russia, the role of individual entrepreneur to desire to change that quality of life can also not be ignored. Social entrepreneurs believe that it is important to ensure safety, comfort and stability of the social environment. Here we notice a significant commonality between Nepal and Russia that social entrepreneurs take pride in solving the social problems.

In Kazakhstan, development of social entrepreneurship attributed culture, which gives importance to 'volunteerism'. This supports our earlier submission that culture influence opportunity selection (in Kazakhstan) despite no clear policy or direction from the Government.

Growth of enterprises in country context is driven by types of enterprises. In Bangladesh, growth of 'micro and small enterprise' is evident in rural and urban settings. Rapid urbanization (i.e. infrastructure, large constructions, housing, growth of the service sector and migration) has resulted in emergence of variety of needs, which are fulfilled by the services provided by the entrepreneurs taking advantage of lower cost. In this way, rapid urbanization and the resulting newer 'needs' influenced growth of micro-entrepreneurs especially in the urban areas. This has also generated livelihood and supported significantly in poverty alleviation. In the rural Bangladesh, institutional context contributed to emergence and growth of micro and small enterprises. Non-farm household enterprises (NFHE) have also grown due to micro-finance programmes of organization like BRAC and Grameen Bank. In this way, profit or surplus generation is one of the critical aspects of entrepreneurial efforts. Syed Saad Andaleeb says,

> Most 'small' entrepreneurs are into generating enough profit to make out a living. Social business is yet to find a solid space in the sustenance landscape.

Also, most of the small and micro-entrepreneurs engage in low-risk, low-technology and low-capital investment ventures creation. Lack of financial resources

and technology or poor access, ineffective government programs and training, corrupt system, high transaction costs, strong impediments, all lead to risk aversion and stagnant growth. Absence of support programmes at growth stage and managerial capacity in general are also critical. As a result, entrepreneurs face high competition with entry barrier and demonstrate low risk-taking behaviour. Prevalent gender bias prevents women to participate in entrepreneurial process.

In India, strong entrepreneurship-supportive ecosystem is the major reason behind the current growth of entrepreneurship. Government of India is playing significant role in this regard. Private companies are also responsible for the growth of entrepreneurship in India. Both business and social entrepreneurship are thriving in India. Satyajit Majumdar mentioned,

> The Government is making significant efforts in promoting entrepreneurship in India. Initiatives such as National Entrepreneurship Award Schemes (NEAS), entrepreneurship and start-up supportive policies, incubation support have emerged as strong enablers. In fact, many of the private companies are taking interest in providing incubation support to the young entrepreneurs and several of them also provide financial support. One can easily see strong entrepreneurship supportive ecosystem which is created jointly by the government and the corporate. We also notice a new social trend … now people are taking pride in pursuing entrepreneurship. Social entrepreneurs are emerging particularly because of the failed supply chain system of goods and services for the marginalized groups of people. Social entrepreneurs are emerging to bridge several of these gaps.

Our study concluded that micro-level and country-specific context play dominant role in the emergence and growth of business and social entrepreneurship in the respective countries though there are some factors from outside the country too affecting identification of entrepreneurial opportunities. The factors and country-specific position is shown in Fig. 11.2. Thus, we propose,

Proposition 2 *Mostly within country contexts factors influence opportunity identification by the entrepreneurs with limited influence from outside country factors.*

In this study, we have considered Government as an internal factor but we also report need to clarify, 'How does Government influence the opportunity selection?' To some extent, we could find some explanation for Russia, but the data from our data points inadequate to clearly answer this question. Similarly, the influence of 'culture' on opportunity identification is defined in the context of Kazakhstan, whereas for the other countries, it is still unanswered. These areas provide us opportunity for further scope of studies.

11.5.3 Resource Mobilization

In Kazakhstan, there is no specific policy or law on social entrepreneurship and social enterprises like India. Most of the social enterprises come from non-governmental organizations (NGO). In such case, people do not have business knowledge and experience to run social enterprises, and hence become unsustainable. Emin Askerov mentioned,

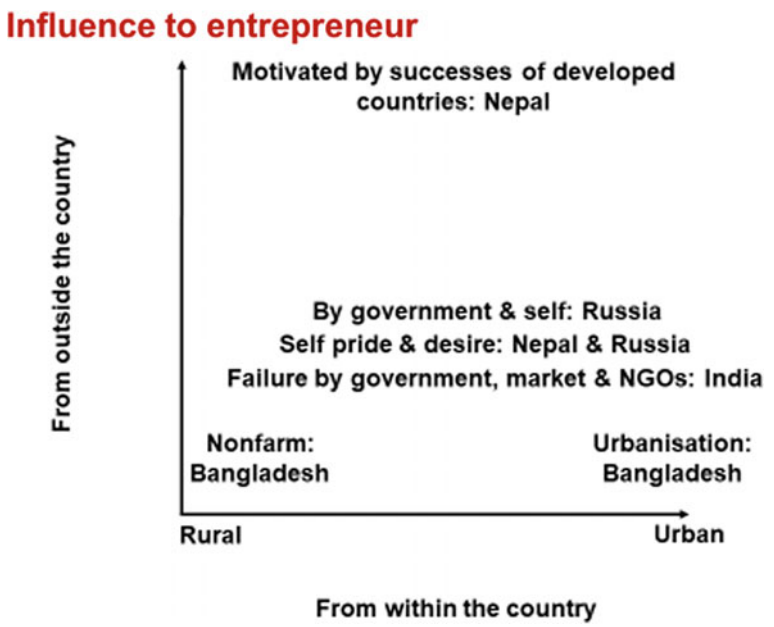

Fig. 11.2 Influence of within and outside contexts on opportunity identification of the entrepreneur

> As they do not have special model of how to run social enterprises most of them have similar problems like Space, finance, people, etc.

He feels that Government can help such enterprises by reducing tax and with some specific provisions in the law. However, he agrees that a number of programmes in his country are sponsored by the Government agencies. The Government has also initiated special economic zones and some special programmes, wherein it is also offering consultancy, advisory and financial support.

In Bangladesh, the entrepreneurs mobilize resources from their personal and family sources (social capital). Most of them are micro-entrepreneurs and cannot bring collateral and do not have permanent addresses which are critical for formal system of funds for business. Due to this disconnect, they find it difficult to understand the nuances of arcane world of borrowing for growth. Small and random support from the NGOs though made available to them does not provide sustainability. Being micro-entrepreneurs, they also face challenges in developing adequate capacity for sustenance and growth. The country as such has long business history in trading and manufacturing is comparatively a new domain to develop. Entrepreneurship-supportive educational programmes in general and also entrepreneurial ecosystem in general are major gaps in the country. **Syed Saad Andaleeb** mentioned,

> There is no real 'Graduation Programme' that could move up the entrepreneurs with real potential, in software development, fine arts, services and so on.

He, further, mentioned,

> Most important is to develop an entrepreneurial ecosystem so that entrepreneurs do not have to waste time and resources to find what they need. … Corruption control can be another key strategy to get people to feel confident of investing in entrepreneurial ventures.

Of late the Government has now started supporting entrepreneurship in Bangladesh. Several skill development programmes, small and medium enterprise (SME) banks, focused on social enterprise are now evident. Government agencies have begun assuming major responsibilities though within Government itself capabilities are limited in Bangladesh to claim any drastic change. Our data point is of the opinion this not possible at least in the near future.

In Nepal, entrepreneurs face challenge in financial resource mobilization. As we mentioned, youth in Nepal prefer migration to other countries for higher education and employment. In this way, the country exports the skilled manpower while left with limited competent human resource. On financial resource front, popular and prevailing investment methods are yet to establish. On this, Narottam Aryal stated,

> Government policies do not recognize the VCs, angel investors and crowd funding.

On the other hand, traditional system of finance enterprises, bureaucrats with high degree of political influence, banks and financial institutions (FIs) are not friendly to provide collateral free loans for the start-ups. In sum, access to finance is challenging in Nepal.

Considering the important role, it has to play in promoting entrepreneurship development, and the Government in Nepal is gradually taking some important initiatives too. Narottam Aryal elaborates,

> Government has taken up a lot of programs, policies and subsidies to promote subsistence entrepreneurship and same can be seen (being used) at the **top of level of entrepreneurial ladder** which a very clear focus on FDI, subsidies and policies in certain ventures types however clear support, (though) **policies are missing in the middle level** where in majority of youth are taking up entrepreneurship of a non-traditional nature. Having said all these, government has recently formed a Start-up Committee manned to design the policies and procedure to help the non-traditional and conventional entrepreneurs.

These initiatives are new and evolving; hence, they are yet to make any reportable impact in entrepreneurship development in Nepal. **Narottam Aryal** says,

> Nepal's Government is making efforts, but no desired outcomes have been observed so far.

Our study showed that fund dependency for entrepreneurship is high in India and fund-seeking behaviour is predominant in India. In the recent past, several other support initiatives have come up. Shared work space, incubation centres under the smart city projects, start-up clubs with resource sharing are the prominent ones. Interestingly, in India, both Government and private agencies are taking a lot of interest in promoting entrepreneurship. Both have been setting up the necessary infrastructure for science- and technology-based entrepreneurship and also providing theme-specific programmes for providing seed fund and fellowship. Despite a strong ecosystem support, resource limitation is also evident due to the large population. Due to this reason, we also notice completion for accessing financial resources.

Table 11.2 Sources of resource and challenges faced in mobilizing resources

Source of resources				
Individual	Society	Support organizations	Government	Outside country
Bangladesh India Nepal	Bangladesh India	India	Kazakhstan Russia India	Kazakhstan
Challenges in resource mobilization				
Financial issues	Knowledge Gap within Organization	Experience gap	Role model gap	Support system
Bangladesh Nepal India	Kazakhstan Bangladesh Nepal	Kazakhstan	Kazakhstan	Kazakhstan Bangladesh Nepal

In Russia, the Government provides a lot to support and promote social entrepreneurship. This also includes financial support. **Irina Serbina** mentioned,

> The main problem of social entrepreneurs is to identify the need for financial and logistical resources. **School [Government] support them** by educating them about social capital. School also provides mentoring support through its **Mentors' Club**—an informal association of business executives [medium business] and government officials. Club's goal is to **minimize risks** when social enterprises starting.

During the process of data collection and analysis, we understood that often 'resource mobilization' has limited view and relates to financial resource. In this study, our data points, except from Bangladesh (and India), access to financial resources and the thus challenges faced were explained in detail. Here we find the first party and second party views critical in establishing the phenomenon. We report that sources of resource, and their challenges vary significantly from country to country which we present in the Table 11.2. Due to significantly diverse responses from our data points, we are not able to develop any proposition on Resource Mobilization and make somewhat strong recommendation for in-depth probing on this aspect of research. Despite in all cases the respective Governments has initiated programmes in the countries, the effects are not evident. To get deeper insights we submit research questions for future research—what does individual do to mobilize resources?, what are the non-financial resources mobilized by the entrepreneurs and the challenges faced thereof?

