# *THE UNFOLDING OF SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF A DEVELOPING ECONOMY*

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

FEBRUARY 2017

# THESIS ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses how social entrepreneurship (SE) is being enacted in a developing economy as a means to promote poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Researching SE in developing economies is relevant considering the need to identify sustainable and innovative models for private sector engagement and civil society capacity building in contexts marked by resource constraints, institutional voids, and aid-dependency.

SE blends financial, societal and environmental benefits. It is expected to empower local communities and treat the root cause of problems, putting society ahead of the individual. A SE movement led by international elites is gaining momentum in contemporary market economies. It demands a wider ethical and socially inclusive type of capitalism. This has caused research into SE to export normative western institutional meanings across countries. However, since meanings are mediated by context, research is required to understand how SE is interpreted in 'non-western' contexts. In addition, there is a lack of empirical studies situating SE in developing economies. Therefore, little is known about whether SE practices in developing economies are given the same meaning. These limitations reflect the de-contextualised approach that has dominated entrepreneurship theory. There is the need to reflexively examine the boundaries of extant theories of SE by inquiring how SE is enacted in less-known contexts.

This study utilises the institutional logics perspective to examine the dynamic and recursive meanings people draw upon to undertake and legitimise SE activities in Mozambique; a country over-reliant on foreign investment and donor funding. Complex institutional environments provide an opportunity to examine how local and globalised institutional logics affect what is to be considered legitimate and who has the authority to do it. In order to shed light on the above, the following research question was devised:

> *How is social entrepreneurship enacted and legitimised in a developing economy through local and globalised institutional logics?*

In order to address this question, the thesis adopts a practice perspective of SE. It shifts the focus of analysis from the individual entrepreneur towards *entrepreneuring* or the activities that people engage in to access and utilise resources in meaningful ways. Practices are useful to examine how actors understand and mobilise multiple institutional logics through everyday actions.

The research was conducted using a reflexive ethnographic methodology to observe how diverse actors mobilise multiple logics to achieve intentional outcomes. Ethnography provided a means of entering 'natural' social sites and the everyday activities of those being studied. Materials were collected over three fieldtrips to Maputo (including living in the country for three consecutive months) making use of: field notes; photographs; video recordings; participant observation; semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with a breath of participants ranging from the elite to the urban poor. Documents such as reports,

leaflets and newspaper articles were also analysed, accounting for wider societal discourses. The utilisation of multiple methods and several data sources conferred credibility, consistency and empirical validity to the research findings.

The research suggests that different social groups draw upon contradictory logics, which mirror the institutionalised meanings they value. The mobilisation of particular logics plays a role in determining which organisational forms serve as models and how institutional expectations are conveyed in order to get legitimacy. Also, diverse interpretations of SE activities were found to result from different degrees of embeddedness in the local context. The thesis points to three main practices of SE: exogenous, endogenous and trans-cultural. Exogenous SE practices tend to reproduce western models, routines, expectations and normative assumptions. These are directed at *creating* a new environment. Endogenous SE practices conform to logics traditionally associated with non-western societies. These are directed at *rearranging* the local environment. Trans-cultural SE practices use a dual legitimacy, local and international, to *transform* the environment by combining and translating multiple logics.

This study furthers our understanding on how potentially conflicting logics from western and non-western cultures interplay, within the field of SE. This provides a more nuanced comprehension of the diversity of logics mobilised to give meaning to SE practices in developing economies. The research makes four further theoretical contributions. It problematises existing SE hegemonic assumptions and discourses that narrow our understanding of the SE phenomenon by emphasising western logics over others. It brings to the fore overlooked necessity-driven practices of SE undertaken informally at the grassroots. These are easily ignored for being undertaken by people who make do with what is at hand to tackle enduring poverty in contexts of subsistence. The thesis yields insights into the transformative potential of trans-cultural practices for legitimising SE. Finally, it explains the mediating effects of a 'hybrid context' on the enactment and legitimisation of SE in a developing economy.

By examining how SE is legitimised in the research setting, this thesis sheds light on the diverse practices through which different types of resources are mobilised to bring about change. This may assist both development policies and resourceful SE promoters to better support and convey legitimacy to change-oriented local endeavours and communities engaged in SE. The thesis contributes to practice by emphasising self-sufficiency and real empowerment. It also urges social entrepreneurs to better adapt and translate their ventures to suit the local needs of the poor. Researching how SE is enacted and legitimised in a developing economy opens up opportunities for more inclusive and pluralistic approaches to poverty alleviation and the globalisation of SE. This thesis therefore aims to contribute by engaging debate about how SE can be further contextualised and translated across borders to benefit communities across the world.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents

**Maria Fernanda Peig Dória Durão**

1940 – 2016

*Requiescat in pace*

**Coronel Roberto Durão**

1932

*Vivat in pace*

for the richness of their lives and for embodying the principles of matrimony, parenthood and service to a country. My father served as a military officer in the Portuguese Ultramarine War. He fought in India - Goa (1961-1962), where he was imprisoned, and in Angola - Silva Porto (1962-1963), where he lost his right hand due to a grenade explosion. Despite questioning the raison d'être of this war, he was a role model as an army commander and insisted on completing his mission by returning to Angola - Luanda (1969-1972), as a member of the Special Forces (Portuguese Army Commandos), after completing a demanding training course using a prosthetic hook for a hand. My mother was always there beside him. Together they experienced the loss of a child while my father was recovering from his amputation. She acompannied him on all of his commissions without reservations, whenever possible with my elder brothers and sister, living overseas for extended periods. Her bravery, unconditional love and dedication to the family fill me with joy. Being the youngest, I was born in Portugal near the end of the war and always stayed in my homeland, although, I have vivid memories of a life in Africa that I never experienced first hand until 2014.

You have inspired my thesis... **this is for you**.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the support of many people. Following a chronological order, I would start by thanking Dr Mathew Hughes for making me believe I could successfully submit a doctoral research proposal to Nottingham University Business School (NUBS). Thanks to the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) for a PhD scholarship that granted a seal of quality to this study.

I am very grateful to NUBS for numerous training opportunities, conferences funding, and a cohort of academics and administrative staff who provided a supportive and inspiring environment for learning and trusting my work. Special thanks to those who helped me develop my ideas, invited me to teach at the university, or provided opportunities to disseminate my research at seminars and workshops: Dr Isobel O'Neil, Professor Ken Kamoche, Professor Tony Watson, Professor Susan Marlow and Dr Janine Swail.

I am profoundly grateful to my supervisors Dr Andrew Greenman and Associate Professor Anna Soulsby. Anna, thank you for your encouragement and support, for useful advice on how to conduct ethnographic fieldwork, your attention to detail, and valuable academic contacts. Andrew, our long and insightful conversations were absolutely crucial for developing a coherent and consistent argument. Thank you for your constant availability, engagement, and challenging comments which pushed me to refine my ideas without ever trying to impose yours. Just wish all PhD students were as lucky as I was.

Francisco and Catarina, my lovely hosts in Mozambique… thank you for your hospitality which helped me surpass my loneliness, and for your precious contacts. This study would never be possible without you. Thanks to all those who participated in this research, from the 'elite' to the 'common', in particular Janica, Mané, Joãozinho, and Marta, who took me to the grassroots and showed me a bit of the 'real' Mozambique.

Thank you to my fellow PhD colleagues Jeannie Holstein for her objectivity, Josephine Go Jefferies for her academic rigour, and Jasmine Jaim for showing me the other side.

Unconditional love and thanks to my family. My sister Blicó for believing in me; my beloved children Jorge, Margarida and Rita for being who you are: ironic, intelligent, rebelious and sweet. Special thanks to you Rita, for helping me with editing and formating when I was at the edge of going insane. Finally, thank you Zana for showing me the value of persistence, for making me lose my naivety as the study progressed… for simply being a brilliant mind.

# LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

The following publication relates to and was based on research carried out for this PhD:

> De Avillez, M. (2015) "Social Entrepreneurship in Developing Economies: The Case of Mozambique", British Academy of Management Proceedings, 8-10 September. ISBN: 978-0-95496008-8-9

This paper won 'Best Developmental Paper' for the Entrepreneurship Division at the 29th Annual Conference of the British Academy of Management, Portsmouth, UK, September 2015.

The empirical research detailed in this paper can be found in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven of the thesis.

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[1] All photographs displayed in this thesis belong to the author.

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# LIST OF VIGNETTES

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| Abbreviation/ Acronym | Term |
|---|---|
| **CBO** | Community-based Organisation / Association |
| **CEO** | Chief Executive Officer |
| **CFO** | Chief Financial Officer |
| **CSO** | Civil Society Organisation |
| **CSPD** | Cross-sector Partnerships for Development |
| **CSR** | Corporate Social Responsibility |
| **DFID** | UK Department for International Development |
| **ESRC** | UK's Economic and Social Research Council |
| **GDP** | Gross Domestic Product |
| **SEI** | Social Entrepreneurship Institute |
| **ILP** | Institutional Logics Perspective |
| **ILs** | Institutional Logics |
| **IMF** | International Monetary Fund |
| **IPEME** | Mozambican State Institute for the Promotion of SMEs |
| **MFI** | Microfinance Institutions |
| **MNC** | Multinational Corporation |
| **NGO** | Non-governmental Organisation |
| **ROSCA** | Rotating Savings and Credit Association |
| **SE** | Social Entrepreneurship |
| **SME** | Small & Medium-sized Enterprise |
| **UN** | United Nations |
| **WB** | World Bank |
| **Directory of participants** | **Participant/Organisation** |
| **A** + number | Academic |
| **C** + number | International Corporation |
| **CSO** + number | Civil Society Organisation |
| **DAA** + number | Development Aid Agencies: UN / WB / DFID |
| **DC** + number | Development Consultant |
| **GOV** + number | Member of Mozambican Government or Public Servant |
| **INGO** + number | International NGO |
| **J** + number | Journalist |
| **LNGO** + number | Local NGO |
| **MFI** + number | Microfinance Bank |
| **P** + number | Social Entrepreneurship Promoter |
| **R** + number | Religious Charity |
| **Se** + number | Social Enterprise |
| **Xf** + number | Family Xitique Member |
| **Xs** + number | University Student Xitique member |
| **Xw** + number | Workplace Xitique Member |

# CHAPTER ONE:
# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Research Background

This thesis is sponsored by the United Kingdom's Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and therefore expected to deliver a substantial contribution to sustainable development concepts or practices, leading to new thinking and action on poverty alleviation. However, much has changed since this research started. The unfulfilled promise of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set in 2000, underpinning the slogan '*We Can End Poverty'* by 2015, led to the establishment of the no less ambitious Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), popularised as '*Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*'. Also, globalisation and the assumption that a globalised economy can generate widely shared prosperity is being increasingly questioned (The Guardian, 2016). There has also been speculation on Brexit-related challenges and opportunities for international development (Bond, 2016b). Despite the pessimistic stance of many development experts regarding Brexit's impact on public policy and the alleviation of widespread poverty (Bond, 2006a), the current government maintains the political rhetoric of building a 'Global Britain' (The Herald, 2016). The United Kingdom is still the second largest aid donor in the world (OECD, 2016). It spends 0.7% of its GDP on developing countries (The Guardian, 2015), the largest share being allocated to development programmes in Africa (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2012). As international development has been protected by the UK government, it is paramount that social researchers contribute to extending the transformative reach of the UK funds through the promotion of sustainable and innovative models for private sector engagement and civil society capacity building in developing economies. This thesis intends to respond to this need. Such requires researching the role of Social Entrepreneurship (SE) for poverty alleviation in order to address prominent unresolved issues in this area. They include aid dependency and ineffectiveness, donor agencies duplication, and deficient governance transparency and accountability; regarded as priorities by the UK Department for International Development (DFID, 2015).

SE incorporates multiple forms of value beyond purely financial (Dacin et al., 2011). It has been identified as an effective means to accomplish global sustainable development and general wellbeing (Seelos & Mair, 2005a), since it approaches economic inequality and social needs as being mutually dependent. In essence, SE extends established capitalist notions rooted in profit maximisation by assuming that for-profit and not-for-profit operations are not mutually exclusive (Murphy & Coombes, 2009). Furthermore, it is expected to empower local communities to treat the root cause of problems, putting society ahead of the individual (Kickul & Lyons, 2012). However, the global reach of SE (Zahra et al., 2008), implicitly involving outside partners (Rivera-Santos et al., 2012), seems to be drawing attention from other, local and equally valid, practices of SE. Considering that SE has already proved to yield results in receptive developed economies (Bornstein, 2007), it is incumbent upon researchers to test the boundaries of extant theoretical development. This would provide a better understating of how SE can effectively contribute to the sustainable development and financial self-sufficiency of developing economies. Further inquiry is required to explain how SE is actually being enacted in developing economies and what contextual factors may be enabling or constraining it.

## 1.2. Thesis Focus and Relevance

This thesis explores how meanings are ascribed to SE practices in Mozambique, specifically in Maputo. Then, it theorises from practices. This required an exploration of how SE is being enacted through the mobilisation of sometimes contradictory institutional logics (ILs) that not only permeate the field of SE but also the local setting. People mobilise in everyday life multiple ILs, i.e. taken-for-granted social prescriptions (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), to position themselves (Powell & Colyvas, 2008) and assign meaning to their practices (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

For the purposes of this study, SE is defined as the recognition of a social need and consequent utilisation of entrepreneurial practices to create and manage new and innovative social ventures or existing organisations, in order to achieve a desirable social change. This encompassing definition recognises that SE can take many forms and materialises across a range of organisations from all sectors: hybrid and

non-hybrid, formal and informal. The study considers this variety of manifestations and how practices of SE are affected by local and international institutional forces that translate into institutionalised logics of action (Thornton et al., 2012).

This research responds to calls for more contextualised studies in entrepreneurship (Welter, 2011; Jennings et al., 2013) by examining accounts and practices of diverse local actors in Mozambique (consciously or unconsciously involved in SE). This is important for allowing a clearer understanding of what logics are available to actors and how they are employed to reach intended goals (McPherson & Sauder, 2013). By considering local perspectives, this thesis explains how potentially conflicting logics from different cultures interplay, affecting the enactment of SE and its legitimacy in an under-researched context. Such investigation is expected to yield insights into how SE can offer a promising approach to poverty alleviation in developing economies (Tobias et al., 2013) through more contextualised and embedded practices.

### 1.2.1. *Theoretical and Methodological Considerations: Research Gaps*

Existing research into SE has often assumed that western institutional conditions are applicable across all contexts (Desa, 2012; Lehner & Kansikas, 2011). But SE is interpreted differently by different people (Dacin at al., 2011) and is not consistently understood across the globe. Furthermore, there is a lack of empirical studies examining SE in developing economies and how context affects SE meanings and practices. These limitations are indicative of the de-contextualised nature of most entrepreneurship theory that has been noted by many scholars (e.g. Jennings et al., 2013; Hjorth et al., 2008; Welter, 2011). This study provides a reflexive critique; problematising a possible mismatch between theory and what happens in real life (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011) by analysing local actors' interpretations and practices of SE in a developing economy.

SE has become an increasingly important international cultural phenomenon (Dey, 2006). A SE movement led by international agents, mainly from North America and Europe (Schwartz, 2012), is gaining momentum in contemporary market economies. It demands a wider ethical and socially inclusive type of capitalism

(Dacin at al., 2011). This has led to the diffusion of new ideas, supposed to make a positive change across borders. Nonetheless, most studies on SE have been conducted in modern industrialised countries. Publications on SE in Africa are still scarce (Karanda & Toledano, 2012; Littlewood & Holt, 2015). In addition, research on SE in developing economies tends to give prominence to social ventures where international NGOs or foreign organisations are involved (e.g. Battilana & Dorado, 2010). SE has been examined through predominantly Anglo-American assumptions considered to be the norm (Dart, 2004; Desa, 2012). Thus, it is pertinent to question existing assumptions that may exclude less conventional practices of SE directed towards poverty alleviation

This study was conducted in Mozambique: a sub-Saharan country over-reliant on foreign investment and donor funding (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007). Mozambique is a fast growing economy yet is still one of the poorest countries in the world (World Bank, 2014). As with many other developing countries, it is characterised by resource constraints and institutional voids, understood as the absence of market-supporting institutions, specialised intermediaries, contract-enforcing mechanisms, and efficient communication networks (George et al., 2016). Also, the capital city of Maputo hosts one of the highest concentrations of donor agencies and other development actors (DFID, 2012c). It is a cosmopolitan city, where clusters of people from many parts of the world can be found, forming diverse 'communities' among expatriates and Mozambicans. Although there is some consensus that SE enables greater economic efficiencies under conditions of resource scarcity (Short et al., 2009; Chell, 2007; Zahra et al., 2008), little is known about how it actually unfolds in unfavourable regulatory, normative and cognitive institutional environments (Desa, 2012).

This thesis adopts a practice perspective of SE which is particularly suitable for connecting individual, organisational and institutional levels of analysis (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Practices comprise actors and their institutionally and socially embedded actions. By shifting the focus of analysis from the individual entrepreneur towards *entrepreneuring* (Steyaert & Hjorth, 2006; Rindova et al., 2009), this study zooms in on different ways of organising through which the everyday unfolding of SE occurs (Mair et al., 2012). Hence, the terms SE and 'social

entrepreneuring' are utilised interchangeably across this study. SE as 'social entrepreneuring' is a core premise of the thesis that views SE as contextually embedded practices aiming to create social value.

The thesis also adopts an institutional lens. It considers diverse practices of SE affected by globalised and local ILs, associated in this study with western and non-western societies (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Friedland & Alford, 1991). New institutional theory is especially useful for examining SE across countries (Bruton et al., 2010; Mair & Martí, 2009) as it explores how institutions affect social and economic actions (Scott, 2001). Hence, it is relevant to draw on the interrelationship between the institutional environment and legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) to better understand the idiosyncrasies of an economy simultaneously marked by a steady international presence and a resource constrained informal sector dominated by informal institutions, i.e. societal beliefs, attitudes and values (Welter, 2011). These aspects may bound the nature and extent of social entrepreneurial activities since context mediates when, why and how SE takes place and who becomes involved (Welter, 2011).

Seminal work on new institutional theory has focused on the process of organisational isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), which is interesting to consider in developing economies where it is unclear whether SE mimics local or globalised models from the developed world. New institutional theory has traditionally focused on macro-structural effects on organisations, assigning a limited role to social actors' agency as a means to explain institutional persistence and change. Entrepreneurial agency redresses the focus on isomorphic pressures by looking at how individuals and organisations use diverse institutional meanings to achieve interests, goals and change (Greenwood et al, 2008). Indeed, SE actors draw on rules, norms and beliefs when enacting their actions.

This thesis employs the institutional logics perspective (ILP): an approach to institutional analysis that builds upon yet departs from new institutional theory because it incorporates macro-structural effects on action together with culture, agency and process (Thornton et al., 2012). Logics constitute frames of reference that affect reasoning and choices. Hence, people draw on multiple ILs to give meaning to their practices. In other words, practices are the material enactments

of ILs (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Logics may differ across cultures and they are useful to theorise multi-level relationships (Friedland & Alford, 1991) where actors and context dynamically shape one another.

The ILP also provides an analytical tool for bridging diverse contexts and their dominant logics, as well as contrasting practices. SE often utilises hybrid models of contradictory logics of action (Thornton et al., 2012), such as for-profit and non-profit activities, which create tensions between economic sustainability and social mission (Dacin et al., 2010). These logics have been examined within western contexts (e.g. Jay, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2012; Mair et al., 2015). However, there is a lack of studies employing the ILP to better understand how potentially conflicting logics from western and non-western cultures interplay, within the field of SE, providing scope for institutional transformation. Certainly, the interpretations of diverse actors, and the alternative logics to which they have been exposed, affect their understandings of SE, the organisational forms they adopt, and the legitimising efforts they carry out.

Different degrees of embeddedness in the research setting explain how people are capable or not to act 'in context' in order to bring about social change (Mair & Martí, 2006), what is their role in the social environment, how they position themselves within the structural context (Battilana, 2006), what is their awareness of other fields (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006), and consequently how they reflexively build on diverse ILs in order to take action (Leca & Naccache, 2006). People deploy multiple logics through practices that may alter or maintain institutional arrangements (Venkataraman et al., 2016). Given the lack of research into SE in developing economies, it is valid to examine whether SE is emerging or not as a legitimate, contextualised practice, and the extent to which this implies accounting for or challenging local institutional arrangements.