11.5.4 Innovation—Technological and Social

In our study, we were exploring and explain country-specific aspects on entrepreneurship and hence we were also keen to study innovation and technology dimensions. Our data point explained the need for '**management, product and service innova-**

tion' in Kazakhstan, and attributed the need to the 'newly emerged market condition'. **Emin Askerov** explained,

> It's only 25 years since the country got its independence and moved from the planned economy to the free market conditions. Most people and companies' mangers have to face new market conditions and change radically the way they think and operate their business. In addition, in 2015, Kazakhstan became a member of WTO, which led to a tougher competition for local companies.

Due to rapidly changing market conditions, globalization and severe competition, enterprises have to improve their product/services and provide a better solutions to the customers. In such situation, 'technological innovation' becomes important and Kazakhstan Government is taking great interest in it. A number of programmes are sponsored by the Government agencies. Special economic zones and special programmes, such as consulting support, workspaces and financial support have been initiated. However, due to inadequate market knowledge, the enterprises also need to work on business models and processes to remain market relevant.

In Bangladesh, the prime influencing factor for innovation is lack of job opportunities, and thus, 'forceful innovation' for sustenance. **Syed Saad Andaleeb** quotes,

> Lack of jobs! Micro-entrepreneurs are forced to innovate. Failure can devastate their livelihoods and survival, hence risk aversion is also high.

It is also important to mention that in Bangladesh, entrepreneurs from well-endowed backgrounds such as construction, pharmaceuticals, garments, software and education innovate more as compared to entrepreneurs with poor background. He, further, mentions,

> Perhaps the most innovation is seen amongst those who come from well-endowed backgrounds, where fear of failure is not that high.

We conclude that in Bangladesh entrepreneurs (poor as well as rich) engage in innovation, though the influencing factors are different. On one hand, for poor micro-entrepreneurs, innovation is 'enforced' with low risk. On the other hand, entrepreneurs with sound financial background are willing to take financial risks of higher magnitude and hence innovate more. Here, the role to supportive agencies (such as Government, NGO or corporate) remain important for the micro-entrepreneurs. On the other hand, because of their rich background, these entrepreneurs are ready to take risks and thus innovate more.

In **Nepal,** all types of innovations—product, process and market—are needed in all sectors—agriculture and natural resources, education, banking and finance, ICT, tourism and health. Under technological innovation, 'process and product innovation' is the most important. Technological innovation has been recognized well by private, Government and education sectors, and the entrepreneurs have been using technology, not only to market their products, but also for promotion and brand building. But, in the larger context, there is no conducive culture for innovation in Nepal. The Government does not provide specific financial resource, and private sector also does not spend much on research and development (R&D).

Russia also realizes the importance of innovation, because it decreases cost and increases efficiency. **Irina Serbina** related 'technological innovation' largely to computerization of business, for example development of electronic databases, the development of a data bank on customers, holding various Internet business operations, negotiations (conferences) using Skype, the use of new computer software for sales through Internet, distribution of electronic advertising messages, data processing with special software, development of online shops, web-shops, promotion sites and advertisement with the help of Internet resources. However, the major impediment in innovation is lack of interest of the social enterprises leaders in the innovation development in Russia.

As far as **India** is concerned, innovation (both technological and social) is booming. Programmes initiated by the Government of India have contributed to creating positive ecosystem for entrepreneurship. It is important to mention about several programmes initiated the Department of Biotechnology and Department of Science and Technology to promote innovation and commercialization support. Biotechnology Industry Research Assistance Council (BIRAC) is one such entity set up by the Department of Biotechnology with a vision '*To stimulate foster and enhance the strategic research and innovation capabilities of the Indian biotech industry, particularly start-ups and SME's, for creation of affordable products addressing the needs of the largest section of society*' (www.birac.nic.in, 19 February 2019). It has initiated various programmes to provide funding and mentoring support to the innovator-entrepreneurs. The 'Atal Innovation Mission' of National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog, Government of India, also aims at promoting a culture of innovation and entrepreneurship (www.niti.gov.in, 19 February 2019). It provides financial support to establish new incubation centres called 'Atal Incubation Centres' (AICs) across various parts of India to nurture innovative start-up businesses to become scalable and sustainable enterprises (ibid). There is increased focus on establishing 'Technology Business Incubators' (TBIs) to initiate technology-led and knowledge-driven enterprises (www.nstedb.com/institutional/tbi.htm, 19 February 2019). TBIs also facilitate speedy commercialization of research outputs. Simultaneously, social innovations are also supported in India which is also a parameter for university ranking. We conclude that there is strong supportive environment for innovators and entrepreneurs available in India wherein the Government's role is significant. The factors influencing innovation and technological innovation support are presented in Table 11.3.

Hence, our study concludes that innovation is critical but not fully established in systems and practices. Due to this reason, we are not making proposition on it. Rather we are listing research questions in future research—is innovation a cultural issue?' Do social enterprises care about innovation?' We need to answer them in country-specific context.

Table 11.3 Factors influencing innovation and technological innovation support

Factors influencing innovation				
Individual—gaps in resources	Individual—adequacy of resources	Individual's perception about innovation	Market-centric policy	Market and competition
Bangladesh (micro)	Bangladesh (business)	Russia	Kazakhstan	Kazakhstan Nepal India
Technological innovation support				
Individual	Society	Other organizations	Government	Market and competition
India, Bangladesh and Russia: self-motivated			Kazakhstan Russia India	

11.5.5 Risk Perception and Mitigation

Now we explore the perception of entrepreneurs on risk and how do they manage risk. Due to absence of open market economy for long years in **Kazakhstan**, there is no history of entrepreneurial journey. Hence, the entrepreneurs less appreciate that failure and uncertainty are the integral parts of an entrepreneurial journey. **Emin Askerov** mentioned,

> Kazakhstan has a very short open market history, so the people of the country don't have a clear understanding of how they should or have to do the business, they don't have a century market. Some of them are the first [*generation*] entrepreneurs in their family history starting from the ancient times. So they have to be courageous enough to do so and to move from a clerk worker path to new unstable and uncertain conditions of an entrepreneur.

DAMU, a governmental organization, provides them financial and non-financial support to the small and medium enterprises in Kazakhstan.

On Bangladesh, we already mentioned about higher risk-taking ability of entrepreneurs from wealthy background as compared to the micro-entrepreneurs. The high risk-taking entrepreneurs are both resourceful and have resources. They use also use social capital to access to resources, sometimes through illegal routes as well. In this way create a favourable environment for themselves and their enterprises. **Syed Saad Andaleeb** explained,

> Mostly 'micro entrepreneurs' do not want to take more risks. There is a small breed that has taken risks and made something out of their initiatives and grown phenomenally in construction, pharmaceuticals, garments, software, education, *etc*. Reasons … They were well-resourced, had the contacts, and/or used corrupt routes. [*For example*] bank loans, which they did not feel obligated to return in many instances or had black money to use in enterprise building. Partly, their financial may have had corrupt roots: collusion with resource centres like banks, regulatory bodies to sidestep barriers, law enforcement, taxation, etc. Hence, fear of failure was somewhat mitigated … secure in a protection syndrome.

Irina Serbina from Russia believes that risk-taking depends on both the personal qualities of the entrepreneur and the economic situation in the country (inflation, natural disasters, etc.). In Russia, Government supports to mitigate their risks. **Irina Serbina** submitted,

> Social Entrepreneurship School as part of its program, has a substantial block associated with the assessment of risks and the definition of mechanisms to minimize them. Each student of the School analyzes the risks of existing business development projects and activities in the conditions of a particular risk. For minimizing risks, we use these mechanisms: distribution of responsibilities between the project parties for its implementation, development of club of social entrepreneurs which includes graduates of Social Entrepreneurship School and. It can be operated as a mutual center. It coordinates primarily with the authorities, and Centre for Social Innovations is responsible for its implementation. We train certain categories of citizens, with following launch of their social enterprises, authorities launch a competitive mechanism to support this business category. For example, while training the leaders of private elderly houses for the elderly and opening of these houses, providing a subsidy ranging from 5 to 10 million rubles per project from the Ministry of Economy of Omsk Region, significantly reduced the financial risks at startup.

On the other hand, Nepalese society is largely risk averse because of such 'culture'. **Narottam Aryal** provides insights on this,

> Entrepreneurs are understood to be risk takers, but unfortunately it seems that entrepreneurs are not willing to take risk in Nepal. This may be attributed to the culture as our culture is Risk Averse for entrepreneurship.

Society considers entrepreneurship as last option after the person fails to get good job, and failure is a taboo in the society. He elaborates,

> Society as a whole sees the youth who gets into entrepreneurship as a failure case, hopeless fellow who could not do anything else or had nor right skills to find the suitable jobs for him or her, so enterprising was the only choice.

However, he also informs that the trend is changing. Nepal is showing a positive trend towards entrepreneurship development. On this he adds,

> Rising trend in people resigning their full-time job and taking up entrepreneurship to pursue it full time and also lots of youth educated and settled abroad are coming back to pursue entrepreneurship in Nepal.

Both financial and non-financial risks, in particular, non-acceptance of the new products or service, are associated with entrepreneurship in Nepal. 'Design Thinking Approach' for product design has helped them overcome to reduce the challenges in product or service acceptance and also in seeking finance. During the initial years, they take support from the family members and friends to access private equity and loans from the financial institutions at a later stage. We have already discussed the modern practices of financing new enterprises that is yet not well developed in Nepal, and in most of the cases, the entrepreneurs depend on traditional financing methods like lenders and banks. Hence, access to finance continues to remain an issue while members from the wealthy families manage to seek finance from banks. As such family and societal dynamics, educational institutes and the Government policies are not fully supportive and conducive for entrepreneurship in Nepal.

Table 11.4 Risk perception and mitigation

Individual	Family	Society	Government	Support system
Bangladesh: well-resourced and corrupt practices	Nepal: failure is taboo	Nepal: failure is taboo	Russia: support provided	India: system is coming up
	India: not supportive	India: not supportive	India: support is coming up	
	Russia: supportive			

In India, too, in most parts of the country, society does not accept entrepreneurship as a preferred career choice. Entrepreneurs in India relate 'risk perception' only to 'financial risks' only. **Satyajit Majumdar** mentioned,

> Entrepreneurship is linked negatively with family status in India. Most of the entrepreneurs face challenges mainly from their family members.

However, this trend is fast changing in India. Now Indian youths take pride in pursuing entrepreneurship. Also, current entrepreneurship-supportive ecosystem of India it to a great extent attributes to this transformation.

We again find and explain the country-specific context variables to take our discussion forward. For example, in Nepal and India, culture is critical in explaining risk-taking behaviour of entrepreneurs, whereas lack of exposure to entrepreneurial journey is significant in Kazakhstan. On the other hand, important aspects are financial background for the entrepreneurs of Bangladesh and 'personal qualities and economic condition of the country' Russian entrepreneurs. Summary of risk perception and mitigation details is presented in Table 11.4. We also report country-specific contextual factors in Fig. 11.3: Entrepreneurs as Risk-Takers. Thus, we propose,

Proposition 3 *Country-specific contexts such as culture, financial background of the entrepreneurs, exposure to entrepreneur's life and entrepreneurial journey, economic condition of the country etc., influence the risk-taking ability of the entrepreneurs.*

Our study concludes that the support system to deal with risk is generally not strong enough in countries of our data points. On this we propose research question 'Whether entrepreneurs are risk-takers or mangers?' to find deeper insights on risk-taking behaviour and process.

11.6 Conclusion

Entrepreneurship as a process has been an interesting subject for research for several years. Teachers, research scholars and practitioners are always curious to know and establish the motivation and reason of enterprise launching process which could be smooth and manageable within known and varied settings. Context is one such important factor which has substantial impact on successful and new enterprises

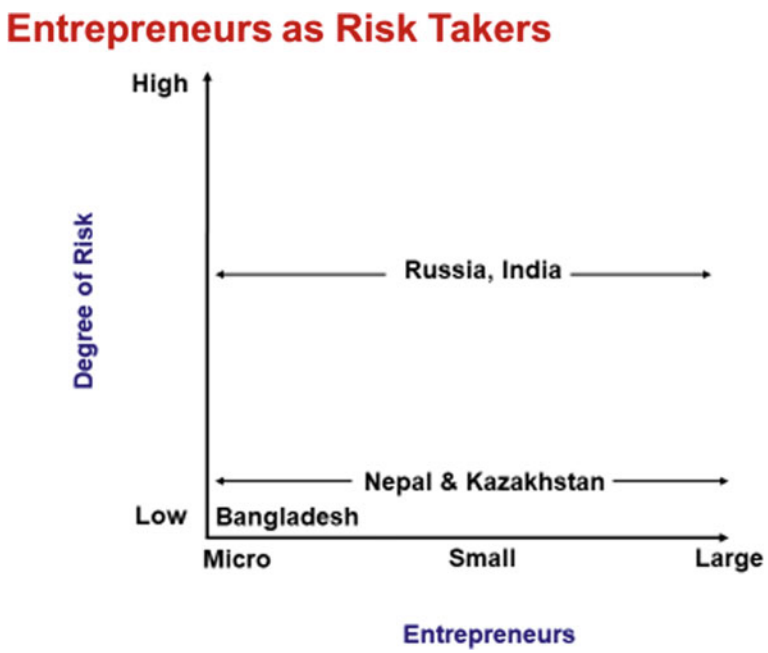

Fig. 11.3 Entrepreneurs as risk-takers

launch (Welter 2011). Our study while taking view of many contexts relevant to entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship focused on Nation as a context and phenomenon. We are aware about seemingly synonymous yet different concepts of 'Nation' and 'State' and have carefully chosen Nation as context to know about influence on entrepreneurship opportunity.

We have chosen 'Narrative Perspective' with individual experts as data points from different countries (Chamberlain 1990) for 'Phenomenological Meditation' to unfold the 'perception' and to explain what and how the countries in discussion are relevant context to the entrepreneurs from the respective countries. Though the interviews were guided by the relevant themes of entrepreneurial opportunity, we have framed our discussion with our data points in such a way that the multi-dimension and multi-disciplinarily aspects of entrepreneurship are adequately captured. The data points were motivated to provide views based on their experiences as well as beyond their roles on which they have adequate information and substantial understanding. We have invited them all at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India, to conclude and participate in a discussion in deriving meanings out of their data. They were allowed to exchange among themselves the ideas and thoughts during and before the discussion to clarify to us and to draw meaningful conclusions on their perceptions on the subject. In this process, we ourselves being educators, mentors and consultants also participated to provide information on Indian context. We took up the roles of data and perception providers as well as facilitator of the study.

The 'need' to search or understand 'opportunity' is guided by the youth (population) seeking livelihood, employment and freedom in work. This, in one hand, is driven by individuals and groups who had the privilege of modern education and the capability of creative imagination on freedom of work. On the other hand, youth facing poverty and absence of job opportunity that chose entrepreneurship as the feasible option are also included in the discussion. Government or the State played positive, reinforcing or neutral roles.

We submit explanation on other influencing factors of opportunity identification and selection. Individual or self is one such important factor wherein the person concerned provide himself/herself triggers because of freedom of thought to act independently (self-efficacy) or to work for others (altruism). Support extended by the Government with major resources or from the non-governmental organizations, i.e. social development or business centric small and large organizations are also the perceived sources of entrepreneurial opportunity for the incumbent entrepreneurs.

Resource is critical in realization of opportunity. This is also one of the most discussed subjects in entrepreneurship literature. Source of resource vary depending on the socio-economic status of the entrepreneurs. If the individual is capable enough he/she takes up education and training and sources finance from the family and friends. If not, the other direct sources available from the Government are explored. Sometime entrepreneurs use both in combination, taking advantage of their social status. Indirect support from the Government such as liberal policies is also important indirect resource for the entrepreneurs to build up the cases for enterprises. Hence, Government's role is emphasized again in providing the enabling environment. Maturity and the position in the learning curve of the individual entrepreneur directly relates to the perception of challenge faced by them.

The other dimension of entrepreneurship is 'innovation' submitted to our data points to explain whether and how is that managed in the respective context. In almost all the cases, 'market' is the major driver of innovation wherein the entrepreneurs innovate to align with the structure or to design and offer innovative products and/or processes. Technology is the critical in innovation which is majorly supported by the Governments and also by the individuals and organizations in some cases.

Risk-taking and managing ability of entrepreneurs have wider explanations which mostly associate with financial challenges. In India, it also relates to social and family value misalignment. Individual's perception and hence ability to manage are critical in which they use legal to illegal means.

Our study makes two major contributions in theorizing the aspects of nation as a context in the literature of opportunity identification/provision in entrepreneurship and also on the process of Phenomenology as a Research Methodology with five Nations—India, Nepal, Kazakhstan, Bangladesh and Russia. On theory building, we have taken inspiration from Carlile and Christensen (2005) and Christensen (2006).

Our study is about perspective building and hence opens up agenda in the form of Propositions for future research in the area of 'context in entrepreneurship'. We have taken a position agreeing that context influences perception of opportunity and the decision in opportunity selection. While we did not want to claim generalization of any kind, we designed our study to include experts from South Asian and

Central Asian socio-cultural settings. We are aware that the Western ideology on entrepreneurship, innovation and risk are significantly different and hence would lead to different meanings.

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Chapter 12
Social Innovations and Access to Technology and Extension Services for SmallHolder Farmers: Insights from Three Cases

Edakkandi Meethal Reji and Samapti Guha

Abstract It is a paradox that despite having a huge market and favourable price for most of the agricultural products, the farmers live in poverty. This chapter investigates the role of social innovations in technology and extension services for small and marginal farmers in India. Drawing insights from three cases this chapter demonstrates that small and marginal farming can be profitable and productive if the farmers are provided with access to quality extension services and market linkage. Grass roots innovations are vital for providing these cost-effective services.

Keywords Social innovation · Extension services · Technology · Farmers · India

12.1 Introduction

Agriculture continues to be an important component of Indian economy. It contributes to 17% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and also provides livelihoods for more than 60% of rural population. Its role in food and nutritional security is undebatable. Food-grain production has reached all-time high with 264 million MT. Despite all these facts, Indian agriculture falls behind in several respects including low growth rate and declining productivity. Besides, Indian agriculture is attaining abysmally small-scale status. The average landholding has come down to 1.02 ha. There are over 90 million farm households in India. Most of them are poor. Small and marginal farmers account for 50% of landholding and also contribute to half of the gross value added in agriculture. Indian agriculture is less technology-intensive leading to low productivity and low volume of production. It is also characterized by extensive focus on food-grain production and neglect of all other crops including millets, pulses, oilseeds, fruit and vegetable and other cash crops. Most of the valuable

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resources including most fertile land, irrigation, fertilizer and subsidies are channelled to food-grain production. The high-value crops such as fruit and vegetable, pulses and oilseeds receive little attention.

The major challenges of agriculture in India are high input costs for fertilizers, seeds and pesticides coupled with decline in productivity and price instability (Deshpande et al. 2004). The costs of cultivation for all major crops had increased in multiples. For example, the cost of cultivation of paddy has increased from Rs. 20,600 per hectare in 2003–04 to Rs. 47657 per hectare in 2012–13. The low growth rate and productivity decline remain another challenge. The growth in agriculture stood at 3.8% in 2017–18. The agriculture yields per hectare are among the lowest in India. For example, the productivity of rice is 3952 kg/hectare in India, while China produces almost double (6661 kg/ha). Similarly, maize production is 5372 kg per hectare in India and the USA produces 8858 kg per hectare (Gautam 2016). The low productivity is attributed to several factors including marginal holding, unusual weather shocks, underdeveloped and poorly functioning markets (Gautam 2016; Gopalakrishnan and Selvaraj, 2014; Sen 2016). Crop failures due to monsoon variability and drought conditions coupled with declining farm income and mounting debt default have led to agrarian crisis in several parts of the country (Vyas 2004).

Indian agriculture is a case in policy failure also. The policy failures can be seen in the area of input and extension services, credit and market access. Farmers, especially marginal and small farmers, mostly depend on traditional sources for critical inputs and extension services. Market access is challenging to small and marginal farmers. The small volume of production is a challenge for aggregation—a domain of numerous middlemen and multitude of malpractices. The current market system is also characterized by inefficient supply chains involving large number of middlemen and low-price realization for the farmers. There is less value addition and the consumers pay higher price. Despite several legislative measures including regulated markets and agricultural price policies, small and marginal farmers seldom gain out of it. It is a paradox that despite having a huge market and favourable price for most of the agricultural products, the farmers live in poverty. They are forced to leave agriculture and search for alternative livelihoods. The young generation is also moving out of agriculture. This will have an adverse impact on food production and food security.

One of the most challenging issues in Indian agriculture is the inefficiency in the supply chains. As the current market system is dominated by numerous intermediaries and associated malpractices, most of the benefits are appropriated by these intermediaries. In addition, a large quantity of agriculture products is wasted. Wastage is reported in all stages of supply chains including post-harvest handling, transportation, cold storage, processing, trading and retailing. Around 21 million tonnes of wheat is wasted annually. Also, over 40% of fruit and vegetable production is wasted between production and consumption. It is important that the wastages in supply chains are minimized. This requires interventions in post-harvest handling of agricultural products and bringing efficiency in supply chains and market linkage.