A study of this nature, exploring how different forms of SE unfold and are put in practice in a distinctive socio-economic and cultural environment (based on interpretations and their underlying logics), draws on interpretivist social theories (Denzin, 1997). Ethnography was undertaken to examine cross-cultural interactions where diverse actors mobilise multiple logics of action to achieve personal or organisational goals. The research design is specifically grounded on a

reflexive ethnographic methodology (Brewer, 2000). The reflexive component accounts for the researcher's assumptions and actions, the theoretical frameworks that inform them (Eisenhardt, 1989), and the logics behind the interpretations of local actors (Soulsby & Clark, 2011).

A snowball type of purposive sampling was adopted. Most ethnographic materials have been collected whilst living in Maputo for three consecutive months, making use of: field notes; photographs; video recordings; participant observation; more than seventy-five semi-structured interviews with key actors operating in the field of SE across sectors; and an array of informal conversations with other local residents, beneficiaries, and members of deprived communities. Also, gathered organisations' reports, leaflets and newspaper articles were analysed, accounting for wider societal discourses. The utilisation of multiple methods and several data sources (including a breath of participants ranging from the elite to the urban poor) confers credibility, consistency and empirical validity to the research findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Analysis techniques were informed by the principles of grounded theory, applying qualitative coding schemes in thematic analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Grounded theorising is particularly useful when researching new organisational forms, the meanings assigned to unfolding processes, and when there is limited knowledge of the social setting. Other ethnographic analytical approaches, not exclusively based on sophisticated answers to interview questions but on direct observations instead, were undertaken. In addition, the ILP was employed as a meta-theoretical analytical framework. The societal interinstitutional system provides an abstract typology of ideal-type logics revolving around cornerstone institutions (Thornton et al., 2012). This typology (shown in Appendix 1) was utilised as a tool for analysing ethnographic materials; a reference point against which the mix of logics identified in the research setting was contrasted. Then, adjustments were made based on insights generated from the data. This provided a means to contextualise this empirical study. Cross-cultural differences and institutional ambiguity give scope for particular actors in the field to mobilise, decompose and hybridise distinctive logics in order to assign meaning to their practices.

### 1.2.2. *Research Aims and Objectives*

This thesis analyses how SE is enacted and legitimised in a developing economy supposed to lack the preconditions considered essential for SE to emerge and thrive (Bornstein, 2007). An organisational field is composed of interacting sets of institutions and networks of organisations that together constitute a recognisable area of life (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) in which common understandings and practices are developed (Bruton et al., 2010). This becomes problematic in settings where local and international sets of institutions and networks of organisations coexist, presenting diverse levels of interaction between themselves and operating differently. SE is arguably a uniform organisational field already legitimised across the world (Nicholls, 2010). It can be viewed as a bundle of heterogeneous practices (Mair et al., 2012), associated or not with formalised organisations, and more or less rooted in global and/or local socio-cultural contexts (Voronov et al., 2013). This study aims to refine our understanding of how different logics, interplaying in the research setting, are conducive to the enactment of distinctive practices of SE and used to legitimise them.

As mentioned previously, this thesis adopts a practice perspective of SE shifting the focus of analysis from the individual social entrepreneur towards the everyday enactment of SE. As such, the objectives of this thesis are:

- To examine material and symbolic practices of SE enacted by local actors in Mozambique (Maputo);
- To examine which ILs (underpinning actors' understandings of SE and their institutionally and socially embedded actions) are constitutive of social entrepreneurial practices and used to legitimise them;
- To explore how local and globalised practices of SE cohere or conflict in the context of a developing economy;
- To understand SE processes of institutional reproduction or change in the research setting.

To this end, an encompassing research question was developed.

### 1.2.3. *Research Question*

The following research question addresses overarching lines of inquiry that stemmed from the identified research gaps:

> *How is SE enacted and legitimised in a developing economy through local and globalised institutional logics?*

This research question acknowledges that logics may differ across cultures and particular ways of doing SE (local vs. globalised). The interplay of multiple ILs affect how SE is interpreted, undertaken, introduced and translated in a developing economy. Such question may seem too broad considering the complexity of the processes under study. However, ILs operate across multiple levels. They influence and are influenced by context, being mobilised by actors who are nested in individual, organisational, and societal levels (Thornton et al., 2012). Logics, and their multiple combinations, are constitutive of practices and the building blocks of institutional processes. Hence, they provide a useful theoretical lens to unpack how SE is enacted and legitimised in a developing economy, and how this relates with different degrees of institutional and social embeddedness in the local context.

Addressing this question increases understanding of how diverse actors in the local context assign meaning to SE, engage in specific SE practices (more or less transformative), and attempt to legitimise them through multiple logics. This study gets closer to actor experiences, understandings and practices in order to capture the processes through which SE plays out, mobilises resources and gets legitimised in the developing world. The section below presents a brief overview of the whole thesis that outlines what was done and found.

## 1.3. Thesis Overview

In order to answer the research question, the thesis draws upon a literature review of SE, its underlying logics, and processes of legitimisation and institutional transformation affected by contextual factors (Chapters Two and Three). From that, a theoretical and analytical framework drawing on concepts that stem from new institutional theory and the ILP was defined. Such framework is appropriate

for this thesis as it emphasises the dynamic nature of ongoing practices and the context/s in which they are immersed.

**Chapter Two** introduces the concept of SE and explains the limited scope of some definitions for researching the subject matter in the context of a developing country. SE is then conceptualised as a bundle of diverse practices enacted by an array of actors. This departs from the individualist view that reduces SE to easily recognisable 'social entrepreneurs' and 'social enterprises'. The chapter identifies calls to examine how SE unfolds in overlooked contexts that may differ from those traditionally studied. To this end, SE is 'situated' in poor countries considering: the international SE movement contribution to the dissemination of particular logics and practices of SE across the world; and the relationship between limited access to resources and bricolage modes of action (Lévi-Strauss, 1967) which affects the local enactment of SE. Research gaps and theoretical limitations pertaining to normative SE assumptions and models are identified. This chapter frames 'SE' as practice and 'developing country' as context.

**Chapter Three** builds on the ILP as a meta-theoretical tool for analysing multi-level relationships that enable or constrain the enactment and legitimisation of SE. The chapter examines SE, as a field of practice, and its legitimising efforts aiming at attracting and retaining resources in contexts characterised by resource constraints and institutional voids. It then elaborates on how multiple ILs interplay, affecting the enactment of practices and their translation. The ILP is used to theorise how the mobilisation and recombination of meanings mirrors different degrees of embeddedness in the local context. The overlap between SE and institutional work (leading to the creation, disruption, or maintenance of institutions) is also explained. This chapter identifies logics as sources of meanings used for legitimising SE practices and conducting institutional work.

The reflexive ethnographic methodology and the research design employed in this thesis, closely aligned with the research question and cognisant with the research topic, are explored in Chapter Four.

**Chapter Four** begins by exposing what motivated this study, and the consequent research journey. It explores the philosophy behind the thesis and the interpretivist research design. It elaborates on the reflexive ethnographic

methodology that was applied to examine embeddedness and the use of ILs. The chapter details the varied methods utilised for collecting data and the broad range of participants and materials gathered. Data analysis techniques are then specified. The chapter accounts for the researcher's role in the research setting and the reflexive use of social theory.

This study's findings and discussion are presented in three empirical chapters.

**Chapter Five** elaborates on the practices and logics underpinning exogenous forms of SE (found to be transplanted into Mozambique) and their legitimisation.
**Chapter Six** elaborates on the practices and logics underpinning endogenous forms of SE already being undertaken in Mozambique (found to be informal and necessity-driven) and their legitimisation.
**Chapter Seven** elaborates on the practices and logics underpinning trans-cultural forms of SE (found to combine and translate exogenous and endogenous logics) and their legitimisation.

The last chapter regards the thesis conclusion.

**Chapter Eight** concludes the thesis by stepping back from theory to consider the practical implications of this study. It identifies the theoretical contributions. These are briefly summarised in the section below. The chapter also acknowledges the limitations of the present study and offers suggestions for future research.

## 1.4. Research Contributions

This thesis makes a number of contributions to theory and practice. These contributions are explored in more depth within the main body of the thesis and the conclusion (Chapter Eight).

This study extends existing research on the tensions of social ventures that attempt to combine contradictory logics of action (for-profit and non-profit activities), by examining how ILs may differ across cultures. The thesis goes a step further, exploring how potentially conflicting logics from western and non-western cultures interplay within the field of SE. It identifies and explains the diversity of practices of SE that coexist in developing economies. This makes a valuable contribution to SE theory development by more closely integrating the

influence of cultural context. It also yields insights into how different degrees of local embeddedness affect the translation of social entrepreneurial practices into poor countries.

The research connects different practices of SE with sets of logics. Such practices are meaningful depending on what goals, interpretations, activities, and interactions are considered to be appropriate (Nicolini et al., 2016) in a given context. Hence, it responds to calls for extending the application of practice theory to SE in order to capture practices' variation within the field and how SE comes into being (Mair & Martí, 2006).

The thesis provides a reflexive critique of hegemonic western conceptualisations of SE and legitimising discourses of resource-rich SE agents from developed countries (Nicholls, 2010) which overlook less conventional forms of SE. Such a prescriptive approach to SE equates sustainability with profit-orientation, over-emphasises the figure of heroic social entrepreneurs as leaders of formal social enterprises, and the importance of scalability and impact. This study questions the efficacy of replicating normative models of SE and suggests how they may be adapted and translated to suit local needs and empower the poor. This has implications for theory development because it problematises dominant assumptions that offer a narrow perspective of SE across the world by emphasising some logics over others (Bull, 2008). In addition, it may lead to the dissemination of decontextualised and disembedded practices.

Another contribution to theory regards bringing to the fore informal forms of SE that challenge the logics behind what SE is or should be. Isomorphic pressures from developed countries may result in grassroot voices from developing economies being silenced. As a consequence, indigenous practices of SE are likely to remain invisible in the field. Hence, this study furthers understanding of SE in contexts where subsistence and institutional voids give rise to informal arrangements and alternative practices of SE that make do with what is at hand in order to circumvent institutional and resource constraints. Conferring legitimacy to less resourceful and marginalised actors opens up opportunities for more flexible approaches to poverty alleviation.

Finally, this study led to the identification of more transformative forms of SE emerging from trans-cultural embeddedness. These practices combine ILs from non-western societies with logics from western societies, and build on a dual legitimacy (local and international) to prompt institutional transformation. Some actors were found to translate endogenous and exogenous practices. By strategically mobilising trans-cultural compound ILs, such actors engage in institutional work; purposefully maintaining, disrupting and/or creating institutions through everyday practices (Lawrence et al., 2011). Trans-cultural embeddedness is therefore a concept that helps to address the paradox of embedded agency because it acknowledges the existence of a hybrid context, comprising local and international institutional influences, in which some people may be immersed in the first place.

This thesis adds to recent calls for research contextualising entrepreneurship (Welter & Gartner, 2016). It recognises the interrelationship between context, practices and legitimacy. This is relevant for understanding how SE is enacted and translated as a novel category of economic practice. The study also sheds light into how multiple ILs enable or constrain the legitimisation of diverse SE practices in a developing economy.

In essence, this thesis aims to contribute to SE scholarship and development studies by drawing on the ILP to explain SE practices and their legitimisation in the context of a developing economy. This provides an opportunity to challenge western conceptualisations and established models of SE that do not fully depict the variety of SE practices in poor countries. The study extends the applicability of the ILP in non-western contexts, by incorporating a richer set of informal institutions and practices that are utilised, in developing economies, to fill in institutional voids resulting from an inadequate or weak formal institutional infrastructure. It considers the limitations of applying ideal-type ILs based on the rationalities of modern capitalist societies across cultures, since rationalities are culturally embedded and context-dependent (Townley, 2008).

Diverse practices of SE are currently being enacted in Mozambique. They seek legitimacy in order to mobilise resources that are expected to enable the creation of social value in different ways. Some of them have remained invisible for

challenging western assumptions of what SE is or should be. Hence, this study may inform policy makers and international SE promoters on how to better support and convey legitimacy to locally generated endeavours. This would make a relevant contribution to practice by promoting self-sufficiency and real empowerment. This study urges social entrepreneurs to adapt and translate their ventures to suit the local needs of the poor. The globalisation of SE should not be confined to transplanting practices with limited knowledge of the local context and needs, and not sufficiently embedded to bring about change. Inclusive and pluralistic approaches to poverty alleviation will open up opportunities for grounded debate on the real potential, boundaries and benefits of legitimate SE across the world (Nicholls & Young, 2008).

The following chapter frames the concept of SE in poor countries, considering the role of context in shaping and bounding social entrepreneurial behaviours and practices (Welter & Smallbone, 2011).

# CHAPTER TWO:
# SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF A DEVELOPING ECONOMY

## 2.1. Introduction

This chapter sets the theoretical foundations and predominant paradigms underpinning this study's research topic and goals. It synthesises relevant academic literature on SE in developing economies, highlighting major debates and limitations of current research, in order to expose the theoretical framework that has informed and guided the investigation. The literature review localises the research focus within the context of the wider academic community in the field, and undertakes pertinent critical appraisal. It also draws on additional sources, such as government reports and policies, official statistics, bilateral agency commissioned research and operational plans, NGO programmes and surveys, and World Bank and United Nations development reports. This has led to the identification of research gaps to be addressed but, most importantly, to questioning prevalent assumptions that determine the current understanding of the subject matter (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013), i.e. the enactment of SE in the context of a developing economy.

This chapter is structured as follows. It starts by framing SE for the purposes of this study. This outlines the ambiguities and limited scope of some definitions of SE (Subsection 2.2.1), and the key differences and similarities between SE and mainstream entrepreneurship (Subsection 2.2.2.). It then examines SE as an academic topic and a field of practice (Subsection 2.2.3.) which needs to be further contextualised and examined in developing countries. It also introduces the practice of SE as a unit of analysis (Subsection 2.2.4). The chapter moves on to situate SE in developing countries highlighting the SE movement (Subsection 2.3.1.), how it cuts across sectors and countries (Subsection 2.3.2.), how bricolage has been used in SE research (Subsection 2.3.3.), and the relationship between SE and gender in developing economies (Subsection 2.3.4.). Finally, the importance of acknowledging the context/s in which SE unfolds is explained (Section 2.4.). The review concludes by summarising: research gaps and the limitations of existing

assumptions underpinning the study of SE (Subsection 2.5.1. and 2.5.2.), which emphasise the importance of inquiring how multiple practices of SE emerge and are operationalised in distinctive socio-economic and cultural environments; the theoretical framework adopted in this study (Subsection 2.5.3.); and anticipated research outcomes (Subsection 2.5.4.). A more context aware approach, problematising and providing a reflexive critique of SE underlying paradigms, is developed as this is expected to contribute to both academic research and practice.

## 2.2. Framing Social Entrepreneurship

### 2.2.1. *An Encompassing Concept*

SE, increasingly institutionalised as a sub-discipline within the research field of entrepreneurship, still means different things to different people (Dacin at al., 2011; Nicholls, 2010). It lacks an agreed upon definition (Certo & Miller, 2008) and involves a blurring of sector boundaries (Dees, 1998a; Mair & Martí, 2006; Chell, 2007; Austin et al., 2006) since it caters for a dual logic: social and entrepreneurial (Doherty et al., 2014). SE manifests itself in a wide range of organisations and social practices (Townsend & Hart, 2008) across the globe (Chell et al., 2010). This makes reaching some sort of conceptual clarity an even more challenging task (Dacin at al., 2011). Establishing concrete definitions would help overcome the ambiguities of SE which place obstacles on research in the area (Certo & Miller, 2008). However, a universal definition accepted among different parties is hardly possible considering that SE is a highly contested concept (Choi & Majumdar, 2014). Dacin et al. (2010) argue that research on SE should move away from definitional debates, which have led to the dominance of conceptual studies over empirical research (Short et al. 2009), to a more insightful examination of existing theories inherent in conventional, cultural, and institutional entrepreneurship.

There are broad and narrow conceptualisations of SE (Austin et al., 2006). SE has been characterised broadly as innovative social venture. This includes for-profit endeavours and not-for-profit initiatives in search of alternative funding strategies, and new social arrangements to create social wealth (Dees, 1998a; Dees & Anderson, 2003; Cochran, 2007; Chell, 2007). Likewise, SE has been more narrowly defined as the use of market-based activities to address social problems

and generate income through innovation (Thompson, 2002). In this case, SE matches the notion of social enterprise; the terms are used interchangeably meaning innovative business activities with a primary social aim (Peredo & McLean, 2006). Inevitably, this entails the existence of hybrid commercial organisations which identify and exploit market opportunities in order to generate revenue to sustain a social mission. Such types of organisations might not constitute the most common expression of SE in countries where there is not a legal form for them. In view of the above, this study draws on Tracey & Phillips (2007) integration of both conceptualisations. The authors claim that they correspond to two modes of SE: the former is not necessarily reliant on commercial means, focusing on reconfiguring resources to achieve social change or even societal transformation (Alvord et al., 2004); the latter is concerned with "enterprise for a social purpose" (Tracey & Phillips, 2007, p. 265).

Although research on SE has progressed beyond the early focus on definitions (Doherty et al., 2014), this thesis recognises the importance of adopting an encompassing definition that includes a broad collection of activities and organisational forms. This is crucial to be able to contrast cross-cultural narratives and understandings behind practice (Karanda & Toledano, 2012). As a social construct which took root in Western Europe and the USA (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010b) and as a field of practice (Mair et al., 2012), SE entails processual dynamics, fluid and ever-changing. Thus, imposing strict boundaries on what SE is or should be would undermine the aims of this thesis; focusing on the specificities of a developing economy where SE is not yet widespread despite the overwhelming presence of international development organisations (Seelos & Mair, 2005b).

For the purposes of this discussion SE is theorised as the recognition of a social need and consequent utilisation of entrepreneurial practices to create, organise and manage new and innovative social ventures or existing organisations, in order to achieve a desirable social change. This study clearly distinguishes SE (mostly focused on practices of social innovation and entrepreneurship) and social enterprises as specific organisational forms (Tracey & Phillips, 2007). A social enterprise is a business trading for social and/or environmental purposes (Social

Enterprise UK, 2011). It may encompass different types of ventures: either for-profit community-based organisations (CBOs) or hybrid businesses mixing not-for-profit and for-profit elements (CASE, 2008). According to the BIS's Guide to Legal Forms for Social Enterprise (2011, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/31677/11-1400-guide-legal-forms-for-social-enterprise.pdf, p. 2), a social enterprise is "a business with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the business or in the community, rather than being driven by the need to maximise profit for shareholders and owners". It definitely fits into one of the many forms SE can take, adding an element of financial self-sufficiency that is aligned with the mission motive, since wealth creation becomes a means to an end (Dees, 1998a). Nevertheless, this thesis contends that SE is a wide-ranging phenomenon that transcends formalised organisations and specific hybrid legal structures that tend to be circumscribed to some developed countries.

Since this study frames SE as a collection of practices aiming to create social value by combining resources in new ways (Mair & Martí, 2006), it is important to clarify what social value means. The nature of social value is controversial and contested in regards to its meaning and how it can be measured (Somerville & McElwee, 2011a). Some scholars associate it with social justice, intangible effects such as wellbeing and happiness, and the resolution of social problems (Zahra et al., 2009). Others acknowledge that social value concerns the fulfilment of basic and long-standing needs of society (Certo & Miller, 2008). This can be achieved by either meeting those needs or by stimulating social change ideally, but not exclusively, via new or existing organisations which ultimately aim to be financially sustainable and autonomous. Although the creation of social value may span all sectors (Austin et al., 2006), it is highly consensual that having social value creation as the primary mission is what defines SE. This principle helps set boundaries around the concept (Dacin et al., 2011). Hence, more important than disputing the degree of social value created by organisations is to evaluate and contrast the approaches, means, and methods that they utilise to achieve this goal (Chell et al., 2016).