Indian agriculture sector is witnessing a structural transformation over the past decade. These are driven by entry of corporate farming, fragmentation of agriculture

holding and emergence of organized food retailing (Gulati 2009; Dev 2009). There are views that contemporary debates in Indian agriculture need to shift from traditional focus towards policies, creating enabling environment and fostering profitable and sustained agriculture (Gautam 2016). Several reforms have been initiated including removal of tariff and quota restrictions, reduction/removal of subsidies, foreign direct investment, amendment in regulations and public–private partnership in agriculture. As a result, there are increasing interest in corporate sector in agriculture by infusing new technologies, accessing new markets and integration of agriculture with organized retailing (Gulati 2009). Over the years, contract farming is emerging as a tool for the integration of agriculture with modern market. However, recent studies inform more failures than success in contract farming in India (Sharma 2016; Kumar 2006).

Amidst these, it is interesting to see several farmer-led innovations in Indian agriculture. These include grass roots initiatives such as farmer co-operatives, self-help groups, producer organizations and service collectives for credit, inputs and marketing. These initiatives focus on increasing farm productivity and raising farm income through a series of interventions including facilitating access to credit, inputs, extension services, technology and also linking small producers with markets. Although service collectives were relatively successful, the production collectives have achieved only limited scale and success. For example, the state-led group farming emerged as a potential social innovation in the 1960s and 1970s has proved to be unsuccessful in India. The failure of these innovations were attributed to several factors including top-down approach in decision making, coerced formation and resistance from large landholders (Agarwal 2010). Unlike the state-led top-down production collectivizes, the emerging grass roots initiatives involve several innovative practices in mobilization of farmers and technological innovations; most of them are led by progressive farmers, social entrepreneurs and informal collectivities including self-help groups and farmer producer organizations. In this context, this chapter investigates the question: 'can grass roots social innovations improve access to technology and extension services for small and marginal farmers in India?'

12.2 Issues Related to Technology and Extension Services

Followed by a massive shortage of food grains in the 1960s, India has adopted an agriculture policy (green revolution) with emphasis on technology, seed, water and fertilizer to boost the food-grain production. However, even after five decades, the technology adoption at all stages including farming, post-harvest and marketing of products is at a very low pace in the country. For example, the extent of mechanization for wheat and paddy cultivation, two major crops is only 40% in ploughing, 29% in seeding and planting, 34% in plant protection and 37% in irrigation (Grant Thornton/FICCI 2015). Whereas China has attained significant farm mechanisation—76% in ploughing and 46% in harvesting. Interestingly, tractors account for the higher share in farm mechanisation in India, around 66% in 2013(ibid.). The

tractor ownership has increased to one in 30 acres from one in 150 acres in the 1970s. It is likely that only farmers with large holdings own tractors. The availability of financing options and collateral requirements also limit the tractor ownership for smallholdings. Not only that, a tractor requires 1000 h of work for economy of use, whereas the tilling work for a farm size of two hectares requires only 100 h which makes tractor ownership uneconomic for small and marginal farmers.

Farm mechanization can provide a significant level of input savings including seeds, fertilizers and a rise in cropping intensity (Grant Thornton/FICCI 2015). But this is not the case of many of the small and marginal farmers that constitute close to 80% of farm holding in India. Several state governments had tried to address this issue by establishing custom hiring centres. For example, the state of Punjab has introduced Agro Service Centre with an objective of reducing capital investment by the establishment of custom hiring centres. The state of Madhya Pradesh has introduced a scheme for farm mechanization (Yantradoot) in 2009 by establishing mission villages across 25 districts that enable the farmers to hire tractor, power tiller and harvesters at nominal interest rate. Similar schemes had introduced in other state such as Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Odisha. Although these schemes had helped the small and marginal farmers for reducing the capital investment through rental services and increase in farm productivity, these schemes had only limited outreach.

India has adopted an irrigation system that comprises of rain-fed, canal irrigation, and groundwater exploitation. However, Indian agriculture is largely monsoon-dependent. India receives about 1127 mm rainfall annually. But the rainfall patterns vary from 2 to 4 inches in Rajasthan, 40–60 inches in Tamil Nadu and 50–100 inches in the Himalayan region (Gandhi 2018). The canal irrigation underwent rapid expansion with the construction of big dams. India has around 380 major dams. Despite these, only 50% of India's farm holdings do have any sort of irrigation. The canal irrigation is on decline. It is faced with unauthorised appropriation of water. The area under canal irrigation has declined by 2.4 million hectares between 1996 and 2002, while groundwater wells had increased their share to 2.8 million hectares (Shah 2010). The traditional irrigation systems such as Warabandi (Haryana), Guhai (Gujarat) and Tanks (Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh) have also relinquished. For example, the southern states have witnessed over 60% decline in tank irrigation. In Gujarat, the traditional Guhai irrigation system that can provide water up to five times a year has been disappeared and in its place, irrigation wells have taken precedence (Shah 2010). The canal irrigation is used for recharging these wells. Bulk of India's 40 million hectares of new irrigation has come primarily from tube wells and private lift irrigation. Farmers prefer such irrigation systems because of cost-effectiveness and short gestation period. An important fall out of the proliferation of tube wells is the increasing groundwater stress. The average annual per capita availability of water in the country has declined from 1816 m^3 in 2001–1545 m^3 in 2011(GoI 2015). Groundwater constitutes almost 80% of total water usage in the country. Besides, nearly 30% of urban water supply and 70% of rural water supply comes from groundwater (Singh 2015). Nearly 60% of all districts in the country have issues related to groundwater availability. Most parts of the country are water-stressed. In Punjab, 80% of blocks are water-stressed, in Rajasthan (71%), and in Haryana (61%).

Paradoxically, the farmers adopt high water-intensive crops such as sugarcane, rice and wheat even in dry and arid regions—a result of policy-induced agriculture.

A major policy prescription for addressing the productivity issues in Indian agriculture is the use of fertilizers and pesticides. In India, the soil type varies across agro-climatic regions. The soil fertility also varies on account of deficiency in nitrogen, phosphorous, potash and other micro-nutrients. Farmers view (were told) urea as one-stop solution to all soil fertility issues, thus leading to over-consumption. In most part of the country, farmers use 10–15 times of recommended quantity. This has led to soil degradation and further decline of soil fertility and decline in yield. For example, crop yield per kg of fertilizer has declined from 13 kg in the 1970s to 4 kg in 2010 (Bera 2015). Studies show that while yield enhancement from nitrogen-rich fertilizers can be a short-term gain, the long-term implications are detrimental (Tiwari 2001).

A weak link in India's agriculture is the extension services (Gulati et al. 2018). Every year in India, pests and diseases eat away on an average 15–25% of food produced by the farmers. The use of crop protection measures can increase crop productivity by 25–50% (FICCI 2016). Only 25–30% of the farmers have any knowledge about agrochemicals and their benefits, and right dosage and frequency (Grant Thornton/FICCI 2015). Pesticides are proved harmful to natural pest control agents, wildlife, bees, water resources and significant impact on environment and human health (Carson 1962/2002).

12.3 Methodology

The present study is an exploratory study, and it has adopted descriptive design. We have adopted multiple case study approach where the agro-entrepreneur is the unit of analysis. The aim of this study is to understand how has agro-entrepreneurs attempted to change the agriculture sector by adopting innovative entrepreneurial methods. Three cases are considered to study the same. Purposefully, we have chosen three cases as these entrepreneurs have brought significant social change through their interventions. To bring the heterogeneity in the study, we have chosen one agro-expert who is part of the local governance system and transformed the village economy. Two of them are social entrepreneurs. One of them is directly working in the area of technology and quality extension services to improve the production and another one is connecting the small and marginal farmers to the agriculture supply value chain and providing marketing solutions to these farmers. To collect the data, in-depth interview method was adopted and guided checklist was used as a tool for data collection. After the interviews, data were transcribed and thematic analysis was used for data analysis.

12.4 Description of Cases

Magasool

Access to technology and quality extension services is one of the most important challenges of small and marginal farmers. The current systems of government-led technology and extension services proved ineffective to meet the requirements of small and marginal farmers. In the absence of access to these services, farmers adopt traditional agricultural practices leading to excessive use of purchased inputs including fertilizers and pesticides. The net result is increasing the cost of cultivation and declining agriculture productivity and decline of soil health. As a result, farming becomes unprofitable and most farmers leave agriculture and migrate to nearby cities and towns in search of livelihood. In Tamil Nadu, around 50% of workforce is in agriculture. The share of agriculture in GDP has come down to less than 14%. Land holdings are highly fragmented. Average annual income of small farming household is only INR 40,000; which translates to INR 30 per person in a day. This means agriculture is neither a sustainable practice nor a source of livelihood. This will have a significant adverse impact on food-grain production and food security of the poor.

This is the context in which Magasool works with the small and marginal farmers in Tamil Nadu. Magasool means yield in Tamil language. Magasool works with young farmers by educating and motivating them to adopt scientific agricultural practices. It provides training on modern cultivation practices, operating farm machineries, technical supports and extension services. Average land holding of the farmers is 2.5 acres and the highest is 4 acres. Among landless labourers, 40% are practicing sharecropping. Farmers grow paddy in two to three seasons in a year. It mobilizes the farmers through these young farmers by organizing village-level meeting and sharing their experience in adopting scientific practices in agriculture. Presently, Magasool provides services such as soil testing, soil nutrient management, access to farm machineries and vermicomposting. The objective is to reduce the cost of cultivation and increasing farm productivity and making agriculture profitable. Magasool has started supporting the young farmers in producing organic manure with vermicomposting. At present, four such units are in operation. Apart from meeting, the requirements of own farms, these units also provide entrepreneurial opportunities to these farmers to meet the demand of other fellow farmers. It has introduced mechanized paddy transplanter and tractors for tilling the land, the farmers can avail these services on payment of modest fee. These services are selected from interventions that have been scientifically demonstrated to be successful in laboratory settings. These interventions are then contextualized and tested in experimental farms for local validation. On an average, farmers availing these services reported a yield increase of 10–20%, translating into increased incomes of Rs. 2500–Rs. 5000 per acre. It also helps them reduce cost of cultivation as a result of using scientific farm advisory services including soil testing, micro-nutrient management and saving on farm labour due to farm mechanization. This motivates other farmers to adopt similar practices in their farms. Although this word of mouth publicity is effective, it is at a slow pace. Starting with two young farmers in 2012 in helping them to access

farm-based services, Magasool has expanded its reach to more than 1000 farmers in 60 villages in four paddy-cultivating districts in Tamil Nadu. It envisages reaching out to over one million farmers over the next five years.

Ekgaon

Ekgaon works with small and marginal farmers providing customized farm advisory services and also integrating the small farmers to modern supply chains through mobile technologies. It has created a mobile-based technology platform 'one village one world network', through which the farmers can subscribe and access to information on a range of services including weather information, crop management, soil nutrient management and market information. For the last 14 years, Ekgaon is working in collaboration with NGOs, Farmer Producer Organizations, and Co-operatives for creating a technology platform for providing access to information on micro-financial services and customized farm-based advisory services to the farmers. They met with several failures due to slow technology adoption in rural areas. With the increased penetration of mobile phones in rural areas, Ekgaon has developed a mobile-based application framework to provide a range of information services to the farmers. Using this platform, Ekgaon provides 14 farm-based advisory services including crop management, disease management, micro-nutrient management and price information. The farmers subscribe to these for a subscription fee of Rs. 500 in a year for three seasons. Given that India has the world's second largest smartphone market, with 87 million rural mobile internet users, if rightly built, the mobile-based technology apps could change the face of Indian agriculture.

Ekgaon works with a network of village-level and cluster-level aggregators for reaching out to the farmers. The farmers are mobilized through the village-level aggregators who have direct contact with the farmers. They motivate the farmers to subscribe to the technology platform. The village-level aggregators also collect the farm produces directly from the farmers and perform initial grading and standardization and supply these products to the cluster-level warehouse aggregators. The village-level aggregators receive one to two per cent commission for their service. They also pay the mandi tax of 2% which is collected from the farmers.

Ekgaon has established two models for marketing the products. These include a bulk model in which the products are sold to the large food retailers such as BigBazar, Reliance, and Nilgiris. The second model involves retail sales using its technology platform. However, the sales through the first model are very less as the large retailers offer only less margin and fix their procurement price based on the local market price. This offers very little margin to meet the aggregation and logistics charges. Hence, more attention is given to the retail sales using the e-platform. They also use other e-platforms such as Amazon, Snapdeal and also small retail stores in Delhi and Gurgaon. It deals with a variety of products including millets, raw flax seeds, horsegram, black pepper, henna powder, muleithi powder, amla and a variety of herbs and spices products. All these products are beautifully packed with detailed information about the products including nutritional values and health benefits. The products are moderately priced to attract the customers. The products are branded as healthy, organic and naturally grown products. These products are made available

at the doorsteps based on the customer order. Over the last two-to-three years, this platform has created a customer base of 2000 urban consumers out of which 500 are regular.

Ekgaon offers only the local market price to the farmers as it believes that a higher price to the farmers will disrupt the local market. Emphasis is on motivating the farmers to adopt scientific cultivation practices so that they could significantly reduce the cost of cultivation and gain through improved productivity. Ekgaon also motivates farmers to shift to high-value crops that offer better prices. As a result, several paddy growers have adopted SRI method realizing 15–20% increase in the yield. Apart from farm advisory services, Ekgaon also motivates the children of the farmers to set up agro-based enterprises for producing value-added products. Interestingly, most of the farmers, Ekgaon works with are women farmers (Nearly 60%) as most of the male members of the family are migrated to nearby cities and town in search of jobs. Ekgaon considers farmers as partners in their business. The farmers also gain through sharing of bonus based on their business with them. Along with the customized farm advisory services through its 'One village One World Network', Ekgaon also integrates the farmers to the modern supply chains through its e-platform, 'direct from farm'. Over the past three years, around 20,000 farmers have subscribed to these services at present, out of which 95% of them are small and marginal farmers with landholding below two acres. Nearly 1500 farmers use the e-platform to sell their products.

Hiware Bazar

Hiware Bazar is a village in Ahmednagar district in Maharashtra. The village has 300 households and 1300 population, most of them belong to the upper caste Maratha community and few Scheduled Castes and Muslim community. The total land area of this village is 976 ha, out of which 730 ha are farming land; 240 ha forest land, and the rest common land. The landholding varies between less than one acre to more than 50 acres: nearly 20% of landholding is up to 5 acres, 40% in between 10 and 25 acres; 30% in between 25 and 50 acres and 10% more than 50 acres. The main occupation of the villagers is farming. Few are employed in government services like school teachers, defence service, and micro-businesses like dairy and food processing. Farmers cultivate both Kharif and Rabi crops. There is no practice of sharecropping, but this village attracts agriculture labourers from Thane, Yavatmal and Buldana districts. The major corps in the village is mung, tur, bajra, jowar, onion, potato, brinjal, tomato, peas and wheat. The village has one primary school, a secondary school and also a primary health centre with 20 beds, a primary agriculture credit society and a branch of commercial bank. The village also has a veterinary clinic and a dairy co-operative society. In 2009, an electricity substation was built in this village.

Before 1990, this village was a drought-prone area. The average rainfall was 200–400 mm in a year. Only once in 10 years, this village receives more than 400 mm of rainfall. There were severe droughts in 1972, 1978–79 and 1981–82 leading to high level of migration to nearby cities. The village was also facing several social problems such as illicit liquor production, illiteracy, crime and acute poverty. In fact,

this village was known for punishment transfer of government servants. There were incidences of frequent violence and death also. Things started to change when Mr. Popatrao Pawar took over the charge of the Sarpanch in 1989. Being the only Post Graduate from this village, he realized that the condition of this village over the past 12 years of his absence from the village has become worse to worst. After being elected as the Sarpanch of the village, he explored various government schemes to initiate development works with active involvement of the people. Realizing that one of the major problems of this village was water scarcity, in 1993, he connected the grama sabha to the forest department for implementation of Joint Forest Management scheme. This programme helped to regenerate almost 70 ha of forest land with the involvement of people. The success of this initiative got wide-spread media attention in 1994. It was also the year; the Government of Maharashtra has announced the Model Village Scheme under which NGOs will be encouraged to implement the project. Under the leadership of Mr Popatrao, an NGO, Yashawnt Agri-Watershed Development Trust, was set up to apply for this scheme. This NGO received support to implement the model village project in 1994–95.

A major initiative under this scheme was strengthening of Grama Sabha with active participation of the people and scouting resources through linkages with various government schemes. Mr. Popatrao mentioned that no corporate funding was used for the development of the village since he believes that although corporate funding could create one or two successful cases, for creating a movement, people's participation and continued government support is essential. Government could do better since it has more resources both finance and human. Hence, the strategy is to converge all government schemes for mobilizing the resources. In 1994–95, Mr. Popatrao availed the support under Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme for construction of wells and toilets in the village. The village has achieved 100% toilets coverage in all households in 1994–95.

The first Grama Sabha meeting was held in 1990. The objective was to identify and prioritize the village development needs. A need-based planning was adopted. Initial activities were confined to cleaning of village, construction of village roads, wells and toilets in all households. Later, for conserving the water resources, a Watershed Development approach was initiated. At present, this village has three micro-watersheds. As a result, there is considerable improvement in the water table. Now, the water table has reached at the level of 30–40 feet which was 120 feet before 1990. Every year, after the rainy season, a water-audit process is taken up. Women and school children conduct this audit. The report of water audit is presented in the Grama Sabha, and plan for water distribution is agreed upon. Depending on the availability of water, the farmers choose appropriate crops to be grown in that season. The village assembly decided to ban more water-consuming crops such as sugarcane and banana. Farmers also adopt more water-conserving practices in agriculture. For example, more than 70% of the farmers have adopted drip irrigation system and the rest flow irrigation. There is a ban on tube wells for irrigation purpose. The farmers keep cattle including cow, buffalo and goat. The village also has a seed bank and agricultural nursery. Each household is cultivating at least five varieties of fruit meeting the nutritional requirement of the household. The village is well connected

with the markets; the nearest market is Ahmednagar, 16 km away from the village. The farmers also market their products direct to consumers. The future plan is to develop a village brand and a mall in the village.

The Grama Sabha has adopted the following seven resolutions for the development of the village: ban on open grazing, felling of trees, liquor; tube wells for irrigation purposes and open defecation; compulsory shramadan and adoption of family planning. Mr. Popatrao is now the President of the Maharashtra Model Village Scheme. A training institute is under construction in this village for providing training for the functionaries of the model villages in Maharashtra. Under this scheme, three-day training including one-day field training is conducted for the functionaries of the model village. In the last two decades, there is remarkable social and economic progress in this village. The village has adequate infrastructure facilities including village roads, housing, schools, primary health centre, primary agriculture credit society and village dairy co-operative society. A Grama Panchayat office cum training centre has been set up. Access to education and health has been improved. There is a sharp reduction in poverty. At present, around 90% of the households are above poverty line (APL). Most families have achieved middle-income status.

12.5 Analysis and Discussion

Geographical coverage, target groups and issues

These cases are drawn from four states. Magasool works in seven districts in Tamil Nadu; Ekgaon in several districts in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Haryana; Hiware Bazaar is located in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra. All of these states come under different agro-climatic conditions and present varying problems to agriculture. These include water scarcity, drought, floods, climatic variation, inadequate access to inputs and extension services, low productivity, labour availability, inefficient supply chains and access to markets. Agriculture sector in these states is almost stagnant over the past decades. In addition, these states are characterized by agrarian distress, due to frequent crop failures, mounting debt burden, poverty, farmer's suicide and migration. As landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers as a group accounts for a substantial portion of rural poor, the stagnant agriculture sector causes substantial worries to the rural poor affecting their livelihood. Recent data from National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) show that the income of an average farm household is only Rs. 6,400 in a month (NSSO 2013). This is grossly inadequate to meet the consumption demand. Only households with over one hectares make more than what they spent. This leaves half of the farm households in debt. On an average debt of farm household amounts to Rs. 47,000. Recent studies also show that the continued water scarcity caused by frequent monsoon failures and climate variation coupled with failures in extension services and market access is significantly contributing to decline in gross cropped area, yield of major food crops in India. In this context, the initiatives presented in three cases assume

greater significance. These cases present feasible solutions to varying issues facing small and marginal farmers in respective states. While, Magasool and Ekgaon work with small and marginal farmers to access customized agro-technical services, the initiatives in Hiware Bazar focuses on rainwater harvesting and conservation of natural resources through watershed approach. A common thread in all these cases is the entrepreneurial approach and challenging the status quo while addressing the most critical local issues in agriculture. Interestingly, the initiative in Hiware Bazar is led by a village panchayat under the leadership of a sarpanch and the founders of Magasool and Ekgaon are young professionals with significant experience in industry as well as agriculture sector. All of these aim to transform the current state of agriculture to more productive and profitable and attracting young people to take up agriculture as a profession.

Innovation

All of these cases involve significant innovations both in the mobilization of farmers and delivery of services. These innovations involve farmer-led extension services, grass root leadership development, use of low-cost agricultural technologies and local resources, and conservation of natural resources. Magasool creates a network of young people motivated to take up agriculture as a career. Its mobilization strategy is anchored in developing leadership at the grass root level. It identifies young people and motivates them to adopt scientific agriculture practices. These young people become central to their mobilizing strategy by sharing their experience with other young people through organizing village-level meetings and encouraging them to visit their fields. This attracts others to take up agriculture. Interestingly, most of the farmers associated with Magasool are below 40 years and the landholding varies from one to four acres. Around 40% of the farmers associated with them are landless agriculture labourers. Anchored on local leadership, the agro-technology service model developed by Magasool provides customized farm advisory services and also organize training programme on scientific agriculture. These include training on operation of farm machineries; crop management, production of organic manure and adoption of modern cultivation practices such as Systems of Rice Intensification (SRI). Over the past three years, all the farmers working with Magasool has shifted to SRI method. The focus is to reduce cost of cultivation and increasing productivity. It also trains the farmers in preparation of seed beds and mechanized transplantation on cost-sharing basis.