All definitions of SE share the view that the underlying drive for social entrepreneurial activities is social value creation rather than personal or shareholder wealth, and that SE activity requires innovation instead of the mere replication of existing organisational forms and practices (Austin et al., 2006). Interestingly, when examining SE in contexts of subsistence and its potential emergence from within the grassroots rather than for the grassroots, it seems a bit reductionist to assume that SE strictly aims to create social value for others and that resource constraints and institutional voids would not shape and bound innovation (as it is understood in contemporary market economies). In less favourable contexts, SE can be better understood by analysing how individuals and collectives strive to exercise control over events that affect their lives and communities directly (Karanda & Toledano, 2012).

Chell (2007) assumes that social enterprise mixed social and market motives imply *per se* an entrepreneurial behaviour. According to her, all hybrid organisations need to be intrinsically innovative because they confront sometimes incompatible prescriptions from conflicting logics of action (for-profit and not-for-profit) in order to remain competitive and financially sustainable. This contradicts Luke & Chu's (2012) claim that only some social enterprises can be considered examples of SE. They highlight that SE can take innovative forms away from a market-logic, whereas social enterprises do not have to be necessarily innovative, opportunity seeking, risk-taking organisations; even though they are associated with a creative response to a market gap left by the public and private sectors. In the same vein, neither all traditional not-for-profit organisations nor all for-profit businesses act entrepreneurially. This thesis assumes that SE and social enterprise overlap whenever social enterprise is innovative. However, it is important to appreciate to what extent it is necessary to undertake ongoing innovative actions for the sake of change (Sud et al., 2009) when that puts at risk valuable resources (Weerawardena & Mort, 2006); especially in environments critically affected by resource constraints.

This discussion leads to the following subsection, in which differences and similarities between commercial entrepreneurship and SE are explored,

emphasising how a rigid distinction between economic and social value becomes even more artificial in poor countries.

### 2.2.2. *Commercial and Social Entrepreneurship: The Continuum*

Mainstream entrepreneurship has a long history in the business sector (Alvord et al., 2004). Commercial entrepreneurship studies have been usually built upon classical economics and mainstream psychology (Steyaert, 2007); a heritage that has been setting the field apart from other social sciences such as sociology, as well as history and philosophy of science (Watson, 2013).

There are numerous meanings for the word 'entrepreneurship'. Low & MacMillan (1998) state that it is a concept lacking a clear definition. Yet, some of its prominent features are the generation of value through innovation (Schumpeter, 1951; Drucker, 1985), and opportunity identification (Kirzner, 1973) which can be applied to social concerns. Chell (2007), for example, goes beyond conventional interpretations of value creation, suggesting that the definition of entrepreneurship should be extended to include the creation of both economic and social value. This would imply that all types of entrepreneurial organisations, commercial and social, create something of value to a cause or community. Similarly, Thompson (2002) acknowledges that entrepreneurial value creation can be social or artistic rather than financial. Santos (2012) even rejects the dichotomy between economic and social value. He argues that what distinguishes commercial entrepreneurship from SE is a predominant focus on value capture rather than value creation. This explains why SE can be considered a sub-discipline within the field of entrepreneurship (Certo & Miller, 2008); where opportunities are identified and pursued in view of attaining multiple forms of value rather than private gains only (Austin et al., 2006). The narrow economic definitions of entrepreneurship have neglected its impactful role beyond markets, catalysing social change. This aspect is especially important when considering mainstream informal entrepreneurship under conditions of material poverty, which illustrates the social contribution that any kind of entrepreneurial activity can make to the wider society and community (Welter et al., 2015). In this case it is clear that all efforts to improve the economic circumstances of the poor entail crucial social effects (Urban, 2008).

Building on major debates revolving around the entrepreneurial role (Ricketts, 2006): *uncertainty*, *innovation*, *economic efficiency*, *the theory of the firm*, and *economic development*, this subsection unpacks the key differences and similarities between commercial entrepreneurship and SE in an attempt to understand how SE and social enterprise overlap with a generic conceptualisation of entrepreneurship: what it is (ontology) and what it can achieve (impact).

Austin et al. (2006) and Certo & Miller (2008) suggest that commercial and SE differ mainly in terms of *overall mission*, *resource mobilisation*, and *performance measurement*. Nevertheless, they all agree that both forms of entrepreneurship are not fundamentally distinctive but rather situated along a continuum, stretching from purely commercial to purely social endeavours. Kickul & Lyons (2012) also note that most differences between commercial and SE appear to be differences in degree, not absolute. Hence, it is noticeable that despite motivational differences (economic vs. social) a correspondence can be established between commercial entrepreneurship and SE, in that the latter does not contradict the former and vice versa. It is arguable whether the three mentioned differences: degree of profit-orientation; alternative sources of funding (mixed income streams) and strategies for mobilising resources; and additional challenges for measuring performance and impact (based on tangible and quantifiable indicators), are indeed relevant enough not to frame SE as a clear form of entrepreneurship.

Stevenson et al. (1985) advocate that entrepreneurship is driven by opportunity recognition rather than resource control. Similarly, Drucker (1985) defends that entrepreneurship requires the creation of a new venture (which is not the same as starting a business) regardless of its ability to sustain itself let alone make a profit. These views stress two key communalities between commercial and SE: *opportunity identification* and *opportunity exploitation* which, in the case of SE, is not only accomplished by addressing market failures but by mitigating social needs. However, it should be noted that SE seeks opportunities not strictly motivated by novelty but by their social impact (Kickul & Lyons, 2012), which may challenge institutional arrangements and become a measure of success. SE also implies *creative and efficient resource mobilisation*; *uncertainty and risk-taking* (Knight, 1921), especially considering that risk can be measured in terms of equity

but also time, effort (Venkataraman, 1997) and career (Ronstadt, 1984); *network building and legitimacy gaining*; *learning and adaptability* (Dees, 1998a).

In light of the above, SE has contributed to mainstream entrepreneurship research as follows: SE incorporates the generation of multiple forms of value through innovation; it is driven by distinctive motivations leading to novel ways of organising (i.e. creating new organisational forms or changing existing organisations); it mobilises resources in different ways; it merges social and economic goals, simultaneously tackling social needs and economic development; and it puts society ahead of the individual (Kickul & Lyons, 2012) which has implications for reconciling entrepreneurship studies with other academic disciplines beyond economics and psychology. SE contributes to challenging the dominant influence of classical economics, management and business (Mair & Martí, 2006) and mainstream psychology (Steyaert, 2007) on the understanding of entrepreneurship. In essence, it is capable of extending established capitalist notions with the assumption that not-for-profit and for-profit operations are not mutually exclusive (Murphy & Coombes, 2009).

With regards to commercial vs. social enterprise a similar parallel can be drawn, bearing in mind that social enterprises are hybrid organisations consistent with the concept of SE (Perrini, 2006). Businesses are 'social' when they are not owned by identifiable shareholders, they belong to society rather than the state (Thompson, 2002), and profit is not the driving objective. A key difference may lie therefore on the distribution of outcomes: social enterprises serve stakeholders whilst commercial enterprises mainly serve shareholders. This has implications for governance and the legal forms they can adopt (Ebrahim et al., 2014). Nevertheless, Somerville & McElwee (2011a) defend that social enterprises do not have a very distinctive organisational form, except for the fact that they involve stakeholders of a different kind like volunteers, donors, beneficiaries.

Up to this point, it is considered that social enterprises are, in general, expressions of SE whenever innovative (Luke & Chu, 2012). However, social enterprises have a double bottom line and operate in competitive resource environments, including both non-profit and private sector organisations. This suggests that they tend to behave entrepreneurially within their socio-economic context in order to create

and sustain competitive advantage, and mobilise extremely scarce resources (Chell, 2007). Moreover, they are likely to assume versatile forms in practice which reflect the institutional complexity in which they are immersed (Greenwood et al., 2011). Leadbeater (1997) and Seelos & Mair (2005a) advocate that social entrepreneurs have to be even more innovative and skilful than business entrepreneurs. Juggling hybrid models of for-profit and non-profit activities require high levels of accountability (Dees, 1998a) and balancing the interests of multiple stakeholders (Peredo & McLean, 2006; Sud et al., 2009). This becomes more salient in developing economies, marked by international development programmes where social entrepreneurial endeavours tend to not only involve different sectors but also different countries. In such contexts, partnerships and stakeholder relations bring additional layers of complexity.

Likewise SE, social enterprises can be positioned along a spectrum of organisations ranging from the traditional charitable/philanthropic to the purely commercial ones, and are situated somewhere between these extremes (Dees, 1998b; Alter, 2007). Conversely, SE as a practice is even more embracing: an innovative way of addressing social needs through the contemplation of any source of resources (Drucker, 1999; Leadbeater, 1997; Weerawardena & Mort, 2006; Luke & Chu, 2012). This suggests that manifestations of SE can occur at any point across the whole range including non-hybrid organisations. This study acknowledges that it happens every time an opportunity to generate economic, social and/or environmental benefits is pursued despite financial rewards; making use of innovative, value creating activities that involve a certain degree of risk (Peredo & McLean, 2006).

Figure 1 illustrates the wide-ranging scope of SE manifestations which surpass the hybrid spectrum of social enterprises. SE may also occur within charitable organisations reliant on donations or commercial firms because, first and foremost, it is a practice of social value creation that may happen sporadically as part of some initiatives. This is an important premise that led to a flexible and inclusive approach to collect data from a variety of SE actors in Mozambique (see Figure 7 in Chapter Four). In this thesis, SE also includes social endeavours that do not require market involvement or business transactions in order to be innovative

or even sustainable (e.g. some government programmes; Cross-sector Partnerships for Development). In addition, it is recognised that SE may play out differently in non-western, non-traditional research settings due to specific institutional arrangements and contextual factors (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). Therefore, unconventional forms of community mobilisation prevalent in the developing world are also considered (see Chapter Six). Everyday social practices and collective informal activities, not depicted in the figure below, tend to remain invisible to current research as alternative forms of SE, embedded in contexts where people have to make do to maintain a livelihood (Viswanathan et al., 2010).

**Figure 1: Typology of SE and Social Enterprise**

**Manifestations of SE**

(representing the whole range of resource options)

**Social Enterprises Hybrid Spectrum**

| Traditional Non-profit | Non-profit with Income-Generating Activities | Social Enterprise | Socially Responsible Busines | Corporation Practicing Social Responsibility | Traditional For-Profit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Goodwill appeal<br>Mission driven<br>Social value | Mixed motives<br>Balance of mission and market drives<br>Social and economic value | | | | Self-interest appeal<br>Market driven<br>Economic value |

*Source: Adapted from Alter (2006, p. 14) and Dees (1998b, p. 60)*

Regardless of not having social value creation as its main purpose, commercial entrepreneurship has been acknowledged as a means through which poor people can break the cycle of poverty (Bruton et al., 2013). Consequently, commercial and SE appear to be closely related, not only because of their entrepreneurial essence but because economic value always entails some sort of social effect. SE contribution to long lasting and effective solutions to poverty in developing economies is explored below.

### 2.2.3. *Social Entrepreneurship as an Academic Topic and a Field of Practice*

Despite the steep increase in publications focusing on SE (Mair, 2011), there is still the need to further legitimise it as both: an academic topic (Dacin et al., 2011), and an effective practice to global sustainable economic development which can be

consistently extended to the developing world. However, SE theory has been lagging behind SE practice (Murphy & Coombes, 2009).

Consider academic topic - The majority of published work in the last decade has not originated from research generated at universities. Mair (2011) suggests this is due to scholarly distinction between the domains of economics and sociology, reflecting the fact that SE does not fall strictly within one academic discipline. Conceptual studies into SE outnumber empirical ones (Short et al., 2009; Certo & Miller, 2008; Cukier et al., 2008), meaning that existing research on the topic lacks empirical evidence (Short et al., 2009; Certo & Miller, 2008; Cukier et al., 2009; Weerawardena & Mort, 2006; Mair & Martí, 2006; Dees & Anderson, 2006). However, as explained above, the term SE is not being defined nor applied consistently across the globe (Dees, 1998a). Actually, as a nascent area of scholarly inquiry, SE requires a coherent theoretical framework and advancements in theory testing (Dacin et al., 2011; Short et al., 2009; Weerawardena & Mort, 2006; Mair & Martí, 2006; Dees & Anderson, 2006; Lehner & Kansikas, 2011). SE studies have mostly been conducted in modern industrialised countries (Haugh, 2005; Seelos & Mair, 2005a; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010b; Kerlin, 2006; Doherty et al., 2014). As a result, the amount of published data on SE in Africa, for instance, remains very limited (Karanda & Toledano, 2012). SE leads to social value creation via blending social and economic competences (Dacin et al., 2011). Hence, it is a field of study that calls for an interdisciplinary research focus (Krlev, 2012; Short et al., 2009; Dacin et al., 2011; Mair and Martí, 2006; Certo & Miller, 2008; Urbano et al., 2010), bringing together insights from sociology, economics, political science and organisation theory.

Consider field of practice - SE, as an academic field, is considered to be at a less developed stage of legitimacy than the key paradigm-building actors who have been shaping its enactment as a field of practice, such as the Skoll Foundation, Ashoka fellowship organisation and others (Nicholls, 2010). Existing research into SE has tended to work from presuppositions that western institutional conditions are applicable across all contexts (Desa, 2012; Lehner & Kansikas, 2011). This specific limitation within SE research resonates with a wider growing recognition that entrepreneurship theory has yet to theorise context (Jennings et al., 2013;

Zahra & Wright, 2011; Hjorth et al., 2008; Welter, 2011; Greenman, 2011; Umoren, 2010). Acknowledging the interplay between diverse social entrepreneurial practices and the context (or contexts) in which they are embedded is essential to grasp what really happens on the ground; specifically, how SE materialises in practice in particular environments. Entrepreneurial behaviour, its nature and extent, should be interpreted at the light of the context in which it occurs (Welter & Smallbone, 2011). For example, SE has been attributed with achieving greater economic efficiencies under conditions of resource scarcity (Short et al., 2009; Leadbeater, 1997; Dees, 1998a; Chell, 2007; Zahra et al., 2008). However, there is the need to further scrutinise the various contexts of 'resource scarcity' that can be found in developing economies (e.g. international vs. local organisations, informal grassroot groups or others). Indeed, there are some SE initiatives which have proved to be successful in mitigating adverse social and economic conditions in poor countries (see Alvord et al., 2004; Prahalad, 2005; Zahra et al., 2009; Seelos & Mair, 2005a; Santos, 2012). Yet, little is known about how SE as a field of practice actually unfolds in challenging and severely resource constrained environments.

The potential of SE to recognise and pursue opportunities for sustainable development should be further investigated (Patzelt & Shepherd, 2010). This includes studying its contribution to long lasting and effective solutions to poverty alleviation in developing countries. According to the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), sustainable development is: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Shepherd & Patzelt (2011) advance a definition of 'sustainable entrepreneurship' which overlays the concept of SE since it entails economic and non-economic gains to individuals, the economy and society. However, they restrictively define SE as a mechanism for developing non-economic gains only. This study acknowledges the transformative reach of SE in contributing to sustainable economic development in any part of the world. Sustainability is therefore recognised in all its social, environmental, cultural, and economic dimensions. In contexts of poverty, social entrepreneurial practices, either global or local (Voronov et al., 2013), surely imply not only indirect economic effects but also the purposeful generation of economic value; crucial for

the sustainability of a particular SE endeavour and inseparable from the social value it creates (Dacin et al., 2011).

SE, as a field of practice, tends to be portrayed in the media and academic research as unequivocally positive (Bull, 2008). According to Dey (2006), it became a fashionable trend legitimised through consensual discourses that posit irrefutable benefits in all contexts (e.g. poor countries) and all areas (e.g. developmental aid work). Empirical evidence from overlooked developing economies may challenge this assumption entrenched in romanticised and heroic ideals of sustainable social change, and entailing messianic interventions (Nicholls & Cho, 2006) which may not translate into real life (Dey & Steyaert, 2010). This calls for a reflexive critique, problematising a possible mismatch between theory and practice (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). Therefore, it is necessary to further contextualise practices of SE directed towards poverty alleviation, by accounting for issues of power, politics and dominance (Doherty et al., 2014) which constitute the dark side of SE, largely neglected in existing literature (Dacin et al., 2011).

The next subsection elaborates on the practice of SE as the unit of analysis of this study.

### 2.2.4. *A Practice Approach to Social Entrepreneurship*

SE is arguably a uniform field of practice already legitimised across the world (Nicholls, 2010). Hence, it can be viewed as a bundle of heterogeneous practices (Mair et al., 2012), associated or not with formalised organisations, and more or less rooted in global and/or local socio-cultural contexts (Voronov et al., 2013). This thesis builds on Drucker's work (1985), in which entrepreneurship is introduced as a practice. It adopts a practice perspective precisely because the enactment of SE may vary for not yet being institutionalised in the developing world. In this respect, agents of SE can be seen as carriers as well as conceivers of SE practices. SE is a creative and social organising process that is expressed in many different types of ventures (Johannisson, 2011). Thus, typical western-born social enterprise models refer to one possible materialisation of SE practices (Mair & Martí, 2006) alongside many others.

A practice approach, which recognises entrepreneuring or entrepreneurial action as a practice that creatively organises people and resources via social interactions (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008), shifts the focus of analysis from the individual entrepreneur to everyday entrepreneurial activities as social practices (Watson, 2013), and is capable to explore issues of translation and of contextual embeddedness, societal and institutional (Steyaert, 2007). Clearly, entrepreneurial practices entail social mobilisation and collective support. Therefore, it is crucial to assess how different contexts and community factors, affecting resources availability, ability to span boundaries etc., influence the emergence, conduct and outcomes of entrepreneurial practices of any kind (Hindle, 2010). This is precisely one of the aspects this research intends to address.

Theorising SE as a diversified set of practices provides a powerful analytical frame to incorporate context. It relates situated action and the social structure in which the action takes place (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011). This study acknowledges that practices provide "order and meaning to a set of otherwise banal activities" (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007, p. 995). Taking a practice perspective makes it possible to conceive the entrepreneurial process as "a culturally shaped achievement, the result of engaging with and transforming social practices of doing and living" (Steyaert, 2007, p. 468). A practice approach to commercial entrepreneurship has already been adopted in relevant academic literature on the topic (e.g. De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Johannisson, 2011; Anderson, et al., 2010; Steyaert, 2007; Terjesen & Elam, 2009; Keating et al., 2014). However, despite the call for the promising application of a practice-oriented perspective to examine how SE comes into being (Mair & Martí, 2006), social entrepreneuring practices have received little attention from SE scholars.

Using practices to study the unfolding of SE is appropriate for addressing the integration of agency and structure (Giddens, 1976; Bourdieu, 1977); acknowledging the interaction between a diversity of agents and the context/s in which they are embedded. Practices are recognisable patterns of bundled activity that constitute daily life but are not exclusively determined by a particular social context. They can be enacted in slightly different ways in order to remain meaningful (Keating et al., 2014). Through shared understanding, practices tie

together the social and the individual as an open-ended set of actions through which humans act in the world and on the world in ways that are simultaneously intelligible to others and creative (Schatzki, 2002).

This study explores multi-level relationships within people, organisations and between them and society. This suggests the need to consider the institutional and social embeddedness of SE as a social practice and the importance of building relations of trust, cooperation and commitment with the community and other key actors (Seanor & Meaton, 2008). SE goes beyond individual undertakings and organisations. It is a practice that emerges through the mobilisation of multiple logics of action and social groups (Chapter Three). SE agents draw on rules, norms and beliefs in the enactment of actions, but at each point of reproduction there is always a possibility for change (Jack & Anderson, 2002). This is especially important when investigating a multi-cultural research setting where international and local actors attempt to legitimise their endeavours, and navigate multiple institutional environments (Terjesen & Elam, 2009), through socially embedded practices of SE reflecting actor positions in structures of power relations (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009).

## 2.3. Social Entrepreneurship in Poor Countries

SE is widely recognised as an efficient mechanism to address social and environmental challenges in receptive developed economies. According to Bornstein (2007), crucial changes contributed to the emergence of SE: (1) increase in prosperity leading to a growing middle class and wealth generation to finance social ventures; (2) greater number of democratic societies allowing citizens to freely contribute to social and environmental improvement outside public and private spheres. Clearly, such conditions are not prevalent across the world, namely in low-income economies, authoritarian or semi-democratic regimes and recent democracies, which constitute a significant part of the world. According to the United Nations Human Development Report (2007), half of the world lives below the poverty line. This thesis is based on the premise that SE may offer alternative and sustainable means to address poverty-related social needs at a global scale (Seelos et al., 2006), supplementing governments and international organisations (Seelos et al., 2011). However, this entails additional challenges in

poor countries characterised by resource constraints, weak institutional infrastructures (George et al., 2016; Rivera-Santos et al., 2015), and where ongoing international development projects have been leading to aid-dependency (Hickel, 2015).