Similar to Magasool, Ekgaon also focuses its activities on providing a range of customized farm advisory services. While Magasool works directly with the farmers, Ekgaon is leveraging on mobile-based technology for providing access to a range of customized services to the farmers through a network of farmers, village-level aggregators and cluster-level warehouse aggregators. Through its ‘one village one world network’, it encourages the farmers to subscribe to their network and avail a range of customized services including soil testing, nutrient management, weather information and market price. It reaches out to farmers through the village-level aggregators, selected from the respective villages and familiar with the local condition and good connections with the farmers. Along with motivating the farmers to avail

the services through subscription to their technology platform, they also act as contact points for direct procurement of the farm produce from the farmers. They receive commission based on the number of people subscribed to the network and also the quantity of produce procured from the farmers. Apart from providing access to a variety of farm advisory services, Ekgaon also integrates the farmers to modern supply chains through its e-platform, 'direct from farm'. Given the current level of penetration of mobile phones and internet connectivity in rural areas, this platform could provide customized farm advisory services at a very low cost. It costs only Rs. 150 for a farmer in an agriculture season. Interestingly, around 40% of the farmers subscribed to their network are women farmers who cultivate in less than two acres. There is an influx of mobile-based technologies in recent years. Not all mobile app technologies are useful to the farmers. Although the mobile apps are useful in access to information to the farmers and motivate them to adopt these practices in a short run, in order to make a sustained impact, these information need to be customized based on the types of farmers, nature of the crops, soil condition, climatic variation and other local-specific conditions. The farmers are also needed to be integrated with the supply chains. It is in this way the technology platform of Ekgaon makes a difference.

The initiative in Hiware bazaar is built on innovative practices for water conservation through watershed approach and integrating the village plans with various government departments for mobilization of resources. People's participation is integral in the works of Hiware. It leverages on the strength of Grama Sabha in mobilizing the people and resources for the implementation of integrated development plan for the village. The village council agrees upon certain best practices including ban on felling of trees, ban on high water-intensive crops such as banana and sugarcane and compulsory shramadan. It is one of the oldest initiatives among all the cases. Starting from 1990, it has achieved significant progress in village transformation through the emphasis of people's participation and watershed approach. It has become a model and has been incorporated in the State-led model village programmes in Maharashtra. It has popularized water literacy water audit in the villages. A water audit is conducted immediately after the monsoon, through which the village council assesses the water availability and agrees on the priority of water use. Highest priority is given to drinking water followed by agricultural purposes. Using this innovative method, the village has transformed into a water sufficient village over the last couple of years with significant improvement in water table.

Access to technology and extension services

Interestingly, all these cases demonstrate reasonable outreach and technology adoption. Magasool is in operation since 2012. Starting with two farmers, between 2012 and 2016, it has expanded its operation in seven districts across 60 villages in Tamil Nadu. It has reached out to over 1000 farmers including 500 landless agriculture labourers; around 40% of them are women. Similarly, Ekgaon is in operation in several states including Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana. It has reached out to more than 20,000 farmers out of which 95% of them are marginal and small farmers. And, the initiative in Hiware Bazar has reached out to nearly 1,300 farmers

and has also influenced several other villages to adopt their practices across the country. It is worth noting that all these programmes have shown reasonable progress in scaling up and also replicable in similar geographies and contexts. Magasool wanted to reach out to over one million farmers over the next five years. Ekgaon aspires to reach out to over 10 million farmers across several states.

These cases show varying paces of technology adoption. For example, in the case of Hiware Bazar and Magasool, the pace of technology adoption is very slow. It requires that the farmers need to be convinced to adopt these practices. Hence, the demonstration of successful cases of technology and learning from them is very critical. Hiware Bazar is successful in creating a model. It took more than two decades to build this model and its potential for village transformation by adopting watershed approach. Ekgaon and Magasool have also achieved reasonable success in demonstrating that marginal and small farmers could access a variety of advisory services in a cost-effective manner. Hence, it is clear that the effectiveness of technology and willingness to participate in the programme is critical in outreach and scale up these models. Recent studies show varying patterns of the pace of technology adoption and sustainable agricultural practices among small and marginal farmers. For example, *Bt Cotton* has showed one of the fastest growth since it had introduced in India in 2002 (Gulati and Ganguly 2010 at the same time, small-scale irrigation technologies show a very slow progress across the country (Polak 2009). A range of factors including local participation, affordability, local resources and cost considerations, gender and cultural practices and risks could affect the technology adoption. A study by World Bank shows that participation enables to boost the determination of users to improve the accomplishments (World Bank 2012). Most importantly, technology packages need to relate to socio-economic environment and farming conditions. It is not the effectiveness of the technology per se that determines the technology adoption at the farm level; rather diverse stakeholders play a crucial role in mediating the process of technology adoption.

Interestingly, these cases demonstrate that agricultural innovations diffuse through a network of stakeholders rather than being freely available. Hence building partnership and network of farmers, technology and extension service providers and local institutions are imperative for fast technology adoption. All these cases work in partnership with multiple stakeholders including farmers, farmer producer organizations, self-help groups, microfinance providers and local institutions such as agriculture office, KVK and village panchayats. The initiatives at Hiware Bazar are spearheaded by village panchayat. Its strategy is to bring convergence through linking the farmers to various government departments including forestry, agriculture, animal husbandry and environment and soil conservation. Similarly, anchored on the village leadership, the agro-technology service model created by Magasool also links the farmers to various agencies such as agriculture office, veterinary office, extension departments and universities so that the farmers can avail various packages and schemes. Ekgaon also partners with various agencies including farmer producer organization, co-operative, self-help groups and financial institutions.

Impact and Sustainability

These cases demonstrate a reasonable impact both at the farming system as well as farmer level. At the farming system, the impact is visible in terms of adoption of ecologically sustainable farming practices with significant impact on soil nutrition, productivity and conservation of local resources. An important concern in Indian agriculture is low soil productivity due to less soil organic matter (SOM). While the acceptable SOM is around 3%, SOM content in Indian farms is below one%, leaving a large tract of agriculture land unproductive. A standard level of SOM is required to facilitate micro-nutrient absorption by plants. It is in this context that soil testing and nutrient management become significant in agriculture. The farm advisory services both by Magasool and Ekgaon create awareness among the farmers about the need for soil testing and adopting practices such as appropriate crop selection and crop rotation for effective micro-nutrient management. Their experience show that SOM matter can be improved by adopting simple agriculture practices like vermin-composting and use of organic manure. Magasool motivates the farmers to produce organic manure through vermin-composting. The initiatives in Hiware Bazaar help the farmers to adopt scientific water conservation measures through watershed approach. It has succeeded in motivating the farmers to select appropriate crops depending on the availability of water and adoption of water conservation practices in agriculture through shifting to micro-irrigation and ban on tube wells for agriculture purposes. At present, more than 60% of the farmers adopt micro-irrigation. The initiatives at Hiware Bazar have helped to transform more than 700 ha of drought-affected farmland suitable for agriculture with significant improvement in the water table and moisture content.

At the farmer level, the impact is visible in terms of reduction in the cost of cultivation and increase in yield and income. For example, the paddy farmers under Magasool report a 15% reduction in cost and 10–20% increase in income. This translates into an increased income of Rs. 2500–Rs. 5000 per acre. Similar is the case among the farmers of Ekgaon. For example, the average paddy production per acre has been increased from seven quintals in 2013 to 20.57 quintal in 2014. At the same time, the agri-input cost has been reduced from Rs. 2704 per acre to Rs. 2318. This translates to a change in income from Rs. 9482 per acre to Rs. 12549 during the same period. On an average, a farmer gains Rs. 7146. There is also substantial increase in productivity (194%) and the cost of cultivation has been reduced by 14% translating to reduction of Rs. 400 per acre. Adoption of scientific agriculture practices also helps the farmers to reduce risk in agriculture through crop selection, crop management and pest control. It is imperative that the sustainability of these models depends on several factors including cost savings, increase in yield and income. As evident from the examples mentioned above, these models substantially reduce the cost of cultivation and also contribute to income level of the farmers. More importantly, the agricultural practices are ecologically sustainable. It is worth noting that the scale-up and sustainability of these models are also grounded in the grass roots leadership and also partnership and linkages with local institutions including farmer producer organizations, co-operatives, KVKs, agricultural office, village panchayats and other government departments.

12.6 Conclusion

This study brings several important insights from the field. It is well-known fact that agriculture sector is not performing well for several decades. However, there is a tremendous potential to improve the situation through customized technological solutions and extension services. The major impediments in this sector are climatic change, irrigation, over usage of inputs and less use of modern technology. Adding to this point, there is a policy paralysis in this sector. These three cases identified the local problems and provided customized solutions for agriculture so that the impact would be multi-folded.

In Hiware Bazar, major problem was water scarcity. To solve this problem, villagers were mobilized and the village community took the charge of water-audit and planned the water consumption. This solution emerged in the context and adopted by the community. Community participation made this change easily as a result the village was completely transformed in terms of agriculture production and other social dimensions. Magasool is relatively new organization, and it is found that problems in agriculture start from soil and misuse of inputs has created this soil related problem. It has proved that through the intervention of extension services and context-specific usages of technology can solve many problems and bring the change in farming sector.

Mobile technology has also brought a change in the agriculture sector. Through this technology, small and marginal farmers entered the supply value chain. It also helped the small and marginal farmers to aware about the different dimensions of the market. They easily accessed to the advisory services to improve their product. In a nutshell, social innovation through the participation of the community, proper usages of technology and extension services not only helped the farmers but also have potential to bring positive social change through agriculture.

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Chapter 13
Practicing Ethnography in a Social Enterprise: Developing an Internal Critique

Kishore Bhirdikar and Samapti Guha

Abstract It is suggested that social entrepreneurship has the ability to combine social interests with the business practices to bring positive changes in the society. SRREOSHI, a women-led organisation was set up in the year 2005. In this paper, we engage with the idea of whether tools of ethnography can be used as tools to develop an internal critique where everydayness of freedom is recognised as a process of empowerment. The idea of value creation is central to a social enterprise. In SRREOSHI's work, the focus of research is on generating knowledge aimed towards finding solutions to specific developmental problems. The idea of research is on identifying the problems, identifying the target population and comparing situations to assess the implementation. The research happens within the broader rubric of women's empowerment. Ethnography as a research method which attempts to discover cultures and experiences of people involved in a programme can offer important tools of research that a social enterprise can use. However, we suggest that social value creation through a social enterprise involves attempts to collectivise and more attention needs to be paid in nurturing the collective. We feel that tools of ethnography can offer us important avenues of a stronger collective aimed at creating values for sustainable women's empowerment.

Keywords Social entrepreneurship · Ethnography · Social enterprise · Internal critique

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13.1 Introduction

We were on a visit to SRREOSHI, a social enterprise working in the State of West Bengal. As part of one of our meetings, we met participants of SRREOSHI's programme at a *Panchayat* office in Karaidihi village. Some women shared their journey of change after they got associated with SRREOSHI and narrated stories of what they perceived as an empowering experience. We also observed some young women, to be especially interested to know if they could work with SRREOSHI and were excited with the idea of travelling to places like Mumbai. One woman, however, came to the front and shared a personal story of neglect and exclusion. An intimate household narrative and asked SRREOSHI to do something for her. The incidence marks the idea of freedom, the everydayness of it and how the idea of empowerment relates to it. The sharing of personal experience and asking for help underscores a process of exclusion that was not part of programme engagement, an engagement where intimate had to be made public to seek intervention and its redressal. In this paper, we engage with the idea of whether tools of ethnography can be used as tools to develop an internal critique where everydayness of freedom is recognised as a process of empowerment. Arguments by Jaaware (2016) written in the context of academic freedom are useful to understand the notion of freedom in everyday context. He suggests that to understand freedom, it is necessary to keep in mind the everydayness of the notion of both freedom and unfreedom. This way, both freedom and unfreedom will not get perceived only as exceptional cases, making it possible for us to pay attention more carefully to the everydayness of these practices and open possibilities of newer forms of thinking and interventions. In the next section, we introduce SRREOSHI and its work processes. Following this, we discuss the idea of value creation as a process integral to a social enterprise. We then discuss and analyse the research focus of SRREOSHI to understand how it works towards creating a value aimed at women's empowerment. Following this, we review the main processes involved in an ethnographic approach to research and how some social enterprises have used it. We suggest that social value creation through a social enterprise involves attempts to collectivise and more attention needs to be paid in nurturing the collective. We feel that tools of ethnography can offer us important avenues of a stronger collective aimed at creating values for sustainable women's empowerment.

13.2 Society for Research and Rudimentary Education on Social and Health Issues (SRREOSHI)

SRREOSHI, a women-led organisation was founded on 27th May 2005 by Ms. Sikha Roy, an Ashoka Fellow. She was working with DRCSC, an NGO in 1998 in the districts of Bankura, Birbhum, Purulia, South and North 24 Parganas, Midnapur in the State of West Bengal, India. Her initial work was on promoting organic farming and she worked with marginal farmers in these areas. However, she realised that work

needs to be done on women's land rights and she started her work on this issue. The work involved advocacy with *Panchayet* offices, Land Department, Block Offices of the state and collection of information on land rights. Ms. Shikha learnt that as per the Land Right Act for the indigenous community in India, 40% of total vested land should be distributed among women. Further, in case of a joint ownership, the law states that a woman's name should come first. She worked on influencing local governance system for redistribution of the land rights among the women in different villages in Bankura district. In the process, women were mobilised in these villages around the question of land rights and '*Jan Adalat*', a people's court to register the names of women was held in the presence of District Magistrate, District Judge and local Panchayat authorities. Many women applied for joint ownership of the land and after a long fight, many women go land registered on their names.

As the work progressed, it was realised that mere land rights were not enough as the dire economic situation demanded the promotion of livelihoods. SRREOSHI started the work of livelihood promotion by mobilising women in Self-Help Groups (SHGs). Around 300 women's SHGs were formed in 50 remote tribal villages in eight Panchayats in three blocks of two districts in West Bengal. These groups work on livelihood activities and primarily are involved in preparing products made of jute, bamboo, *babui* grass[1] and *khejur*[2] leaves. The team of SRREOSHI works on establishing linkage with various marketing channels such as local market, exhibitions, etc.

SRREOSHI has been able to sell the products made by these women in different markets in Kolkata, Mumbai, Asansol and Durgapur. They also received good support from the corporate sector and academic institutions like Tata Institute of Social Sciences. SRREOSHI also realised that adolescent girls need to be educated about their rights, and presently, the team of this organization also involved in capacity building of adolescent girls on their reproductive rights. Around 2000 adolescent girls from slums in Durgapur and around 500 adolescent girls from schools under Asansol Municipal Corporation have undergone training organised by SRREOSHI. In future, the plan is to set up an incubation centre that will help indigenous women to create a positive social change. In this incubation centre, young women will be trained on business skills and marketing of their products. In the next section, we discuss the approach of social entrepreneurship as a process of value creation.

13.3 Social Entrepreneurship as an Approach of Value Creation

It is suggested that social entrepreneurship has the ability to combine social interests with the business practices to bring positive changes in the society. Earlier, it was believed that not-for-profit organisations were intended for creating social value and

[1] Babui Grass is a type of grass which is common in Bankura, Asansol and in Durgapur.

[2] Khejur is a local name of Date Palm in West Bengal.

for-profit organisations were in the business of creating economic value. However, the discipline of social entrepreneurship breaks up the dichotomy and proposes to combine social interest and market mechanisms to create both social and economic value. Two noticeable points are important in this context. Firstly, it is suggested that the desired social changes can come from innovative, entrepreneurial and enterprise-based solutions, and secondly the sustainability of organisation and its services created as a process of achieving goals requires diversification of its funding stream, including the creation of own sources to earn income. Through these processes, it is argued that value creation is embedded in a social entrepreneurial approach (Reis 1999; Austin et al. 2006; Dees 1998).

A very different perspective of social entrepreneurship is given by Choi and Majumdar (2014). They suggest that social entrepreneurship is an essentially contested concept (ECC) as specified by Gallie in 1956.[3] The authors note that 'social entrepreneurship can be viewed as a conglomerate of several sub-concepts which are identified as (1) social value creation, (2) the social entrepreneur, (3) the social entrepreneurship organisation, (4) market orientation and (5) social innovation' (ibid: 364). Further, social value creation is seen as a prerequisite for any social entrepreneurship intervention. Cherrier et al. (2018) argue that the institutional complexity creates opportunities for social entrepreneurship to create the social value. The four strategies to respond to the institutional complexities are appropriation, integration, differentiation and working-through. Authors suggest that these four strategies enable the social entrepreneurs to reach the different stakeholders and help them in the process of value creation. Further, they have analysed that social value creation happens when the aggregate utility of all the members of the society is at the optimum after considering all forms of opportunity costs of the resources used by them. They also discussed the different dimensions of the value creation including value generation, value capture and value sharing. In case of social entrepreneurship, the authors suggest that social value emerges in a dynamic process, where social entrepreneurs do not stick to their particular beliefs and values but rather they form or create the social values through the dynamic system of interaction. Further, the creation of social values is also dependent on the interdependencies between the social entrepreneur and the nature of the venture created in response to the complexity posed by the institutional logic.

Seelos and Mair (2007) suggest that social entrepreneurs address the social issues of the marginalised by offering them access to resources and skill and consider them as stakeholders rather than beneficiaries. The transformation from beneficiaries to stakeholders is considered as a creation of positive social value in the society. Singh (2016) has explained the process of social value creation in her book where the author mentions two types of value creation. In case of beneficiaries, the value refers to the social value created in the lives of the beneficiaries whereas in case of social entrepreneurship, value creation refers to the change in the belief system of

[3]The seven key concepts of the ECC are "(1) appraisiveness, (2) internal complexity, (3) various describability, (4) openness, (5) aggressive and defensive uses, (6) original exemplar and (7) progressive competition" (Choi and Majumdar 2014, p. 364).

the social entrepreneurs and their newly inculcated social values towards the society. It is important to note here that the value creation is required for all the stakeholders in the society to see the positive social change. Social entrepreneurship is also perceived to play a role in the emancipation of people. Chandra (2017) has identified five emancipatory dimensions of social entrepreneurship—'enterprise building, broadening of perspectives, the performance of humbling work, learning to work harmoniously for the common good and acting as role models to positively influence others to follow a similar path' (ibid: 659). The author through the research suggests that social entrepreneurship can help in creating a meaning in life and build new social relations. These studies suggest that at the centre of social entrepreneurship is the idea of creating a social value through interactions with creating economic activities and inculcating an epistemic change towards achieving shared objectives. Further, it intended that by combining the processes of building an enterprise to participate in the market and inculcating a change in the mindset to productively participate in the market, social value can be created. In the process, it is believed that social problems would be addressed. In the next section, we introduce the research focus of SRREOSHI and what is perceived as empowerment.

13.4 Research in SRREOSHI and Idea of Value Creation

SRREOSHI has been using the idea of research in its activities, especially when it started to work on different projects aimed at women's empowerment. As discussed earlier, the work of the founder of SRREOSHI involved advocacy for women's land rights. As part of this activity, she was involved in mobilising women and getting them to understand their rights and working along with state officials to ensure that these rights are recognised and women get land titles in their names. Eventually, when SRREOSHI became an organisation and started taking up projects under different corporate social responsibility (CSR) projects, it became necessary to systematise its research focus. In this section, we discuss the insights into interviews with SRREOSHI staff on how they visualise the activity of research and how do they use research as a part of their work? The research focus in SRREOSHI falls within the broader rubric of women's empowerment, and it is perceived that there is a need for intervention which will help women to achieve greater degree of freedom and empowerment. The research is directed at problem identification, target group identification and assessing the situation to find solutions. Interviews also revealed that the idea of research is to compare the situations over a period of time. One of the issues that emerged from the interviews is that the research is a project directed need; whereas, work on issues is taken up as and when they arise. The project has a specific focus. For example, the research on project on health and hygiene improvement is directed as assessing the health situations. However, if any specific issue is recognised concerning women such as domestic violence, SRREOSHI through its connections and networks with lawyers collective attempts to address it as a specific issue.

Observation emerged as an important research tool, a tool of discovering new knowledge. Further, observation is not perceived as something of a research tool but rather as a practice. It appears observation as a technique is so ingrained in the work that it not perceived as something which is done as research but rather as a common practice. For example, some women observed that women do not go out and are not supported by family members. Such women need the support of SRREOSHI. Or women observe the market and bring in the information such as the selling rate of a specific commodity. Infusing the idea to observe the market is integral to SRREOSHI's work. Learning observations is not a budgeted activity but it is integrated. In certain sense, research is carried out without calling it as a research.

On the question if women participants of SRREOSHI are specifically trained to do research, the interviews suggested that building capacities of research is not the agenda but the focus is on building skills to produce commodities. The focus of interventions is on awareness building around the project goals and developing skills to achieve those goals. These skills are an important source of training and models consisting of different sessions on building these skills are planned as part of SRREOSHI's work. The focus of capacity building is on stating a problem and preparing a budget. The main difficulties that were stated in this process are lack of capacities to make the budgets and various household chores that keep women occupied. The SRREOSHI's staff perceives that this leads to lack of decision-making capacities in women, hindering the process of empowerment. Further, sustaining a project also becomes a problem.