Many studies focus on high-profile examples of SE taking place in developing economies. These successful stories are exceptionally impactful (Alvord et al., 2004; Santos, 2012), e.g. Grameen Bank (Bangladesh), Aravind Eye Clinic (India), and give salience to local social entrepreneurs who happen to be highly educated and well connected. Another stream of literature analyses SE ventures operating in developing countries yet supported by foreign development organisations (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Rivera-Santos et al., 2012), or developed countries organisations aiming to serve poor nations (Seelos & Mair, 2005a; Dorado & Ventresca, 2012). International social endeavours reinforce the globalisation potential of SE (Zahra et al., 2008). However, they do not illustrate grassroots SE, i.e. the potential existence of 'barefoot' SE in poor countries (Imas et al., 2012), where primarily necessity-driven informal practices prevail. Imas et al. (2012, p. 563) define *barefoot entrepreneuring* as "the entrepreneurial practices and narratives of individuals who live primarily in marginal, poor and excluded places and contexts". Just as informal activities have recently been acknowledged as an important part of the study of commercial entrepreneurship (Welter et al., 2015), it seems timely to inquire whether some informal practices can be framed or not as legitimate forms of SE. Undoubtedly, there is a lack of research situating SE in contexts of endemic poverty with the aim to evaluate to what extent the poor themselves are capable to find autonomous means to tackle their needs as well as their communities'.

Particular contextual factors in Sub-Saharan Africa shaping the enactment of SE were pointed by Rivera-Santos et al. (2015). Acute poverty, informality, colonial history, and ethnic group identity were found to influence the way some local social ventures perceive themselves and conduct their activities. On the other hand, the intersection between international development and SE has been noted by many scholars (Zahra et al., 2008; Seelos et al., 2006), and led to the prominence of an array of international projects and organisations within the field

of SE. For example, Seelos & Mair (2005a) associate SE with global corporations that have created collaborative new models catering to basic human needs that remain unsatisfied, whilst fulfilling their own economic interest. Studies on SE in poor countries should be cautious when classifying social enterprises or social entrepreneurs based on their self-perception only (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015). International actors, and their easily identifiable and well promoted SE agendas in poor countries, may be overshadowing indigenous practices driven by deprived communities as potential forms of SE, unconventional and less visible. The increasing empowerment of civil society in developing economies plays a crucial role in sustainable poverty alleviation rather than corporate charity and paternalistic aid programmes (Korten, 1995; Burkey, 1993; Moyo, 2009).

Most African countries face human and financial resources constraints and persistent institutional voids (George et al., 2016). These elements of contextual adversity bound people's ability to act, and influence the enactment of SE in such settings. Institutional voids result from an inadequate formal institutional structure, e.g. rule of law, tax system etc. They are defined by Mair & Martí (2009, p. 419) as "situations where institutional arrangements that support markets are absent, weak, or fail to accomplish the role expected of them". This leads to informal institutions, such as social capital, cultural norms, and societal attitudes and values, to fill the gaps left by deficient formal institutions, i.e. laws, regulations and policies characteristic of modern market economies (Mair & Martí, 2009; Welter, 2011; George et al., 2016). For example, the lack of legal recognition for social enterprises (Defourny & Nyssens, 2008 and 2010a) in Sub-Saharan Africa is conducive to a myriad of SE organisational forms (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015). In addition, aid-dependency, corruption, and a prevalent informal economy (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015; George et al., 2016) are expected to also affect how SE plays out.

All these contextual aspects must be considered in a study such as this one, aiming to understand the emergence of SE in the midst of poverty. This implies the acknowledgement that SE in such settings comprises an array of practices and organisations (local, international, or both) due to heterogeneous entrepreneurial responses to institutional conditions, which are dependent on the access to

resources (Welter & Smallbone, 2011). The next subsection examines the SE movement which has grown and spread out over the last few years (Bornstein, 2007).

### 2.3.1. *The Social Entrepreneurship Movement*

SE has become an increasingly important international cultural phenomenon (Dey, 2006). A SE movement is headed by renown philanthropic organisations, e.g. Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Ford Foundation and so forth, and other international elites (mainly from North America and Europe), such as the Skoll Foundation, Ashoka Organisation, Schwab Foundation, university business schools etc. (Schwartz, 2012). The movement is gaining momentum in contemporary market economies (Dacin at al., 2010). It demands an extensive ethical and socially-inclusive type of capitalism and embraces the promotion of sustainable development worldwide (Seelos & Mair, 2005a). This has led to the diffusion of new ideas, supposed to make a positive change across borders, and to the increased visibility of successful examples of SE in developing countries (Dacin at al., 2011). However, the rhetoric underpinning the SE movement tends to put social entrepreneurs in the spotlight as 'World Changers' (Dey & Steyaert, 2010). This raises the issue whether SE is being utilised for disseminating western political agendas or neoliberal ideologies (Dacin at al., 2011) predicated on individual over collective action; in other words, to what extent SE may be appropriated to serve particular stakes and interests while eluding others (Dey, 2006).

The SE movement and its promotion are based on normative Anglo-American repertoires of action and assumptions (Dart, 2004; Desa, 2012), considered to be generalisable. Established social enterprises may now offer 'ready to wear' hybrid models integrating social and financial aims (Wry & York, 2015). Yet, the transposition of SE to developing economies requires concerted examination as to whether 'one size fits all'. The SE movement is currently permeating international development as a panacea for aid-dependency. This has been pushing NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa to replicate prescriptive social enterprise 'best practices' rooted in strategic management and financial sustainability (Calvo & Morales, 2015). Although SE already has a track record in some developing countries

(Seelos & Mair, 2005a), it is noticeable that conventional models of social enterprise have been mostly implemented in the industrialised world. As a consequence, there is a tendency for a dominant view on SE, overemphasising market-orientation and significant impact, to be privileged over other trends (Bull, 2008).

International promoters of SE are responsible for defining SE paradigm-building discourses and ideal-type practices (Nicholls, 2010). These include business-like models based on the figure of 'hero-entrepreneurs', and social change models rooted in community action. Such discourses and models have been disseminated to the developing world by global resource-rich actors (Nicholls, 2010). However, the legitimacy of SE in modern industrialised economies may not translate into different contexts. The global reach of SE (Zahra et al., 2008), implicitly involving outside partners (Rivera-Santos et al., 2012; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Seelos & Mair, 2005a), seems to be drawing attention from other, strictly local and equally valid, practices of SE.

It is important to highlight some ethical concerns associated with the SE movement. When introducing a special issue on the ethical nature of SE, Chell et al. (2016) question whether 'social' equals ethical. Although this volume is mostly focused on SE in Europe and North America, it raises pertinent ethical considerations that are applicable to the expansion of SE to the developing world, e.g. whether capitalism is in the interests of developing countries and the poor, and how entrepreneurs' desire for control and scaling social impact may challenge the actual empowerment of poor communities. Surely, the process of establishing social ends is political since "defining the domain of the social inevitably requires exclusionary and ultimately political choices about which concerns can claim to be in society's 'true' interest" (Cho, 2006, p. 36). The morality of a market approach aiming to solve social and economic problems is arguable (Sandel, 2012; Sud et al., 2009), especially when imposed upon poor countries by powerful international actors like development aid agencies, multinational corporations and NGOs. Zahra et al. (2009) also highlight ethical concerns regarding lack of accountability or transparency. These may be encountered in practice when personal agendas and economic objectives are placed ahead of the fiduciary needs of beneficiaries.

According to Kickul & Lyons (2012), SE is not only about making the third sector and the state more business-like, neither it is about giving business a social conscience. This study questions whether narrow conceptualisations of SE, legitimised as a fix for rigid and innovation-starved public organisations, can be applied to avoid other problems such as aid dependency (Sesan, 2006). Institutionalised values, rooted in individualism and market-orientation should be challenged as being the most efficient ways to address social needs in poor countries (Dey & Steyaert, 2010).

The next subsection examines the complexity surrounding SE in the developing world, caused by the presence of additional stakeholders across sectors and countries.

### 2.3.2. *Social Entrepreneurship across Sectors and Countries*

According to Seelos & Mair (2005b), SE can be classified in accordance to the type of entity adopting it. For some, it refers to the initiatives of non-profit organisations (e.g. charities); for others, it refers to ventures taken forward by independent social entrepreneurs (e.g. social enterprises); a third group views it as the socially responsible practices of commercial businesses engaged in cross-sector collaborations (e.g. CSR). SE and the third sector in developing countries present many operational models which reflect the overlap between social/development programs and market-oriented activities (Alter, 2007). Furthermore, the collaboration between social enterprises, CSOs (civil society organisations) and multinational organisations (such as development aid agencies, international corporations and NGOs) is becoming more common in view of bringing together social entrepreneurs with partners that have the resources to support their activities (Seelos & Mair, 2005a). This has caused development projects to become increasingly sophisticated and complex (Seelos & Mair, 2005b).

Although not limited to the third sector (Austin et al., 2006), it is considered that SE in poor countries encompasses non-governmental organisations with few revenue options and for-profit start-up ventures with a social mission (Desa, 2012). Shaw & Carter (2007) highlight that SE ventures operate within complex multi-agency environments, comprised of diverse stakeholders and client groups,

requiring them to adopt a flexible approach. All forms of SE have to be recognised in order to better understand the administrative complexity of managing aid, prevalent in some countries (Seelos & Mair, 2005b), and reduce barriers to acceptance that may be encountered in economies where SE is not yet widely acknowledged. Poor countries, such as Mozambique, lack institutional infrastructures and resources to enable or support SE (George et al., 2016; Seelos & Mair, 2005a). Under such conditions, SE gets manifested through creative models, organisational structures and strategies, capable to reconcile very limited and disparate resources (Seelos & Mair, 2005a). However, it should be recognised that regular international intervention involves systematic injections of capital to be made from abroad, leading to the country's over-reliance on donor funding (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007).

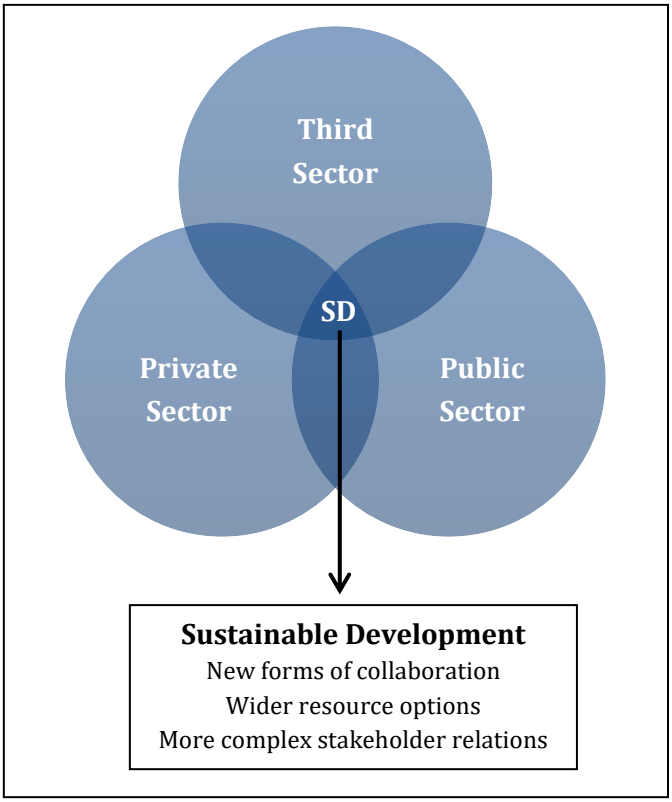
Whilst there is debate over the necessity for social ventures to generate earned income, scholars seem to agree that SE can be found in for-profit, not-for-profit or hybrid endeavours involving any sector (Robinson, 2006; Certo & Miller, 2008, Somerville & McElwee, 2011a). Phillips & Tracey (2007) emphasise that SE entails not only individuals but also teams and organisations. This suggests that SE can span the non-profit, business, or governmental sectors or link them together, blending the best of all sectors to address societal problems (Kickul & Lyons, 2012; Robinson, 2006; Certo & Miller, 2008, Somerville & McElwee, 2011a). It involves individual entrepreneurs, new or existing organisations, or even governments (Austin et al., 2006), bringing together individual, organisational and societal dimensions (Watson, 2013). Intricate operational models involving an array of constituencies from many parts of the world have been implemented in developing countries. However, it is unclear whether these global cross-sector collaborations have been properly translated and contextualised (Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005).

In the Western world, the public sector has been undergoing major changes. It has introduced new models and management approaches closely based on private sector practices. These governments have been applying resources to grow the social business field and to support SE through public policy (Nicholls, 2010). Conversely, agents of SE in developing countries are confronted with institutional

constraints and no support from the local government to assist their activities and to legitimise them (Desa, 2012). These countries manifest ambiguous institutional environments which lead to variance in choice of organisational forms for SE ventures (Townsend & Hart, 2008). A more active engagement from local governments in developing economies is, therefore, expected to contribute to the regulation and legitimisation of SE in order to avoid opportunistic behaviours triggered by international aid.

The overlap between public institutions, the wider social sector, and CSR, is expected to offer great potential for SE new forms of collaborative value creation in support of sustainable development: SD (Seelos & Mair, 2005a). Figure 2 depicts how SE interfaces with all sectors.

**Figure 2: The SE Interface with the Private, Third, and Public Sectors**




*Source: Adapted from Leadbeater (1997, p. 10)*

Pervasive international development projects in developing countries, sponsored and carried out by an array of organisations (local and foreign), cut across sectors and even countries. Cross-sector Partnerships for Development (CSPDs) are agreements between public, private, and/or not-for-profit organisations, in which

involved partners work cooperatively toward common development goals by committing unique competencies and various resources. CSPDs are expected to shift divergent interests into engagements capable of delivering outcomes that surpass those of single sectors acting in isolation (Kindornay et al., 2014). However, these international endeavours entail additional control systems and managerial challenges (Peredo & McLean, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2005b). They also entail an institutional complexity in which balancing the interests of multiple stakeholders (Peredo & McLean, 2006) and coping with multiple, competing demands (Greenwood et al., 2011) becomes even more complicated; considering that they not only involve local cross-sector partners but also international actors and their agendas. Local government has to respond to the interests of multilateral and bilateral donors; the third sector encompasses local organisations together with foreign actors such as international charities and NGOs; and the private sector ranges from local companies to international corporations.

It can be argued that SE entails distinctive challenges from mainstream entrepreneurship due to its social mission (Dees, 1998a). It cannot be bounded by sector norms as it has to explore all resource options: human, political and financial (e.g. donations, earned income, public funds, loans, private equity). This leads to added managerial complexity, in that there is the need to harmonise the expectations and values of all stakeholders (Austin et al., 2006) in order to access all possible resources. Lawrence et al. (2012) further note that social entrepreneurs and social innovators are creative problem solvers and skilled politicians, able to overcome resistance from residential communities, corporate actors, government agencies and political factions. This leads to the next subsection that links SE among the marginalised and the dispossessed with the concept of bricolage.

### *2.3.3. Social Entrepreneurship and Bricolage*

The concept of bricolage was originally brought to the social sciences by Lévi-Strauss (1966). In his book, *La Pensée Sauvage,* he contrasts two modes of thought that translate into distinct modes of action: bricolage and scientific (often translated from the French as engineering). They are both equally valid and do not imply stages in the evolution of knowledge. Bricolage is instigated by specific

needs which are circumvented through novel uses of existing 'artefacts' (Johannisson, 2011). Artefacts include repertoires of action, tools and resources locally collected overtime, e.g. social networks. They tend to be extensive and varied yet limited, since there is nothing else readily available. In turn, scientific modes of action are enacted through the procurement of means which have been conceived for the well-defined demands of a specific project. Thus, bricolage is underpinned by 'untamed' thought that entails practical coping. It does not depend on the availability of 'appropriate' resources, leading to not fully pre-planned outcomes (Baker et al., 2003). Scientific thought entails asking a question and designing a determined solution which is nevertheless subordinated to tools, materials and methods previously defined for that purpose. The scientist makes his way out of and goes beyond the constraints of a particular context, creating a new environment via planning and execution. The bricoleur accepts the environment as it is and recombines resources at hand to new purposes (Phillips & Tracey, 2007); rearranging the environment in sometimes unpredictable ways. This suggests that accessibility to critical tangible and intangible resources plays a fundamental role in which of these approaches is most feasible (Desa & Basu, 2013).

Bricolage is commonly described as making do with "whatever is at hand" (Lévi-Strauss, 1967, p. 17). The concept was later extended by Baker & Nelson (2005, p. 329) to accommodate entrepreneurial bricolage: encompassing organisational capabilities to "create something from nothing" when confronted with adverse conditions. In the SE literature, bricolage has been described as a means for social enterprises to acquire resources in resource-constrained environments (e.g. Di Domenico et al., 2010; Desa, 2012; Kickul et al., 2012) or, alternatively, for enabling social enterprises to strategically reach and engage the poor in their activities (Mair & Martí, 2009). These studies consider that bricolage is a tool for social entrepreneurs and hybrid organisations to exert their agency in inhospitable environments. Arguably, they seem to demarcate the agent from the context in which it acts. This happens because, although social entrepreneurs are expected to purposefully operate in resource-constrained environments, it is assumed that they have some scope to negotiate and mobilise resources, adequate for achieving their goals. When following scripts for social enterprise, it becomes

difficult to distinguish what constitutes bricolage and what constitutes scientific modes of action. Conversely, agents of SE among the marginalised and the dispossessed are not restricted to prescriptive SE best practices, and that is where the idea of making do with what is at their disposal, as non-optimal yet workable means to tackle enduring poverty (Baker, 2007), becomes more meaningful.

Di Domenico et al. (2010) highlight similarities between bricolage and effectuation (Sarasvathy, 2001). However, Baker et al. (2003) point out that bricolage is a construct related to both effectuation and causation. Whilst "effectuation processes take a set of means as given and focus on selecting between possible effects that can be created with that set of means", "causation processes take a particular effect as given and focus on selecting between means to create that effect" (Sarasvathy, 2001, p. 245). Hence, it can be inferred that bricoleurs make use of what is at hand not only to see what they can accomplish with their current resources, as per effectuation, but also to find out how to meet a pre-existing goal through what is available, as per causation (Baker et al., 2003).

According to Lévi-Strauss' (1966) original concept and its subsequent application to SE by Zahra et al. (2009), bricolage involves an intimate knowledge of the local context and locally available resources. 'Social bricoleurs' tacit knowledge and mastery over the environment put them in a unique position to identify local social needs and to act in feasible ways. However, their localised small-scale contributions tend to go unnoticed by researchers and international SE promoters who emphasise scalability (Zahra et al., 2009). Bricolage operates by rearranging the environment and such approach is normally perceived as illegitimate (Baker, 2007) for its less transformative, mundane role (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Nevertheless, it evades the apparent limitations of the environment sometimes leading to "brilliant unforeseen results" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 17).

Bricolage involves an embedded type of collective agency (Garud & Karnøe, 2003) rather than the heroic intervention of individual actors (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Bricoleurs' familiarity with the local context is accumulated over time and not easily transmittable to outsiders (Duymedjian & Rüling, 2010). This applies to poor indigenous communities, particularly vulnerable to institutional voids and bounded by a limited set of resources, when addressing the poverty they are

experiencing first-hand. Within bricolage, making and using cannot be dissociated (Duymedjian & Rüling, 2010). This could mean that many resort to bricolage out of necessity (Desa & Basu, 2013). It is also important to highlight the key role of socially embedded institutions like social capital and informal social networks for garnering material resources (Holt & Littlewood, 2016; Smallbone & Welter, 2001); in other words, the relational nature of reflexive collective action (Johannisson & Olaison, 2007) in view of collaborative resource deployment (Cleaver, 2002; Cleaver, 2012) triggered by adversity.