It appears that the focus of training/education follows the line of a project, and it is perceived that if women are able to carry out the needs of the project, right from identifying the need to raising the funds to the implementation of the project, the project would sustain and also empower women. The education is on sustaining the project. On the question of rights, SRREOSHI works on building awareness of the constitutional rights of women and facilitates access to state services. Interviews revealed that even the state officers sometimes are unaware of laws for women and this is a systemic issue which needs to be addressed. The focus of education in SRREOSHI is developing skills, building business models and women are trained to achieve this. However, there is a tension between project-based approach and issue-based approach.

Discussion with one of the participants of SRREOSHI programme suggested that the learning to be part of the programme involved learning skills to make bag through fine cutting and stitching. She stated "I do everything related to bag making". She further observed that joining an economic activity has resulted into possibilities of women going out alone and increased the level of respects within the family members. She mentioned that she can now teach other women and has more confidence. On the question of what changes have you in the participants after joining the training, she said

> We understood that we need to earn. We also observed that in our society who are earning they get respect from the family members and society. They are considered in decision making process. If we earn, we will also get the respect and if we take some decision, family members will listen to us.

Another participant mentioned

> When I started to learn stitching, my husband and in-laws did not allow me to go to the examination centre. I bargained with them and told them I would finish all domestic chores before leaving for the examination. I went to Bardhaman which is an hour journey from my village and also to Asansol which is also half an hour journey from my village to attend the examination. I realised nobody will help me to grow, I need to adjust and make my way to grow. Now, family members are supporting me as I have shown them that I can earn. To empower ourselves, we need to fight, negotiate. In the process, some crises will happen but without crisis we cannot grow in our life.

The focus of SRREOSHI's education is on making women capable of earning and managing the project on their own. A staff of SRREOSHI explaining the objective said

> Poonam understands but she cannot replicate it. She needs my support. The objective is that Poonam should be self-sufficient to train. He further said, I use observation to see how women are being training and I see how voice modulation is used while training.

For Angshuman, a staff with SRREOSHI, the idea of research is assessment of SRREOSHI's programmes by "an external" agency. He stated that SRREOSHI is still at the stage of capacity building. But once they stated the problem, we have showed them the idea of how a crowed funding works. Further, SRREOSHI works on developing products that women suggest. The decision on what commodity to produce is given by women themselves. However, when a question was raised as to why should the idea come from women only and why cannot something entirely new which the women are not exposed be produced by them? The founder of SRREOSHI, Ms. Roy agreed that it should be a possibility.

Above discussions suggest the idea of research is linked to the idea of the project. Education is about the rights of women and skills of producing commodities for sale in the market. The idea of empowerment is linked to the idea of rights and economic activities. It appears the value creation through research in SRREOSHI is aimed towards its objective of women's empowerment through the questions of women's rights and their economic empowerment. The tool of observation is used but is specifically linked to the objective of economic empowerment. In the next section, we discuss the ethnography as a method of research. We specifically review how ethnography is conducted, new developments in the discipline and how ethnography has been used in the implementation of interventions.

13.5 Ethnography as a Method of Value Creation—Developing a Critique

Ethnography is perceived as a research method that can give insights into local pattern of cultural practices, nature of social composition and heterogeneity and the political position of mobilised and the unmobilised constituencies. Bryman (2012, p. 432) suggests that the researcher in an ethnographic study

– is immersed in a social setting for an extended period of time;
– makes regular observations of the behaviour of members of that setting;
– listens to and engages in conversations;
– interviews informants on issues that are not directly amenable to observation or that the ethnographers are unclear about (or indeed for other possible reasons);
– collects documents about the group;
– develops an understanding of the culture of the group and people's behaviour within the context of that culture;
– and writes up a detailed account of that setting

Ethnography also helps the researcher to unfold the story of everyday life and research on social settings. Ethnography demands a continuous interaction of data and ideas of the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Through an ethnography approach, the researcher can study people's actions in everyday contexts without any condition created by the researcher. It allows the researcher to use different sources and employ different tools for data collection (ibid). Baiocchi and Connor (2008) map the idea of political ethnography by examining the relation between politics and ethnography under (i) Ethnographies on institutions, actors or events that are usually considered political; (ii) The study of encounters between people and political institutions and (iii) Study of lived experience of the political. The authors suggest that these encounters/events are invisible to non-ethnographic ways of doing research.

Ethnography can be defined as a method, process and product which interpret the culture. The ethnographers go beyond the explanation of the experiences and try to explain the cultural constructions (Hoey 2014). In ethnography, the researcher understands the phenomenon of the study from insider's viewpoint which is called the emic approach. Long-term engagement in the field also helps the researcher to develop a long-lasting bond with the people at the research settings. Participant observation is the first source of the data for an ethnographer. In recent years, however, it is being suggested that there is a change in the approach in ethnography due to globalisation. Before globalisation, the focus was either social ethnography or anthropological ethnography. However, globalisation has disrupted the idea of mapping local to social. Now, with globalisation building several networks, the ideas of global ethnography extend to multiple places, attempt to understand more spatial scales and understand newer boundaries which are highly contested (Gille and Riain 2002). Vesa and Vaara (2014) mentioned that conventional non-participant observant ethnography does not give a space for strategic research and practices. Authors suggest that the methods of ethnography such as auto ethnography,[4] video ethnography,[5] virtual ethnography[6] and comparative ethnography[7] help us to understand the strategic processes and practices in different organisational, institutional and cultural

[4]Understanding the lived experiences of the different strategists in different settings. It is an underutilized method.

[5]A means to understand the detailed analysis of strategies of practices.

[6]It helps us to understand the virtual aspects of the organizational strategy work.

[7]It helps us to do the comparative analysis of different strategic practices and processes.

context. The reason for neglecting auto ethnography as a method is the presence of subjective biases of the researcher or strategist (ibid). However, this method helps us to access to the understandings and the lived experiences of the practitioners. It helps to bridge the gap between the researcher and the practitioner. Video ethnography has emerged as a tool to capture the data of a setting which is sensitive, and researchers are not in a position to capture the multimodality aspect of the data. Comparative ethnography is adopted by the team of researchers to understand the different aspects of the contexts in an organisation or in a cultural setting. It helps to study the phenomenon from multidimensional perspectives. Virtual ethnography is understudied. Virtual ethnography is a fruitful method to study the new organisational phenomenon to understand the intersectionality between the management studies and game studies, such as playful organisation. In the next section, we review studies that discuss the use of ethnographic methods for improving implementation and practice.

13.6 Usages of Ethnography in Implementation and Practice

Ethnography recognises the transformative nature of fieldwork where researchers, in order to find the answers of the questions, find themselves in the story (Hoey 2014). Social entrepreneurs are also addressing the social problems and in search of the problems also find themselves as transformed individuals. Ethnography is also used in the implementation of developmental project. In the context of nutrition project implementation, Tumilowicz et al. (2016) showed how ethnography provided important, often essential, insights that determine the programme design or interpret the programme outcomes. Designing, implementing and evaluating social developmental project need knowledge of people and the communities where interventions are conducted including knowledge from insider's perspectives. Analysing this knowledge from social, economical and cultural dimensions is the core of ethnography. In case of nutrition research, the authors observed that ethnography helped to make a decision, understand how best to fit aspects in intervention in different environmental and cultural contexts. It helped to understand the food and nutrition behaviour of the communities and their responses to the particular intervention on food and nutrition. Most of the times, programme objectives are not fulfilled as the recipients and the programme designers have different cultural background to perceive the project objectives. Further, they have analysed that ethnographic research has its utility across the components of intervention from 'landscape analysis' and 'formative research' to 'process evaluation' and 'impact evaluation' (p. 69).

Ethnography as a method of practice needs to address the difficulties of the understanding the context, people and culture. In this context, Hobert (1996) has critically examined ethnography as a practice method. He suggests that if we want to engage seriously with others, as an ethnographer, it is important not to impose our power of knowledge on the others. It should be a mutual and reciprocal relation between

an ethnographer and the people in the context. The meaning should be constructed together not by the ethnographer alone. With regard to ethnography as a practice methodology, there is a special form of ethnography called short-term ethnography proposed by Pink and Morgan (2013). They note that this type of ethnography is emerging as an approach of doing research which is contemporary in subject matter and used for applied research and interventions. This method is inspired by the visual anthropology and ethnographic film-making methods. By adopting this technique, authors state that researchers or practitioners can generate innovative research questioned for bigger projects of intervention or knowledge production. It appears that ethnographic tools are useful in improving the implementation of developmental projects.

Appadurai (2006) proposes that the realm of research needs to be viewed as a right. He suggests that the idea of research needs to be seen as a process of documenting the experiences and finding a way of understanding the situations by the people at the margins. Just as the human rights have acquired a central space of politics, the right to research will help in the democratisation of research. Drawing on Appadurai (2006) arguments, we suggest that ethnography as a method of research has many tools which can be used in the process of empowerment and developing an internal critique of work, approach and the idea of what constitutes as empowerment. The idea of research is also to bring an epistemic change, and in the processes of working towards freedom, ethnographic tools can be used as a method of learning. Within the social enterprise, interventions use of ethnography might open up avenues of thinking about research not only as a process of addressing specific problems or identification of specific problems but rather as research for developing new ideas that seek empowerment not as a solution but rather as a process of new thinking and developing internal critique.

13.7 Conclusion

The case of SRREOSHI suggests that the focus is on building information base and seek women's empowerment through such information. For example, understanding market, keeping a tab on new products, learning to make a jute bag, etc., are examples of research aimed at some form of economic empowerment. These are the experiences which are perceived to lead to empowerment as they are also recognised by the family, society and self. Awareness of rights is also a form of experiencing empowerment. The focus of empowerment in the present context is driven towards participation in information-based systems, predominantly linked to economic empowerment or rights. In the process, attention to everyday instances of unfreedom does not get signified as the process that needs attention and no infrastructure is built where such exclusions can be addressed. The work of economic empowerment takes the central role. At the centre of creating, a sustainable social enterprise lies the process of collectivisation. However, if exclusions that we mentioned in the introduction of this paper are to be addressed, a closer attention needs to be paid on nurturing the

collectives. Gramsci's insights have important consequences for thinking about the nature of collectives and value creation through its interventions. He suggests that as an alternative would be 'collective organism' taking up the leadership role instead of an individual. However, he cautions that this would lead to turmoil unless; the collective organism is so embedded that it is able to know the 'sentiments through immediate particulars'. He terms this as 'a system of living philology' (Buttigieg 2011: 159). Ethnographic tools and its practice can open avenues for recognising and addressing the immediate particulars as a process of value creation in the endeavours of women's empowerment.

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