Bricolage entails bringing social practices to new use (Johannisson, 2011). It implies a thorough awareness of contextual constraints, existing social practices, beliefs, values and norms (Cleaver, 2002), and the capacity to realistically resort to what is accessible, i.e. resources and practices that are likely to be ignored or considered worthless by other less embedded actors. SE entails bricolage when resource constraints and institutional voids are minimised via mobilising and reconfiguring resources at hand (Desa, 2012; Di Domenico et al., 2010; Mair & Martí, 2009). In contexts of subsistence it may go beyond recycling unwanted materials (Holt & Littlewood, 2016), whenever communities at the grassroots consciously or unconsciously resort to and rearrange already held resources that result in new arrangements still linked with locally acceptable ways of doing things (De Koning & Cleaver, 2012). The concept of bricolage articulates the dynamic relationship between social structure and agency (De Koning & Cleaver, 2012). Thus, it is essential to acknowledge the social and cultural contexts in which entrepreneurial action takes place (Welter & Smallbone, 2011; Phillips and Tracey, 2007; Urban, 2012). These may defy what is taken-for-granted elsewhere, for example, SE assumptions and models institutionalised in developed economies.

“Things are only resources while they are being used . . . it is the combination of thing and use that makes a resource.” (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011, p. 1246). Within bricolage, local knowledge is combined with embedded praxis (Seremani & Clegg, 2015); what Keating et al. (2014) call ‘social resourcing practices’. There are different modes of coping with challenging environments; bricolage is certainly one of them, enacting entrepreneurship via improvisation and personal networking. The notion of ‘‘organizing context’’, introduced by Johannisson (2011)

and strongly linked with the concept of bricolage, explains how environments can be made enactable and how collective support for entrepreneuring is mobilised, simultaneously balancing the need for change and stability. It may apply to international social endeavours but surely translates into highly embedded and contextualised practices of local actors and residential communities in developing countries.

The next subsection elaborates on the role of women in SE in the context of developing economies which is relevant when considering aspects such as entrepreneurial bricolage and social ties (Haugh, 2007) and its intersection with female agency in hostile (Welter, 2011) and resource-poor environments (Di Domenico et al., 2010).

### 2.3.4. *Social Entrepreneurship and Gender*

Female entrepreneurship in poor countries has been subject to growing interest (Minniti & Naudé, 2010), namely in sub-Saharan Africa (Kiggundu, 2002; Amine & Staub, 2009). The number and proportion of women entrepreneurs in the developing world has increased (Kevane & Wydick, 2001). Women are considered to be critical drivers of commercial entrepreneurship in such settings due to their unique role in the household (Horrel & Krishnan, 2007) and their lack of access to the formal labour market (Minniti & Naudé, 2010). In addition, female-led micro and small enterprises are expected to have a significant impact on the local economy and the welfare of poor communities. However, little in known about the role of women in SE in developing economies.

Haugh (2005) and, more recently, Marlow (2014) call for studies on SE and gender. There is contentious debate on women propensity to undertake SE in comparison with their male counterparts. Although some studies suggest that women are more likely to engage in SE rather than commercial entrepreneurship (Harding, 2006) due to their caring and selfless disposition, others indicate that there is no visible distinction among social entrepreneurs in terms of gender (Alvord et al., 2004). Teasdale et al. (2011) have come to the conclusion that, in the UK, women are underrepresented as leaders of private sector social enterprises yet, this gender inequality is less marked in third sector organisations.

Interestingly, it is unclear whether this holds in developing economies highly affected by cross-sector international development programmes and a resource constrained informal sector.

As mentioned, SE discourses and models are being disseminated to the developing world by global resource-rich actors (Nicholls, 2010). Most western discourses emphasise the business logic of SE and associate it with the heroic figure of the male social entrepreneur (Marlow, 2014). This agrees with the view that SE is gendered in a similar fashion to that of commercial entrepreneurship given SE overriding objectives of financial sustainability, scalability and growth (McAdam & Treanor, 2012). However, considering that SE goes beyond social enterprise, and it is framed in this thesis as a bundle of heterogeneous entrepreneurial practices (Mair et al., 2012) with an embedded social purpose (Austin et al., 2006), the degree of female engagement in the enactment of SE in the context of developing economies remains unexplored.

The prevalent informal economy that characterises sub-Saharan Africa (George et al., 2016) affects how SE plays out and how social ventures perceive themselves (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015). In these settings entrepreneurship is rooted in the informal sector (Littlewood & Holt, 2015; AfDB/OECD, 2008) and women are predominant actors in informal markets (Verheul et al., 2006; Lopes, 2011). Indeed, women appear to be more inclined to operate informally for necessity reasons (Williams, 2009) since their deep feeling of responsibility to feed their families pushes them to seek any kind of income, including that from informal sources (Welter et al., 2015). According to Williams & Nadin (2012, p. 309), "those living in deprived populations are more socially-orientated, whilst those in relatively affluent populations are comparatively more profit-driven". This suggests that in contexts of subsistence the distinction between commercial and SE becomes blurred. The assumption that informal entrepreneurship is always commercially-driven must be questioned.

Women in developing countries have been found to be active 'social bricoleurs' (Zahra et al., 2009), tackling their needs and their communities' in resource constrained environment through informal social networks (Smallbone & Welter, 2001). For example, informal saving schemes such as Rotating Savings and Credit

Associations - ROSCAs (De Vletter, 2001), mostly undertaken by women (Dava et al., 1998; Trindade, 2007), are widespread in the developing world (Brink & Chavas, 1997). Informal saving schemes are the main mechanism through which Mozambican women satisfy basic needs (ICC, 2013) due to gender discrimination in terms of formal employment and market access to financial services (George, 2016). These inequalities had led to promising opportunities to empower women in developing countries through SE (Datta & Gailey, 2012). Indeed, SE strategies for empowering and integrating women have been considered 'smart economics', not only for being fair but for being economically sound (World Bank, 2012; IMF, 2012). Research, aiming to boost entrepreneurial solutions to poverty, suggests that social businesses flourish when they reduce gender discrimination and that women-led social enterprises can generate more revenue than their male-led counterparts (ICRW, 2015).

Surely, the overlap between SE and gender in developing economies also revolves around microfinance. Women have been prioritised as a target group for poverty-oriented micro-credit loans (Mair & Schoen, 2007). The Grameen Bank focused on reducing gender inequalities from its outset. It provides loans almost exclusively to women, replacing bureaucratic control with trust by making groups of women jointly responsible for repayments (Yunus et al., 2010). There is increasing pressure from gender-sensitive development policy promoters for targeting women through special credit programs. However, women's reliability and higher propensity to repay their debts (Goetz & Gupta, 1996) makes them more attractive as customers in the strict economic sense (Armendáriz & Morduch, 2010). Whilst some studies argue that micro-credit schemes targeted at women have been successful in overcoming gender power imbalances (Johnson, 2004), there is evidence that the disproportionate emphasis on providing micro-loans to poor women at the exclusion of poor men constitutes a short-sighted strategy for poverty alleviation that may actually oppress women rather than empower them (Barsoum, 2006).

Female entrepreneurship and its intersection with SE in 'non-western' non-traditional environments must be further investigated. That said, gender

inequalities and the economic and social role of women must be taken into account when contextualising SE in developing countries.

## 2.4. Social Entrepreneurship in Context

SE has been broadly researched in developed country contexts such as North America and Europe (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010b; Kerlin, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2005a; Doherty et al., 2014). Most studies on SE, conducted in developing economies, examine social ventures in which international NGOs and other foreign organisations are present (e.g. Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Seelos & Mair, 2005b; Rivera-Santos et al., 2012). Inevitably, research has tended to legitimise SE via predominantly Anglo-American assumptions considered to be the norm (Dart, 2004; Desa, 2012). This thesis responds to calls for more contextualised research in order to better understand how resource constraints, institutional voids, and other contextual factors (economic, political, and cultural – Shane, 2003) shape and bound social entrepreneurial behaviours and practices (Welter, 2011; Welter & Smallbone, 2011). Decontextualised understandings lead to a narrow view of the SE phenomenon, exclusively based on normative western contexts. This may reinforce a disembedded type of agency or the disregard of less conventional practices of SE taking place in developing economies. And it is especially important in poor countries regularly benefiting from international development interventions, and where SE models 'exported' from the developed world may not be properly understood and translated into practice.

Whilst researchers examining developed country contexts have become more adept at integrating entrepreneurial action and institutionalisation, the process is less understood in developing economies (Bruton et al., 2008). This presents an opportunity to examine how context, as an asset or a liability, mediates social entrepreneurial practices in less known settings (Welter, 2011) in order to improve supporting structures (Haugh, 2005).

The subsection below sheds light on the array of terms utilised to label regions and countries that fall outside the typical contexts of modern industrialised economies.

### 2.4.1. *What is supposed to be a Developing Non-Western Economy?*

The World Bank's main criterion for classifying economies is gross national income (GNI) per capita. Low-income and middle-income economies are sometimes referred to as developing economies, even though classification by income does not reflect development status (The Word Bank, 2011). The United Nations also notes that the designations "developed" and "developing" are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgment about the stage reached by a particular country or area in the development process (UN, 2012). A developing country is a nation with a low living standard, undeveloped industrial base, and low *Human Development Index* - a composite statistic of life expectancy, education, and income - relative to other countries (Sullivan & Steven, 2003).

The terms utilised when discussing developing countries refer to the intention and to the constructs of those who utilise them. Other terms sometimes used in development literature are: less developed countries; underdeveloped economies; non-industrialised nations; poor countries; and Third World countries. The last denomination arose during the Cold War to define countries that were not aligned with either NATO (USA, Western European Nations and their allies) or the Communist Bloc. Since many of these countries were extremely poor it became a stereotype. As a consequence, people commonly refer to poor countries as Third World countries even though territories such as Mozambique (still a Portuguese Overseas Province until 1975) were officially classified as part of the First World. According to Tomlinson (2003) there is no consensual definition of the Third World due to the complex history and contexts affecting its meanings.

An emerging market economy is defined as an economy with low to middle per capita income. Such countries constitute approximately 80% of the global population, and represent about 20% of the world's economies. The designation was coined in 1981 by the World Bank economist Antoine Van Agtmael. Although the term is loosely defined, countries that fall into this category are considered to be fast-growing economies in the process of industrialisation because of their developments and reforms. Emerging economies are also characterised as transitional; meaning that they are in the process of economic liberalisation, i.e.

moving from a closed economy to an open market economy while building accountability within the system. This is supposed to be a transitional phase between developing and developed status, where market forces set prices rather than a central planning organisation. Emerging nations are most likely to receive aid and guidance from large donor countries and/or world organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Investopedia, 2011).

The Global North-South divide, although challenged (Therien, 1999), is also commonly utilised. The global North includes the USA, Canada, Western Europe, and also Australia, New Zealand, and developed parts of Asia which, despite not being actually located in the geographical north, share similar economic and cultural characteristics as other Northern countries. The Global South is made up of Africa, Latin America, and developing Asia including the Middle East.

This study focuses on Mozambique, one of the poorest countries in the world yet a promising emerging economy. Since the country's economic situation matches all above classifications, apart from the one for Third World countries, all of these denominations are used interchangeably when referring to the research setting.

The concept of Western world is subjective in nature, depending on cultural, economic, spiritual or political criteria. From a cultural and sociological approach, the Western world encompasses all societies that are directly derived from and heavily influenced by European cultures. It includes Europe, the Americas and Oceania (Thompson & Hickey, 2005). Economically, the term is sometimes interchangeably used with the term developed world; although countries that may be culturally 'western' may be developing countries. The Western world is generally considered to share certain fundamental political ideologies. It can be distinguished from the Islamic Middle-East, parts of Asia and sub-Saharan Africa for having distinctive cultural patterns, traditions, beliefs and values (Karan, 2004).

The western/non-western nomenclature is commonly utilised in academic literature (e.g. Thornton et al., 2012; George et al., 2006; Karanda & Toledano, 2012) mostly, but not exclusively, in the field of international development and also by African scholars. The terminology may be considered ambiguous and it is

surely controversial. However, it was used by Habermas, Bauman and Bourdieu, among others, in an attempt to rationalise and self-identify the social world. This thesis utilises this system of classification as a reference point for analysing and contrasting distinctive cultural contexts. Furthermore, there is core solidarity among non-western societies including parts of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa based on their non-European cultural roots and shared memories of domination by western powers (Karan, 2004). Both western and non-western cultures are acknowledged in this study as intrinsically heterogeneous, considering that each embodies diverse rationalities (Townley, 2008), based on the valorisation of a variety of traditions and values. In addition, non-western societies are not considered to be driven by the lack of 'reason' neither positioned in terms of sociocultural evolutionary progress.

### 2.4.2. *Contextualisation*

Different contexts define when, why and how entrepreneurship takes place and who becomes involved (Welter, 2011). This explains why contextually aware research on entrepreneurship, exploring new contextual variables (informal societal institutions and networks, cultural beliefs and practices, local actors diversity), may be so useful to explain how social entrepreneurial action emerges and functions in developing countries (Bruton et al., 2008). Zahra (2007) clearly emphasises how entrepreneurship falls outside the boundaries of consensual theories when not anchored in the contexts in which it occurs. In accordance, Marquis et al. (2007) add that local institutional contexts might be more salient than global environments in explaining phenomena such as the practice of SE.

The term context has been defined as the external factors affecting the nature and outcome of an opportunity (Austin et al., 2006), by setting boundaries for action (Welter, 2011). These factors are equally important in the social sector as they are in the commercial sector, considering that opportunities to address social change are sometimes pursued not despite of, but because of, an inhospitable context (Austin et al. 2006). Context comprises circumstances and aspects of the environment which tend to be outside of the endeavour's control. However, an artificial separation between 'context' and 'individual' does not encapsulate the intricacies of entrepreneurial practices (Spedale & Watson, 2014). In addition, it

has been noted that as context shapes entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship may also have an effect on context (Welter & Smallbone, 2011; Bruton et al., 2010; Welter, 2011). The degree of embeddedness of practices of SE in the local context is also an extremely important part of this study (Jack & Anderson, 2002). Cultural affinity helps to build social capital and community networks. In opposition, cultural distance may alienate SE agents from the context in which they are operating (George, 2016). On the other hand, the degree of embeddedness of some organisations in various institutional and social contexts may increase their access to local or international resources (Jack & Anderson, 2002).

Multiple dimensions of context have been recognised (Welter, 2011). Zahra & Wright (2011) framed context considering spatial, temporal, social and institutional dimensions; later extended to temporal, industry, spatial, social and organisational, ownership and governance (Zahra et al., 2014). All dimensions are interrelated and overlap. However, such acknowledgement of context heterogeneity does not fully reflect the complex nature of particular environments. In some developing countries, institutional and social dimensions may be hybrid, reflecting the existence of two sets of institutions and diverse social networks (local and international). This problematises (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011) the distinction between what can be theorised as multiple contexts coexisting in specific spatio-temporal dimensions (Fletcher & Selden, 2016) vs. a single hybrid context. Context heterogeneity arises from the integration of multiple dimensions, which in turn may be heterogeneous as well; each embodying contextual hybridity. Assuming that regions such as North America, Southeast Asia, and Africa present extremely different institutional environments, cultures, and management practices (Desa, 2012), one can easily comprehend the importance to take into account the particularities of each contextual force affecting social entrepreneurial action (Austin, 2006; Mair & Martí, 2006; Urban, 2008; Karanda & Toledano, 2012, Littlewood & Holt, 2015). This thesis considers context as a dynamic multi-layered construct which incorporates intra and inter relationships within and between levels of analysis: macro, meso and micro (Welter, 2011). It also recognises the significance of the multi-level 'mixed embeddedness' (Kloosterman, 2010) of actors, as well as actor embeddedness in sometimes hybrid contextual dimensions.

Apart from many initiatives in industrialised countries, clusters of SE exist in Southeast Asia (especially Bangladesh and India) and also in Latin America (e.g. Brazil, Ecuador). In those countries SE plays a valuable role in society, providing crucial infrastructures and services, namely for poverty alleviation via the empowerment of the poor (Seelos & Mair, 2005a). However, this is not a widespread reality. In many developing countries, the moral and cognitive legitimacy (Suchman, 1995) of SE is questionable. It is unclear whether pro-market political and ideological values (Dart, 2004), or taken-for-granted assumptions about 'heroic' individual-driven endeavours and the usefulness of SE in promoting poverty alleviation, prevail in most poor economies (Calvo & Morales, 2015). Understanding distinctive contexts is a requirement arising from globalisation (Guenther & Kasi, 2015) and issues of neo-colonialism that may weaken cooperation between nations. In the case of Mozambique, some argue that the significant involvement of donors, for example, is leading to the re-colonisation of the country (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007).

The deficiencies of developing country institutional contexts, permeated with donor-based structures (Calvo & Morales, 2015), may offer opportunities for entrepreneurs to exploit gaps left by the lack of regulations and policies (Welter, 2011; Zahra, 2008). Conversely, unsupportive and unstable institutions can impede entrepreneurial action (Baumol et al., 2009). Ambiguous institutional frameworks increase uncertainty (Somerville & McElwee, 2011b) and usually lead to corruption (Mair & Martí, 2009; Bähre, 2007a; Castel-Branco et al., 2001) and self-interested behaviours triggered by international aid. Furthermore, local cultural factors and institutional arrangements shape how people react to corruption, and this aspect may constitute a key obstacle to entrepreneurship in some economies (Zahra & Wright, 2011). Yet, there are studies revealing that illegal entrepreneurial practices are so widespread in some African contexts that they became norm: "an almost parallel economy with its own traditions and values" (Fadahunsi & Rosa, 2002, p. 397).

Zahra et al. (2008) highlight that the global potential of SE deserves greater research attention. Social opportunities are supposed to be inherently global and many social business models from industrialised economies have already been

replicated in other parts of the world. Yet, the nature and outcome of social opportunities are affected by contextual factors (Austin et al. 2006). Stevenson & Jarillo (1990, p. 23) broadly define opportunity as a "future situation which is deemed desirable and feasible". This implies that even necessity-driven forms of entrepreneurship, widespread among the poor, entail realistic opportunities for improving living conditions. In contexts of subsistence and deprivation necessity-driven practices, which aim to fulfil people's basic needs mutually benefitting each other, may constitute forms of SE (Karanda & Toledano, 2012). The conception of entrepreneurial opportunity is therefore subjective and should be contextualised (Baker & Powell, 2016). Current academic studies on context should further explore the inequality of opportunity: "how structural and related cultural and institutional sources of advantage and disadvantage shape the lived experience of entrepreneurs and would-be entrepreneurs around notions of what is feasible and desirable in the contexts in which they find themselves" (Baker & Powell, 2016, p. 47). Indeed, little is known about how SE unfolds in poor countries marked by unfavourable regulatory, normative and cognitive institutional environments (Desa, 2012), and hybrid contexts where local and international institutions operate.

Contextualising phenomena is crucial to theory building and testing (Whetten, 1989; Zahra, 2007), as is the recognition of context heterogeneity (Zahra & Wright, 2011). Few studies acknowledge recursive relationships between agents and contexts (McKeever et al., 2015) and open research avenues to bridge diverse contexts (Welter, 2011), embracing the knowledge of local and international communities to operate together within particular institutional environments. A multi-level analysis of SE surely needs to consider contextual aspects in order to provide richer and more accurate insights (Zahra & Wright, 2011) about the situatedness of entrepreneurial practices. However, even context has to be contextualised through the consideration of the attributes of a setting (Zahra et al., 2014) together with actors relative positions in heterogeneous fields (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Powell & Colyvas, 2008).

A description of the contextual characteristics of the research setting (i.e. Mozambique/Maputo) is provided in Chapter Four.

## 2.5. Conclusion

From this literature review it can be seen that the theoretical foundations and predominant paradigms underpinning this study's subject matter include the recognition that: (1) Adopting an encompassing definition of SE is essential to reflect the variety of SE practices that are likely to be enacted in the research setting. SE is an ambiguous term. However it is anchored in Anglo-American assumptions that may not translate into a developing economy. The adoption of an embracing definition that transcends formalised organisations adds elasticity to the concept without ignoring current contestations; (2) Social enterprises are hybrid organisational forms and one possible manifestation of SE in developing countries, among many others; (3) There is a blurred line and an artificial separation between commercial and SE. This is particularly salient in subsistence economies and contexts of endemic poverty; (4) SE is at an embryonic state and not fully legitimised as a field of practice in some developing economies, where alternative endeavours attempt to respond to resource constraints and institutional voids; (5) A practice perspective of SE is helpful as a multi-level unit of analysis that comprises actor understandings and their contextually embedded actions; (6) There is a SE movement, supported by powerful and resourceful international promoters, permeating the developing world; (7) SE in developing economies is conducive to complex CSPDs that involve local and international organisations due to international intervention; (8) SE is linked with the concept of bricolage, especially in contexts of deprivation and scarcity; (9) Context shapes and bounds entrepreneurial actions. Hence, contextualising diverse SE practices is essential to better understand their nuances.

This chapter identifies important research gaps. These offer opportunities for insightful inquiries on SE as a diverse set of practices.

### 2.5.1. *Research Gaps*

Existing research into SE has tended to assume that western institutional conditions are applicable across all contexts (Desa, 2012; Lehner & Kansikas, 2011). The de-contextualised nature of existing entrepreneurship theory is being noted as a key limitation by many scholars (Jennings et al., 2013; Zahra & Wright,

2011; Hjorth et al., 2008; Welter, 2011; Greenman, 2011; Umoren, 2010). There is a lack of research situating SE in contexts of endemic poverty with the aim to evaluate to what extent the poor themselves are capable to find autonomous means to tackle their needs as well as their communities'.

Relevant research gaps, emphasising the importance of exploring how different forms of SE unfold in distinctive socio-economic and cultural environments, emerge from this review: firstly, the lack of empirical analyses focusing on SE in overlooked developing economies; secondly, the lack of studies framing SE as a practice; thirdly, the lack of multi-level research able to bridge diverse contexts and to acknowledge their influence on SE understandings and practices. Contextualisation is about recognising differences instead of forcing generalisations (Welter & Gartner, 2016). In fact, the 'social' element of SE is not uniformly understood (Karanda & Toledano, 2012). Weerawardena & Mort (2006) claim that conceptualisations of SE fail to adequately consider the particularities of social entrepreneurs, the organisational forms they adopt, and most importantly the contexts within which they operate. This thesis addresses these gaps but also problematises theoretical assumptions.

### 2.5.2. *Problematisation of Existing Theory*

Progress towards solving the most pressing social and environmental problems has been continuously deferred due to the inability or unwillingness from the public, private, and voluntary sectors to effectively address these challenges (Bornstein, 2007). Moreover, it is increasingly acknowledged that the pursuit of economic advantage does not have to be dissociated from the affairs of society and this global reality, according to Bornstein (2007), Kickul & Lyons (2012) and many other scholars, is what makes addressing social problems via SE a natural fit. However, more research is needed to explore whether these assumptions are directly applicable to less-westernised contexts. This calls for a reflexive critique, problematising a possible mismatch between theory and practice (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). It is pertinent to further contextualise practices of SE directed towards poverty alleviation, by challenging SE hegemonic assumptions and legitimising discourses that do not depict for instance social entrepreneurial

practices undertaken by the grassroots or other local actors. Ultimately, decontextualised understandings lead to disembedded types of agency.

SE research has tended to employ normative western assumptions, including models and conceptualisations of SE expected to be universally effective. In addition, SE has been narrated as unequivocally positive - almost like a 'new religion' or an expanding ideology that may not directly translate into real life across the world. This has triggered a SE movement through which legitimising discourses from developed countries are being disseminated (Nicholls, 2010). There is surely a dark side of SE that has been largely ignored in existing literature (Dacin et al., 2011). Also, current theoretical assumptions have neglected the possibility that the poor may be capable to be independent agents of SE who tackle social needs affecting them directly.

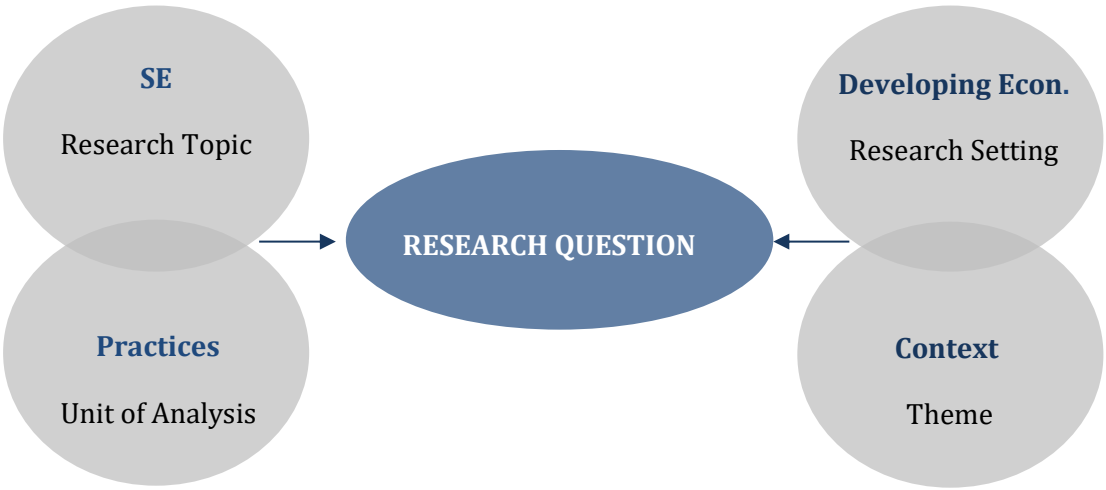
Other theoretical limitations for the study of SE in unconventional contexts encompass existing theories and frameworks that may need to be developed and adapted. For example, the idea that bricolage is about making use of resources at hand is vague. Scientific modes of action also make use of resources at hand; it just happens that what is 'at hand' is specially targeted and designed for achieving a specific purpose. Bricolage should therefore be further contextualised. Similarly, the theorisation of context as a single heterogeneous entity vs. a combination of multiple intertwined contexts can be problematised.

### 2.5.3. *Adopted Theoretical Framework*

The theoretical framework below builds upon the literature review presented in this chapter. It accounts for three of the five key elements embodied in this thesis research question: *How is social entrepreneurship enacted and legitimised in a developing economy through local and globalised institutional logics?* They are: SE, enactment, and developing economies. This framework is based on the research gaps encountered in academic literature, and theory problematisation. It appreciates the concepts of SE as practice and developing country as context. Figure 3 is a basic depiction of the theoretical foundations used to inform and guide this investigation. It illustrates the adoption of practice theory as a means to explain the enactment of SE in the research setting. It also highlights the multi-

culturality of the Mozambican (Maputo) context in which different practices of SE are embedded.

**Figure 3: Theoretical Framework**




### 2.5.4. *Anticipated Research Outcomes*

The literature above suggests that practices of SE may contribute to sustainable economic development. Such process can be examined by more thoroughly analysing the multi-layered influences of context in developing countries. The research gaps that were identified open research opportunities for considering international variations of SE as a function of distinctive social needs and contextual aspects. The limits of SE theory should be challenged by integrating the mediating effects of context. Such inquiry in developing economies is likely to offer rich insights capable of extending extant SE assumptions and integrating sociological concepts in order to develop existing theories to better suit the study of SE (e.g. entrepreneurial practices, bricolage, new institutional theory).

SE has been increasingly acknowledged by governments, donors and the public as a propeller for development in Africa (Urban, 2008). However, issues of embeddedness and the role of political, social, economic, and cultural forces in its evolution in the region must be considered (Karanda & Toledano, 2012). The next chapter builds on new institutional theory and the ILP as theoretical and analytical tools for explaining multi-level relationships that facilitate or constrain the emergence of different practices of SE in the research setting (Urbano et al., 2010).

# CHAPTER THREE:
# THE INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS PERSPECTIVE: LOGICS, LEGITIMACY AND INSTITUTIONAL WORK

## 3.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant academic literature on new institutional theory and its usefulness to study the legitimisation of SE. It highlights theoretical limitations that have led to further work on ILs and institutional work. The ILP is therefore identified as a crucial theoretical and analytical tool for this investigation that helps to address the previously identified gaps on SE research (see Chapter Two); in particular, the lack of multi-level research able to bridge diverse contexts and to acknowledge their influence on SE understandings and practices. In addition, the chapter pinpoints areas for theoretical development and adaptation, which are required to apply existing theories to unconventional contexts, namely those of developing economies (Bruton et al., 2008).

The chapter is structured in the following way. It starts by describing the usefulness of new institutional theory for better understanding the unfolding of SE (Section 3.2), acknowledging its overemphasis on structure over action (Subsection 3.2.1.). It then examines the legitimacy of SE as a field of practice that needs to attract and retain resources in the context of a developing economy (Subsection 3.2.2.). The chapter moves on to introducing the ILP (Section 3.3.), how ILs interplay in the research setting, its value for analysing practices' adoption and translation (Subsection 3.3.1.), and the relationship between logics' mobilisation, embedded agency and local communities (subsections 3.3.2. and 3.3.3.). Finally, the overlap between SE and institutional work is explained; leading to the creation, disruption, or maintenance of institutions (Section 3.4.). The review concludes by summarising: the theoretical foundations and paradigms of this thesis (Section 3.5.); the limitations of existing assumptions underpinning SE logics, legitimacy and institutional work (Subsection 3.5.1.); the theoretical and analytical framework adopted in the study (Subsection 3.5.2.); and anticipated research outcomes (Subsection 3.5.3.). The scrutiny of SE actor embeddedness in the local context, their interpretations and practices, is expected to reflect, and be

reflected on, the multiple logics at play in the research setting, and the legitimising efforts of different practices of SE; thus shedding light on the dynamic relationship between structure and agency.

## 3.2. New Institutional Theory and Social Entrepreneurship

It is advocated that new institutional theory is extremely useful for developing richer insights on entrepreneurship research (Bruton et al., 2010). It provides a theoretical framework which enables a more thorough examination and understanding of SE across the globe (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Mair & Martí, 2009; Sud et al., 2009; Townsend & Hart, 2008; Dacin et al., 2011, Desa, 2012). An institutional perspective is capable of explaining the structural factors that facilitate or constrain the emergence and implementation of SE in a given context (Urbano et al., 2010). This is especially important considering that SE aims to address social problems, altering the institutional social system from which these problems have arisen in the first place (Bornstein, 2007; Alvord et al., 2004; Santos, 2012). Hence, this thesis draws on the work of organisational sociologists who have employed new institutional theory to examine the interrelationship between legitimacy and the institutional environment (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Soulsby & Clark, 1998).

Institutions can be defined as structures of social order based on practices, beliefs, and attitudes which became taken-for-granted or assumed as rules. New institutional theory develops a sociological view of institutions, and explores how they interact and affect social, political, and economic actions, as dynamic social constructs. It recognises that organisational action is fundamentally shaped by broader social and cultural processes (Scott, 2001) and thus it questions behaviourist, rational, and economic explanations of entrepreneurship. The institutional context which defines 'the rules of the game' is composed with formal and informal institutions (North, 1990). Formal institutions are based on political and economy-related rules which create or restrict opportunities for entrepreneurship, e.g. laws, regulations, policies. Conversely, informal institutions are related to social capital and cultural norms (Knowles & Weatherston, 2006), in particular societal beliefs, values and attitudes which influence opportunity recognition and opportunity exploitation (Welter, 2011); thus, bounding the

nature and extent of entrepreneurial activities, e.g. the value society assigns to entrepreneurship, the role of women in society etc. (Welter & Smallbone, 2008).

According to Meyer & Rowan (1977), formal organisational structures tend to reflect institutional myths instead of the demands of their work activities. This legitimises their practices and, as a consequence, facilitates resource assembly that increase chances of survival. Other seminal work on new institutional theory has focused on the process of institutional isomorphism, by which organisations end up presenting similar structures and behaviours, shaped by the institutional environment (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Institutional coercive, normative, and mimetic pressures lead to organisational uniformity (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). However, the context in which the isomorphic process takes place and the economic aspects capable of either fostering or hindering mimetic processes - what Greenwood et al. (2008) called 'competitive isomorphism' - seem to have been overlooked. Considering social ventures at developing economies, it is unclear whether they tend to mimic successful organisational structures and practices from developed nations or, alternatively, from their own countries. This may challenge the assumption that developing economies will naturally evolve towards a western-centric institutional environment (as argued for example by Friedman, 2006), instead of adopting divergent trajectories, either non-mimetic or mimetic. In fact, Tolbert & Zucker (1983) acknowledge that the existence of low coercive pressures tends to slow down the adoption and diffusion of new organisational structures. Therefore, the implementation of social enterprises, as novel organisational forms, appears to be governed by the extent to which these become locally legitimised by law and regulated. This suggests that the existence of institutional voids in developing economies may determine different types of isomorphism shaped by the lack of formal institutionalisation.

Sud et al. (2009) claim that institutional isomorphism is affecting SE as an organisational field, and anticipate that SE initiatives will become increasingly similar to each other. Although isomorphic pressures are expected to inhibit SE institutionally disruptive role, the authors recognise that by operating in a wide variety of cultures, geographic locales, and social problems, SE may not be as susceptible to institutional pressures compared to other industries and

organisational forms. As discussed earlier, SE is supposed to challenge the status quo and sectoral assimilation (Nicholls & Cho, 2006). However, the more it resists institutional isomorphism, the less likely it is to bring about comprehensive reforms needed to provide solutions to large scale social ills (Sud et al., 2009). This view reinforces the relevance of institutions in enhancing SE capability to address widespread social needs. Nevertheless, new institutional theory has been criticised for its over-emphasis on macro-structural effects over agency.

### 3.2.1. *The Critique of New Institutional Theory*

This study focuses on the interpretations of an array of actors with regard to SE. These interpretations are expected to not only mirror how specific institutional contexts shape individual understandings and practices, but also the potential for actors' understandings and practices to impact upon macro-level processes. New institutional theory has traditionally focused on macro-structural effects on organisations, assigning a limited role to social actor agency as a means to explain institutional persistence and change. More recently, Powell & Colyvas (2008) attempted to address this gap developing a micro-level analysis of institutionalisation that considers the micro-level building blocks of institutional processes. This provides an understanding of how individuals are positioned and interpret the social context. According to them, macro-factors do not exclusively reinforce homogeneity, likewise micro-factors not always equate with entrepreneurship and agency. Still, individual agency (associated with entrepreneurial action) redresses the focus on isomorphic pressures by looking at how individuals and organisations interpret their context and use institutional meanings to achieve interests, goals and change (Greenwood et al., 2008; Suddaby et al., 2010; Hardy & Maguire, 2008).

This study draws from new institutional theory in order to build a theoretical foundation for integrating the dynamic influence of institutional context/s into entrepreneurship (Welter, 2011). It accounts for external and internal contextual factors influencing how SE is enacted and translated as an organising process in the research setting. Steyaert & Hjorth (2006, p. 1) clearly note the "double sociality of entrepreneurship"; specifically framing SE as a process of social change both influenced by and influencing change at societal level.

Bruton et al. (2008) claim that research in emerging economies has the potential to develop new institutional theory, extending its applicability. Unlike modern market economies, developing countries tend to present a deficient formal institutional structure (Welter, 2011). In such environments, new institutional theory and the ILP should, therefore, incorporate the important role of a richer set of informal institutions and practices (connections with key government officials, alternative contractual arrangements, informal means to resolve disputes, and so on) that are utilised to fill in institutional voids resulting from an inadequate or weak formal institutional infrastructure (Mair & Martí, 2009).

Since this study focuses on diverse practices of SE and their legitimising efforts in the context of a developing economy, it is necessary to further analyse the aspect of legitimacy within new institutional theory.

### 3.2.2. *The Legitimacy of Social Entrepreneurship as a Field of Practice*

New institutional theory is traditionally concerned with how fields of practice and organisations secure legitimacy by conforming to the rules and norms of the institutional environment (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 2007). Studies of institutional processes through which new institutions may be created or transformed (DiMaggio, 1988) have tended to concentrate on mature organisational fields (Maguire et al., 2004; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Bruton et al., 2010) instead of emerging ones such as SE (Nicholls, 2010), and on developed economies (Garud & Karnøe, 2003; Martí & Mair, 2009). Thus, new ways of enterprising have been under-researched in terms of their legitimising efforts although they are liable to produce institutional change. An institutional approach to novel practices, unfolding in less-westernised settings, requires the incorporation of broader institutional and cultural frameworks which are often altered by organisations and individual actors (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007) and the work they carry out (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006)[2]. Clearly, contexts where the institutional environment incorporates a mix of local and international institutions pose additional challenges over what is to be considered legitimate and who has the authority to attest it (Lounsbury, 2007).

[2] Institutional work is elaborated on in Section 3.4. of this chapter.

Legitimacy, in the context of this thesis, is "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). Suchman (1995) identifies three primary forms of legitimacy: pragmatic or economic (self-interested and based on financial benefits, power and control); moral (based on normative approval); and cognitive (based on comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness). Aldrich & Fiol (1994) specify two types of legitimacy: socio-political (formal legitimacy) and cognitive (informal legitimacy). The latter has been reframed by Archibald (2004) as 'cultural legitimacy'. Essentially, from an institutional perspective, legitimacy is the means by which organisations obtain and maintain resources (Oliver, 1991; Santos & Eisenhardt, 2005). Hence, the ability to attract and retain different types of resources is a key factor in the search for legitimacy. Notwithstanding, as the SE field gains increasing recognition and attempts to scale social ventures to other parts of the globe, for example to avoid aid-dependency, unintended consequences may result from the lack of adequate resources. In a field still in its infancy, the very existence of certain types of organisations depends upon the consent of the society in which they are embedded (Sud et al., 2009). This means that the legitimacy that SE already attained in modern industrialised economies may not translate into poor countries.

It has to be acknowledged that the wider environment not only creates opportunities but also plays a fundamental role in granting socio-political-cognitive legitimacy to new practices (Hwang & Powell, 2005) so that they can overcome the liabilities of newness (Stinchcombe, 1965). Even though organisations and individual entrepreneurs may respond differently to the institutional environment, they need to legitimise their actions in the eyes of a range of key actors so as to acquire the necessary resources to build their ventures (Tracey, 2012) and to pursue entrepreneurial opportunities (Martens et al., 2007). According to Zott & Huy (2007), legitimisation is ultimately a symbolic and discursive process which requires meaning to be created and communicated differently to different actors. This is especially important when considering novel social enterprising practices still unfolding and lacking formal and informal

legitimacy in some developing economies (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994), e.g. social enterprises, microfinance institutions (MFIs) (UN, 2006).

SE activity is still insignificant in many African countries, in comparison to the rest of the world since most NGOs and charities in the region are still dependent on grants, subsidies, donations, sponsorships and membership fees (Rippon & Moodley, 2012). Furthermore, some African economies rely on donor funding for their national budgetary shortfalls (Karen, 1989; Sesan, 2006; Karanda & Toledano, 2012). This indicates that they tend to be unfamiliar with the modus operandi of SE endeavours and suggests that legitimising efforts within this embryonic field may have to go beyond pure conformity with prevailing institutional conditions. Legitimacy can be conceptualised as the presence or absence of questioning, and questioning is likely to arise in contexts where "a satisfactory organization is unfamiliar" (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008, p. 51).

Nicholls (2010) analyses the legitimisation of SE as an emergent field of action in a pre-paradigmatic state. He extends new institutional theory in terms of the role played by legitimacy in processes of institutionalisation. In this article, Nicholls emphasises unresolved tensions between the two most dominant SE western discourses stemming from the narratives of powerful resource-rich actors. They include: the individual hero entrepreneur associated with ideal-type organisational models based on business; and, communitarian/network models rooted in empowerment, advocacy and social change. Yet, processes of legitimisation leading to institutionalisation have a cultural dimension too, which varies according to the setting under analysis. This suggests that further work is needed to examine how these legitimising discourses affect SE in developing countries.

For commercial entrepreneurship, institutionalisation (resulting from legitimacy gaining) is normally recognised as a means to reduce uncertainty by securing consistent institutional support (Somerville & McElwee, 2011b). Conversely, in the case of SE, legitimising efforts leading to institutionalisation may actually increase uncertainty as they serve to accentuate conflicts in values. This creates ambiguity about what counts as the appropriate course of action for entrepreneurial activities that concurrently create social and economic value (Somerville &

McElwee, 2011b) and operate in unconventional and complex institutional contexts. Such institutional ambiguity, lacking normative agreement, is conducive to the variety of existing SE ventures and organisational forms (Townsend & Hart, 2008) around the world and affects how they attempt to legitimise themselves. SE, as an innovative emerging practice capable of blending for-profit and non-profit activities, demands garnering societal support in order to produce institutional change in countries where social entrepreneurial activities are unfolding. However, it is arguable whether it is morally legitimate to transpose pre-existing western-centric models, grounded on neo-liberal, pro-business political and ideological values (Dart, 2004), to poor nations. For that reason, this research reflexively tests the boundaries of the prescribing power of SE legitimacy, as defined by international elites, in the context of a developing economy.

Several studies have employed institutional perspectives to examine culture (Bruton et al., 2010; Suddaby et al., 2010) but few emphasise the importance of acknowledging the symbolic environment as a means to incorporate cultural processes in entrepreneurial action (Phillips & Tracey, 2007; Shane, 1993; Davidsson & Wiklund, 1997; Kreiser et al., 2010). SE may utilise cultural practices, values and beliefs to contextualise and legitimise its endeavours. This can be undertaken by both local and foreign actors, yet it signposts the relevance of cultural embeddedness, interpretation, and struggles-over-meaning (Zilber, 2006; Hardy & Maguire, 2008). Following Scott & Lane (2000, p. 49), Lounsbury & Glynn (2001, p. 546) define culture as "an interpretive framework through which individuals make sense of their own behaviour, as well as the behaviour of collectivities in their society". Interpretive frameworks exist at micro, meso, and macro levels but are cultivated in ways that resonate with broader societal beliefs (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001). This leads to the next section which elaborates on ILs.

### 3.3. The Institutional Logics Perspective

ILs are macro-level belief systems that shape the interpretations and behaviour of organisations and individuals (Thornton, 2004). Thornton & Ocasio (1999, p. 804) define ILs as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide

meaning to their social reality". As mentioned earlier, North (1990) defines institutions as the rules of the game in a society. In turn, Leca & Naccache (2006) describe ILs as the underlying principles of the game, susceptible to mobilisation. This indicates that they can be acted upon, and explains how a social enterprise business model, for example, may become embedded in a developing country context. The term 'institutional logic' was first introduced by Friedland & Alford (1991). Their seminal paper explores the interrelationships between individuals, organisations and society, and specifies that institutions are rooted in symbolic systems and material practices. The material aspect of institutions refers to structures and practices that express and affect the meaning of symbols; hence, exemplify and reinforce the valorisation of particular logics (Bourdieu, 1977).

Friedland & Alford (1991) stress how meanings, values and practices should be positioned in a societal context and further propose that contradictory ILs provide ground for change. SE tends to utilise hybrid models of conflicting logics of action, i.e. for-profit and not-for-profit activities, which create tensions between economic sustainability and social mission (Dacin et al., 2010). These internal logics have been examined within western contexts using the ILP (e.g. Jay, 2013; Tracey et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2012; Battilana et al., 2015; Mair et al., 2015); an approach to institutional analysis that stems from new institutional theory (Greenwood et al., 2008; Thornton et al., 2012; Dacin et al., 2011). This thesis extends the employment of the ILP to better understand how potentially conflicting logics from western and non-western cultures interplay, within the field of SE, providing scope for institutional transformation. This allows for broader conditions and situated factors to be brought into the analysis and built into the explanation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The ILP constitutes a meta-theoretical framework capable of explaining how people's actions and interpretations are rooted in prevailing ILs (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Using this lens, society is viewed as an interinstitutional system (Friedland & Alford, 1991). The interinstitutional system provides an abstract typology of ideal-type categories utilised in this thesis as a tool for analysing ethnographic materials (see Appendix 1). Each institutional order constitutes a domain that builds around a cornerstone institution (state, market, professions, corporation, religion, family and community) and its logics, i.e. organising

principles, practices, and symbols. Multiple logics constitute frames of reference that affect actor reasoning and choices. It has been assumed that market, state, corporation, and professional logics are predominant in modern societies, whereas family, religion, and community tend to be prevalent in less-westernised countries (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Friedland & Alford, 1991). However, Thornton et al. (2012) note that evidence suggests that the salience of one institutional logic over another is not an evolutionary progression driven by rationalisation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) or scientisation (Meyer et al., 1997).

The ILP builds upon, yet departs from, new institutional theory because it incorporates macro-structural effects on action together with culture, agency and process. Hence, cross-cultural tensions and institutional ambiguity give scope for actors to mobilise, decompose and hybridise distinctive logics assigning alternative meanings to their practices. The ILP is also supposed to represent "a general model of cultural heterogeneity un-biased toward the Western world" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 18). This provides a means to contextualise empirical studies. However, it is arguable whether the way ILs are framed within the interinstitutional system, mostly based on the rationalities of modern capitalist societies, are applicable as ideal-types across cultures, considering that rationalities are culturally embedded and context-dependent (Townley, 2008). In addition, the formal and informal aspects of institutions are somewhat obscured. Such acknowledgment is important to examine contexts where there is a shortfall in formal institutions (George et al., 2016) and a prevalence of informal institutional arrangements (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). Cleaver (2002) categorises *bureaucratic* (formal) and *socially embedded* (informal) institutions, which are not necessarily easily distinguishable and may even coexist as constituent elements of an institution. While the first concern formalised arrangements based on explicit organisational structures, contracts etc. (introduced by governments or development agencies), the second are based on culture, social organisation and daily practice.

ILs may differ across cultures and they are useful to theorise the multi-level relationships of context/s. Also, different entrepreneurs may mobilise different logics and be affected differently by their previous experience, the field/s in which

they operate, and the encompassing societal structure in which they are embedded (Zahra & Wright, 2011). Distinctive processes of social interaction resulting from living abroad, prior education, professional background, personal activities, shared experiences with family or friends etc. expose individuals to different cultural influences (Pache & Santos, 2015). Development projects in emerging economies tend to be complex and to involve an array of constituencies (Seelos & Mair, 2005b), presumably with extremely diverse backgrounds, experiences, and degrees of influence (Shaw & Carter, 2007). The interpretations of diverse actors, and the alternative logics to which they have been exposed, affect their understandings of SE, the organisational forms they adopt, and the legitimising efforts they carry out.

Since the context from which a conceptual framework is derived has significant impact, researching non-western societies offers opportunities to develop and further extend the applicability of the ILP. For example, western societies have experienced the rise of the individual as an entity separate from the society in which he/she is immersed (Sud et al., 2009). Western civilization used to view society as being composed of unified institutions such as the family, the state, the church, and the market. However, individualisation, utility-maximisation and self-interest (Mangaliso, 2001; West, 2014) have been separating people from communal social structures, and making them see the market as a special domain somewhat detached from other social institutions (Sud et al., 2009). Actors less exposed to western influences, on the other hand, may prioritise more communitarian ILs. Indeed, logics such as trust and reciprocity were emphasised and acknowledged to play an important role in either complementing or substituting the formal institutional framework (Welter & Smallbone, 2011).

This thesis bridges the logics behind diverse repertoires of action with social entrepreneurial practices, and relates them with legitimising efforts. There are hegemonic assumptions and models of SE set by resource-rich actors from developed countries. These logics of SE tend to focus on the figure of hero-entrepreneurs and market-orientation (Nicholls, 2010; Dart, 2004; Dey & Steyaert, 2010) which may not translate into other institutional contexts. Hence, the ILs deployed by diverse actors express various 'biases' to legitimise SE practices.

Research conducted in developing countries allows a better understanding of the cultural boundaries of social entrepreneurial practices. Profit, self-interest, and individualistic behaviour may not be universal (Bruton et al., 2008), and this suggests that the logics at play within the field of SE in Mozambique may not be the same as those usually utilised in the developed world.

Many studies utilise new institutional theory in conceptualising context and its effects but focus on single-level analyses. Zahra & Wright (2011), De Clercq & Voronov (2009), Tracey et al. (2011), Lounsbury & Crumley (2007), Mair & Martí (2009) and many other scholars call for more process work to address this under-socialised literature. Whilst new institutional theory focused mostly on the primacy of structure over action, and later incorporated concepts such as institutional entrepreneurship in an attempt to reintroduce the role of agency on institutional change, the ILP acknowledges that organisations and individuals are constituent parts of an institutional environment where actors and context dynamically shape one another. This approach assumes that institutions operate at multiple levels and actors are nested in all individual, organisational, field and societal levels (Thornton et al., 2012).

This section applies sociological concepts, such as embedded agency, community, and institutional work to examine how SE emerges in the context of a developing economy. It develops current understandings of the logics of SE by explaining how different social entrepreneurial practices seek legitimacy and become legitimised; thus, considering the role of ILs in the reproduction and transformation of organisations and institutions (Thornton et al., 2012). The unit of analysis concerns practices of SE, whose legitimacy dynamics in the research setting result from strategic and symbolic actions, together with external factors such as interested audiences who judge their appropriateness and credibility (Navis & Glynn, 2010). These processes are examined by observing cross-level social interactions and the interpretations of key local actors[3]. This thesis contributes to a contextualised understanding of: how multiple ILs interact, enabling or constraining the enactment of different forms of SE; how social change may

[3] By key local actors it is meant individuals and social groups operating locally, directly or indirectly involved in SE (impoverished *vs*. resourceful, indigenous vs. foreign, educated *vs*. illiterate).

emerge through potentially conflicting ILs; and the role of individual actors, organisations, and communities in introducing, practicing and translating SE in a developing economy.

### 3.3.1. *Social Entrepreneurship Translation*

Many studies have addressed the micro-processes associated with ILs (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Lok, 2010). Micro-processes leading to change are built from translations, analogies, combinations, and adaptations of macro ILs. Thus, the interaction between an array of different ILs explains the multiplicity of actor thoughts, beliefs and attitudes (Thornton et al., 2012).

Social business models being exported from modern industrialised countries must be translated and localised (Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005). The diffusion of ideas occurs through a process of translation and interpretation-based responses (Czarniawska, 2008; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Translation assumes that ideas and practices are interpreted and reconstructed during the process of adoption. Hence, the legitimisation of SE as a set of practices rooted in ILs involves the mobilisation and reshaping of cultural meaning systems, which will change along the way (Zilber, 2006). Adoption demonstrates how embeddedness facilitates the alteration of the very institutional arrangements that condition the decision processes and capacity for action (Lamertz & Hugens, 2009).

This study explores the requirements and implications of transferring new practices from developed countries to a developing economy, and the potential existence of less conventional practices of SE that challenge the institutional normative expectations of SE international elites. This entails the recognition that different degrees of local embeddedness play a key role in the empowerment of communities, the types of practices unfolding in the research setting, and how they are translated.

### 3.3.2. *Embeddedness*

Entrepreneurship in a broader sense is as an embedded socio-economic process (Granovetter, 1985; Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986). Degrees of embeddedness become even more central in the shaping and sustainability of social ventures (Haugh,

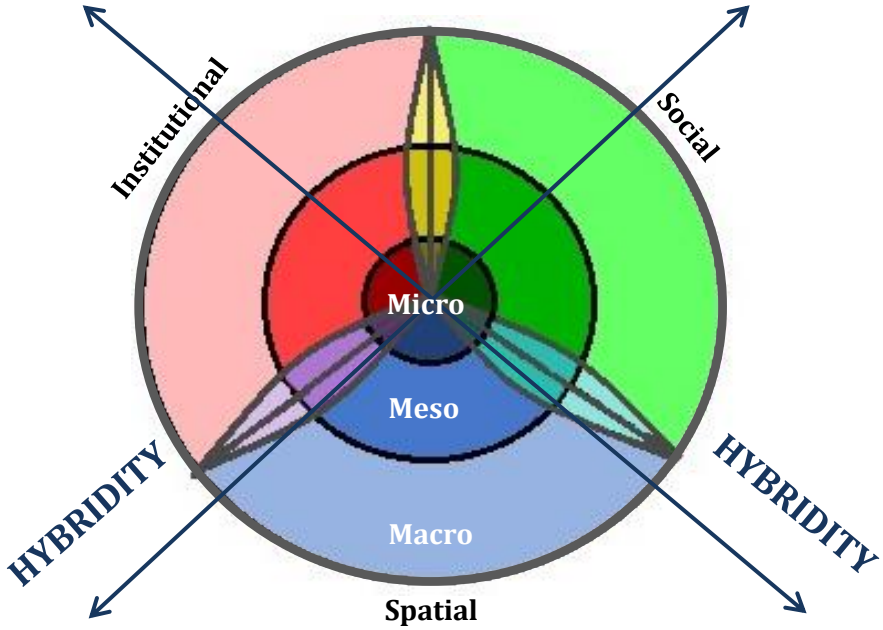
2007). Embeddedness explains how agents are capable to act 'in context' in order to bring about social change (Mair & Martí, 2006), what is their role in the social environment, how they position themselves within the structural context (Battilana, 2006), what is their awareness of other fields (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006), and consequently, how they reflexively build on diverse ILs in order to take action (Leca & Naccache, 2006). Zukin & DiMaggio (1990) provide a framework that situates embeddedness across structural (comprising social network arrangements), political, cognitive, and cultural categories. Different degrees of cultural (Friedland & Alford, 1991) and structural embededdness (Granovetter, 1985) play a role on what ILs are likely to be accessed and activated by individuals, and the conditions in which this occurs. However, it is important to recognise that actors in Mozambique may be embedded in local and/or international institutional and social dimensions of context.

Context, for the purpose of this thesis, is considered to be hybrid because the research setting encompasses diverse 'communities' from many parts of the world and their social networks. There are local and international institutional influences interplaying in the region and, consequently, an extended pool of logics from which differently embedded actors can draw upon. Figure 4 illustrates context as a complex medium in which actors are embedded depending on their positions in the field. The figure maps the most relevant contextual dimensions (Welter, 2011) for this particular study, their interrelations (Zahra & Wright, 2011) signposted in the overlapping areas, and context's multi-levels of analysis (Kloosterman, 2010). This study combines all these elements to better understand the multi-level relationships and power structures (Lawrence, 2008) within the local context.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, context heterogeneity has been acknowledged based on its multiple dimensions (Zahra & Wright, 2011; Zahra et al., 2014). Although temporal aspects are being considered, this is not a longitudinal study. Therefore, the enactment of SE in Mozambique (Maputo) is examined mostly drawing on the 'where' dimension of context at a specific moment in time. Welter (2011) focuses and elaborates on the spatial, social and institutional dimensions of context (highlighted in Figure 4) in order to illustrate its multiplicity (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). The spatial dimension bridges social and

institutional aspects. The hybridity of developing countries' contexts such as Maputo (characterised by multiculturalism and a strong international presence) is also depicted in the figure, cutting across all levels and dimensions. Clearly, different actors in Maputo are embedded in local and/or international social and institutional dimensions.

**Figure 4: Mapping Context: Dimensions, Levels of Analysis, and Hybridity**




According to Jack & Anderson (2002, p. 467), *embedding* is "the mechanism whereby entrepreneurs become part of the local structure" in order to create and operate their ventures. This process allows entrepreneurial activities to fit the specific needs of the local situation, and cannot be treated in the purely economic sense since it needs to be sustained by, and anchored in, the local social (Granovetter, 1985) and institutional context. Still, Mair & Martí (2006) stress how embeddedness represents both an enabling and constraining condition. According to them, social over-embeddedness may reduce the flow of new ideas into a group leading to inertia.

Leca & Nacache (2006) acknowledge that actors cannot escape institutional embeddedness yet they can mobilise and articulate different ILs, depending on the context. It is important to understand how actors embedded in the local community (mostly drawing on community ILs) and more autonomous agents

(drawing from other ILs) may act on the social systems that motivate their ideas. The way individuals use social networks and culture as 'toolkits' (Swidler, 1986) for strategic action may help explain the *paradox of embedded agency* (Seo & Creed, 2002), which alludes to the tension between institutional determinism and agency arising from inconsistencies within existing ILs. Dacin et al. (1999) emphasise the linkages that exist across different embeddedness mechanisms (structural, political, cognitive, and cultural) as well as across different levels of analysis (individuals, organisations, macro-structure), arguing that the simultaneous existence and interplay among different types of embeddedness might impact on organisation action. Relationships are embedded in a broader set of socio-cultural forces that shape the nature of collective activity, individual organisational action, as well as the boundaries of opportunity sets and constraints.

Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus* recognises structure and agency as a mutuality constitutive duality. In that, structure is both the medium and outcome of social practices (Garud et al., 2007). Many studies have attempted to bring Bourdieu's perspective on agency and structure into institutional analysis (Garud et al., 2007; Leca & Nacache, 2006; Leca et al., 2008; Battilana, 2006; Lounsbury & Ventresca, 2003). Bourdieu emphasises the sustainable power that actors gain by accumulating capital according to the dominant logics of a field (Leca & Nacache, 2006). This view is quite relevant for the purpose of this study, where complex interactions may occur between actors who do not share the same positions and the exact same values and aims, i.e. who do not draw upon the same ILs. One of the enabling conditions for embedded agency is precisely the field-level position of actors (Leca et al., 2008; Battilana, 2006). *Fields* are structured systems of social positions in which institutional rules and struggles over access, resources, power, and stakes are enacted between individuals (Bourdieu, 1990).

Desa (2012) defends that, while it may be easier for embedded social entrepreneurs to win legitimacy and access resources in supportive institutional structures, less-embedded actors can still survive. They are not locked into pre-existing institutional structures and can engage in bricolage activities that challenge prevalent institutional arrangements (Martí & Mair, 2009; Di Domenico

et al., 2010). In a similar vein, Hardy & Maguire's (2008) distinguish between central actors (located in dominant positions) and peripheral/marginal actors (often disadvantaged by prevailing arrangements). The authors note that both central and peripheral actors are liable to bring about change for the following reasons: (1) Central actors may not be exclusively embedded in a single field, having access to alternative practices in other fields via boundary bridging mechanisms (e.g. Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006); (2) Peripheral actors tend to be less connected and aware of institutional norms and practices, thus more likely to challenge the system that has caused their disadvantage.

According to Somerville & McElwee (2011b) and Peredo & Chrisman (2006), it is indeed arguable if all participants in community-based forms of SE should be members of that community. This is especially relevant when considering deprived communities lacking resources, know-how, and institutional influence (Eusébio, 2006). In such cases, it might be beneficial to involve outsiders holding particular competences and expertise, connections that stretch beyond the boundaries of the community in which they are operating (Urban, 2012), and the capability to access financial resources. However, it is questionable how disembedded outsiders achieve social legitimacy when not complying with what is locally taken for granted and habitual (Bourdieu, 1977). Local embeddedness reflects the ability to engage with, comprehend, and persuade regional communities, acting in accordance with the field's rules (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009) and conforming to the local culture. This enables tighter bonds to be established with community members, better insight of community needs, and attenuates collective cultural-cognitive pressures (Marquis & Battilana, 2009); hence, facilitating local legitimacy, and an increased shared sense of identity and cooperation.

Considering SE in developing economies, the notion of field of practice becomes less clear since it encompasses national and international arenas. Actor positions within a field (Powell & Colyvas, 2008) and the diverse cultural logical frameworks that affect their identities, understandings and practices need to be clearly defined. It is vital to establish 'who is embedded in what' in order to understand how and why actors become empowered (Hwang & Powell, 2005) or disenfranchised and

excluded. Battilana's (2006) work highlights the synergistic effects that may arise from combining the efforts of disembedded higher status social groups or individuals (who have privileged access to resources) with embedded lower status, disadvantaged communities (capable of assigning cultural and social legitimacy to new endeavours). Indeed, it is expectable that stronger ties between these two types of agents may trigger social transformation and the legitimisation of novel ways of enterprising. Cultural affinity is related to local embedded agency and essential to build social capital and community networks (George et al., 2016). By considering variations of SE as a function of cultural embeddedness, distinctive social needs and contextual circumstances, this thesis generates insights on the repertoires of action which elucidate how individuals are positioned and interpret the social context (Powell & Colyvas, 2008). It draws on the concept of cultural embeddedness, defined as "the culture of social groups, of which individuals are members, providing individuals with symbolic structures to understand and construct their environments" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 79), to explain why specific ILs supersede others at the micro-level.

Social capital has been broadly defined as the actual and potential value embedded in social relationships amongst individuals, communities, networks and societies (Burt, 1997). Its three interrelated dimensions include (Mair & Martí, 2006): structural capital (structure of overall network of relations); relational capital (kind and quality of personal relations); and cognitive capital (degree to which an individual shares a common code and systems of meaning within a community - Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). They are all connected but, whilst the first two can be cultivated, the cognitive dimension of social capital, linked to the notion of cultural embeddedness in local communities and the sharing of logics, does not seem to be that easily attainable by outsiders (Duymedjian & Rüling, 2010). The following subsection elaborates on the meaning of community.

### 3.3.3. *Local Communities*

Community, in the context of this thesis, is the aggregation of people that tends to be geographically bound, generally accompanied by collective culture and/or ethnicity and potentially by other shared relational characteristics (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Communities refer to a complex web of relationships between

individuals who share meanings, cognitive and culture-based rules, values, norms, activities, history and identity. Hence, having a common culture is a central aspect of the concept (Shepherd & Patzelt, 2011), upon which individuals and organisations draw to create mutual definitions of a situation (Marquis et al., 2007). This study builds upon the notion of community as an institutional order, an additional institutional logic within the interinstitutional system introduced by Lounsbury (Marquis et al., 2011) so as to incorporate cultural context/s, bridging institutional, social and spatial aspects (Welter, 2011).

It has been suggested that entrepreneurship research has not paid sufficient attention to the community/ies in which entrepreneurial activities are enacted (Jennings et al., 2013; Marquis et al., 2007; Martinez et al., 2011; Greenwood et al., 2009); either being part of organisational fields (Mezias & Kuperman, 2000), or confined to a geographic location (Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis et al., 2007). Also, research on collaboration rather than competition is under-developed in entrepreneurship studies (Nolan, 2003). Academic literature on the relationship between entrepreneurship and community is still emerging due to an increasing societal trend towards individualism (Lyons et al., 2012; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006) and, on the other hand, the universalism brought by globalisation (Marquis & Battilana, 2009). However, it is through the meaningful interaction with others with whom we identify that we make sense of our own lives (Moore, 2001), acknowledging heterogeneity and particularity.

This study addresses how situated ILs shape the enactment of SE, and how these are materialised in a developing country. This entails exploring the interrelation between the logics of community and the logics of other institutional orders at play in the research setting. Steyaert (1997) emphasises the importance of understanding the way that the local context affects the entrepreneurial process. Considering that at the micro-level lies the human agent, an individual or a group, at the meso-level lies the venture or organisation, and at the macro-level lies the structural environment, community can be conceptualised as an intermediate contextual level of analysis (Hindle, 2010), locally shaping institutional fields in which several ILs interact (Thornton et al., 2012; Marquis & Battilana, 2009). This situated element directly affects and is affected by the entrepreneurial agent,

either a member of that specific community or not. In fact, Mozambique is characterised by multiculturality and the coexistence of several 'communities' from all over the world: international, encompassing expatriates working in the field of development and SE; and residential, comprising for the most part indigenous actors. Depending on who is embedded in what, different types of embedded and/or disembedded agency may occur.

The community context profoundly influences what kind of entrepreneurial initiatives can be undertaken and how they are performed (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Organisations are believed to be vulnerable to institutionalised pressures at the community-level, i.e. regulative, social-normative, and cultural-cognitive forces (Marquis & Battilana, 2009), especially when the legitimacy of their local practices is questioned (Friedman, 1970). Conversely, communities are also a source of isomorphic forces which determine the reproduction of community patterns – community isomorphism (Marquis et al., 2007). The role of communities in determining which types of organisations serve as models for isomorphic responses, and what institutional expectations influence agentic actions has to be further explored (Greenwood at al., 2008). In addition, communities can be threatening alternatives to organisations, acting as competing organisational forms whenever they do not recognise the value of existing ventures (O'Mahony & Lakhani, 2011). On the other hand, they provide opportunities, human capital and social networks which are crucial for social entrepreneurial endeavours. Consequently, aspects such as entrepreneurial actor communal orientation, shared identity and social capital may increase trust, cooperation, and resource assembly, especially in African societies (Khayesi & George, 2011).

Communities not only affect but are also affected by entrepreneurship. Social entrepreneurial practices are expected to contribute to community development, such as job creation, infrastructure improvement, building and strengthening the community field (Lyons et al., 2012). By placing emphasis on general community needs rather than individual interest, community enterprises, for example, can provide rich insights into the collective nature of entrepreneurship in creating economic change and sustainable local development. Somerville & McElwee (2011b) argue that both community-based enterprises and social enterprises are

forms of *community enterprise*, as long as their social foundation lies in a community of some kind. A community-based enterprise is, according to Peredo & Chrisman (2006, p. 17), "a community acting corporately as both entrepreneur and enterprise in pursuit of the common good". In other words, community-based enterprises are built on social capital and create additional social capital for their communities. In spite of that, entrepreneurship can also have a detrimental effect on communities. Baumol (1996) acknowledges that some entrepreneurial activities are unproductive or even destructive, such as organised corruption and rent seeking through tax evasion and political lobbying. In light of the above it can be said, using biological terminology, that the relationship between entrepreneurship and community is symbiotic, i.e. mutualistic, commensalistic, or parasitic (Lyons et al., 2012).

This thesis is based on the analysis of SE practices within a specific socio-cultural context: Mozambique. African cultural and historical heritage is based on a strong communitarian ethos (Karanda & Toledano, 2012; Urban, 2008) which has to be considered in order to examine local institutional building, maintenance and destruction (Marquis et al., 2007). Entrepreneurship in general cannot be fully explained by only focusing on the individual. SE, in particular, goes well beyond individual undertakings and organisations as it emerges through multiple logics of action and social groups across sectors. Hence, this study acknowledges the interaction between the diverse communities involved in developing economy SE, such as impoverished or resourceful, local or international. Such communities and the cultural models they are rooted in lead to increased struggles and tensions, different agentic responses, and affect the governance systems of other institutional orders, namely state, market, corporation, and possibly religion and family (Thornton et al., 2012).

Heavily intertwined spatial, social, institutional, and business spheres tend to foster the development of particular local identities. On the one hand, community entrepreneurship moves away from the enterprising individual, operating collectively in a particular spatial context. This implies most of the time social commitment and benefits for the wider community instead of self-interested individual behaviour (Welter, 2011). On the other hand, embedded ties can also be

used as control mechanisms, constraining social change in communities reliant on 'closed' social and cultural networks (Welter, 2011). The next section reviews the relationship between SE and institutional work.

### 3.4. Social Entrepreneurship and Institutional Work

Many scholars recognise that SE is a good process to analyse how institutions are maintained or disrupted (Hwang & Powell, 2005; Mair & Martí, 2006; Tracey et al., 2011; Martí & Mair, 2009). This is due to the fact that SE aims to create social value and potentially societal transformation (Alvord et al., 2004), altering the social system that creates and sustains social problems (Bornstein, 2007). Logics underpinning SE can be deployed as a means to alter institutional arrangements (Venkataraman et al., 2016). Mair & Martí (2006), call for studies on SE focusing on: how structure and agency interrelate in overlooked contexts, how SE differs in developed and developing countries, and how embeddedness may explain to what extent it is possible to transfer social entrepreneurial practices across geographic borders. Given the lack of research into SE in non-western contexts, it is valid to examine whether SE is emerging as a legitimate, contextualised practice and the extent to which this implies accounting for or challenging local institutional conditions.

*Institutional entrepreneurship* can be defined as the process through which individuals and organisations negotiate changes in existing institutional arrangements in order to acquire and orchestrate resources. Such activities lead to the creation of new institutions or the transformation of existing ones (DiMaggio, 1988), extending new institutional theory by considering the role of agency, power and interest (Maguire et al., 2004; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Institutional entrepreneurship is, therefore, associated with the construction and legitimisation of new practices (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). It gives an agentic emphasis to institutional change (Greenwood et al., 2008), and it can be used as a means to assist the diffusion of SE practices across societies, countries and communities (Mair & Martí, 2006). Hwang & Powell (2005) reinforce the role of individual agency in institutional entrepreneurship. Yet, they acknowledge the extent to which the term became a typically modern western conception that assumes empowered actors drive changes in existing institutional arrangements.

Academic literature is, to a certain extent, failing to address the processes through which SE is interpreted and becomes imprinted in developing country institutions; in other words, how and why it attends and assigns meaning to some elements of the institutional environments and not others (Suddaby, 2010). Institutional changes may involve teams, social groups, networks (Chell, 2007; Phillips & Tracey, 2007; Light, 2006) spanning sectors (Kickul & Lyons, 2012; Austin et al., 2006), and even local communities (Jennings et al., 2013; Thornton et al., 2012), rather than 'hypermuscular supermen' responsible for the transformation of organisational fields and the alteration of ILs (Suddaby, 2010). This leads to the before mentioned paradox of embedded agency underpinning more recent studies on institutional entrepreneurship (Holm, 1995). It is not clear how empowered actors, although more likely to win legitimacy and access resources, may be capable of championing institutional change when deeply embedded and influenced by existing institutional arrangements (Maguire, 2007; Mair & Martí, 2006). Such paradox needs to be further examined (Jennings et al., 2013), namely within the realm of SE (Mair & Martí, 2006; Martí & Mair, 2009). Uncertainty, tensions and contradictions occurring in emerging fields of practice may create opportunities for embedded institutional entrepreneurship (Hardy & Maguire, 2008) or a distributed type of agency, encompassing many actors, to induce institutional change (Mair et al., 2012).

Another theoretical development, sharing common aspects with institutional entrepreneurship, is the notion of institutional work which has increased understanding of the processes of de/institutionalisation. *Institutional work* was introduced by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006, p. 215) and described as "the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions". By also considering how actors might actively and reflexively work not only to alter but to maintain institutions (Lawrence et al., 2011), this last concept, often leading to unintended consequences, appears to be less focused on successful instances of self-interested institutional change directed at strategic resource leveraging (Lawrence et al., 2009; Battilana et al., 2009; Battilana & Leca, 2009). Institutional work attempts to find a middle ground between early neo-institutional studies, in which organisations and the actors within them are heavily constrained by institutional pressures (Battilana &

D'Aunno, 2009), and the agentic notion of institutional entrepreneurship, which defines institutional entrepreneurs as "organized actors with sufficient resources" who create new institutions "to realise interests that they value highly" (DiMaggio, 1988, p. 14). The concept of institutional work is therefore more useful for the purpose of this thesis since it addresses the paradox of embedded agency (Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009) and is more aligned with practice theory (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

This research moves from an actor-centric to a process-centric view of institutional entrepreneurship (Hardy & Maguire, 2008) in which a multiplicity of actors interactively produce change (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007). It explores how different practices of SE in a developing country may be conducive to institutional work by considering the key role of collective action, networks, and communities (Marquis et al., 2011). Incorporating micro-level entrepreneurial action with communities is seen as an important step to extend the application of new institutional theory to entrepreneurship (Jennings et al., 2013). It helps to increase understanding of how institutions enable the emergence of entrepreneurial groups which has not been significantly recognised, understood and regulated, like nascent collective identities (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2011), and the process through which communities, and their institutionalised collective beliefs and values, may influence the enactment of SE. SE is a field of practice that gets expressed through the identity (Navis & Glynn, 2010), political actions (Jennings et al., 2013) and storytelling (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Garud et al., 2014) of diverse entrepreneurial actors. Actor engagement in action to maintain or change institutions is not independent from embeddedness, as they work within the confines of the ILs that structure their lives (Lawrence et al., 2011). Previous research on institutional entrepreneurship has predominantly focused on the elite and powerful actors, in either peripheral or central positions; this thesis accounts for the institutional work carried out by actors with less power and more limited resources (Martí & Mair, 2009).

## 3.5. Conclusion

From this literature review it can be inferred that the theoretical foundations and predominant paradigms underpinning this study's subject matter include the

recognition that: (1) New institutional theory provides scope for analysing the role of institutional pressures on the enactment of SE and its legitimisation in contexts of great institutional diversity (George, 2016) and complexity (Greenwood et al., 2010), such as Mozambique; (2) SE legitimisation enables the mobilisation of resources but also has cognitive boundaries that vary across cultural environments; (3) Differences in institutional arrangements and cultural values across the world cause variations in the types of organisations being created, influence why and how they emerge, and how they develop over time (Zahra & Wright, 2011); (4) The ILP is a crucial theoretical and analytical tool for studying unfolding practices and the context/s in which they occur, considering that ILs are likely to be accessed and activated differently by individuals, communities and organisations; (5) Contradictory logics of action provide ground for change (Friedland & Alford, 1991). This assumption can be applied to conflicts and tensions emerging from the combination of for-profit and non-profit activities, or from clashes between cultures; (6) ILs are useful to theorise the multi-level relationships of context/s; (7) ILs and agency interact in the reproduction, translation, and transformation of organisations and institutions (Thornton et al., 2012); (8) Different degrees of embeddedness in the local context explain how some actors are capable to act 'in context'; (9) There are various communities (local and international) cohabiting in developing countries reliant on international intervention, which are sources of isomorphic forces; (10) Community can be conceptualised as a contextual level of analysis (Hindle, 2010); (11) SE may result in the creation, disruption, or maintenance of institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) through institutional work. Institutional work underpins the construction and legitimisation of new practices (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). It helps explain the paradox of embedded agency, and aligns with practice theory and the ILP (Thornton et al., 2012). This thesis is based on these premises but also problematises theoretical assumptions.

### 3.5.1. *Problematisation of Existing Theory*

This study identifies theoretical assumptions that may be problematic when transposed to developing countries. They signal a possible mismatch between theory and practice (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). It is pertinent to recognise the

limitations of existing institutional theories and concepts in order to further develop them and extend their applicability (Bruton et al., 2008). For example, unlike modern market economies, developing countries present deficient formal institutional structures (Welter, 2011). Therefore, new institutional theory must incorporate more explicitly the important role of informal institutions and practices. The ILP is supposed to provide "a general model of cultural heterogeneity un-biased toward the Western world" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 18). However, the ILs ideal-types presented in the interinstitutional system may not depict less-westernised contexts with other predominant rationalities, culturally embedded and context-dependent (Townley, 2008). Also, legitimisation depends upon the consent of society (Sud et al., 2009). Hence, the legitimacy of SE defined by the international elites of modern capitalist societies may not translate into poor countries. Clearly, legitimacy is not generalisable since what is legitimate for some might not be legitimate for others in the same geographical location.

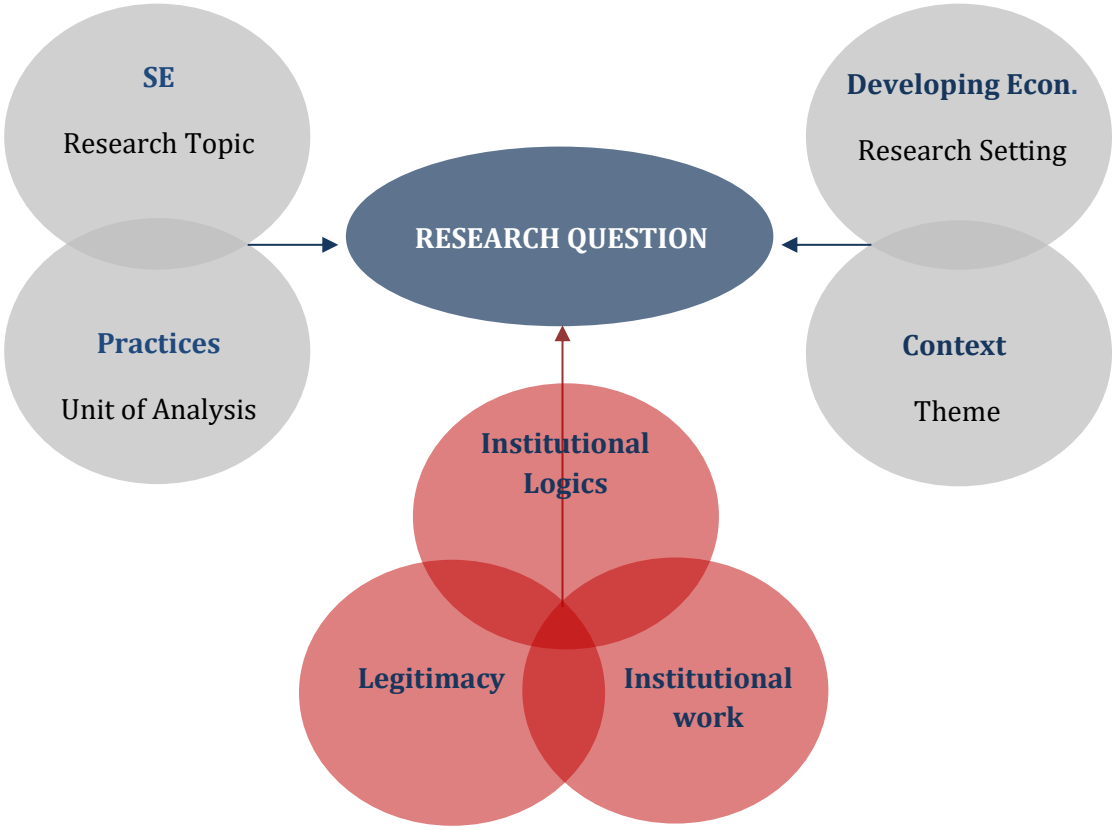
Other theoretical limitations for the study of SE in unconventional contexts regard concepts that may need to be further developed. The concept of embeddedness is one of them. Being either embedded or disembedded in a context is an artificial dichotomy. Different degrees of embeddedness have been acknowledged. However, when considering hybrid contexts or the coexistence of multiple intertwined contexts, several combinations are possible. For example, some actors may be simultaneously embedded in local and international institutional environments, while others may be embedded in just one of them. The concept of SE as a field of practice is also ambiguous in a developing economy where national and international arenas interact. Similarly, actor positions within a field (Powell & Colyvas, 2008) are sometimes unclear. It is essential to establish who is embedded in what in order to understand the intricacies of the research setting, the actors involved, and the logics they mobilise.

### 3.5.2. *Adopted Analytical Framework*

The framework below builds upon the literature review presented in Chapter Two and in this chapter. It accounts for all elements embodied in this thesis research question: *How is social entrepreneurship enacted and legitimised in a developing*

*economy through local and globalised institutional logics?* Mapping the logics at play in the research setting provides a multi-level analytical tool.

**Figure 5: Analytical Framework**




This framework as a whole addresses the research gaps and problematisations encountered in academic literature. It appreciates the overlaps between logics, legitimacy and institutional work. Figure 5 depicts the theoretical and analytical foundations used to inform and guide this investigation. The circles in red comprise related concepts that stemmed from new institutional theory as a broad ranging theoretical umbrella. In this thesis, logics are viewed as potential sources of legitimacy and institutional transformation, and legitimacy efforts may lead to or be a result of institutional work.

### 3.5.3. *Anticipated Research Outcomes*

This study explores the enactment of SE in an African developing country through the lens of the ILP. Analysing the ILs currently interplaying in the region is expected to shed light into how multiple actors assign meaning to SE and engage in diverse types of practices, more or less transformative. This may yield insights into

how new forms of governance and organisation may be developed considering issues of cultural and social embeddedness and legitimacy within institutional contexts. New institutional theory and the ILP are useful theoretical and analytical tools for explaining multi-level relationships that facilitate or constrain the emergence of different practices of SE in the research setting (Urbano et al., 2010). Simultaneously, researching non-western societies offers opportunities to develop and further extend the applicability of the ILP.

The ILP improves our understanding of how SE interpretations and practices are a result of embeddedness in cultural logical frameworks. Subjects mobilise in everyday life multiple ILs, i.e. taken-for-granted social prescriptions (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), to assign meaning to their practices. Logics shape their motivations, expectations, and goals (Thornton, 2004). This thesis contributes to a contextualised understanding of: how multiple ILs interact potentially leading to cultural tensions that affect how SE is enacted; how social change may emerge through potentially conflicting logics of action; and the role of individual actors, organisations, and communities in introducing, practicing and translating SE in a developing economy. The study also explores issues of embeddedness that signpost the importance of contextualised agency and the empowerment of local communities. Such aspects require high reflexivity to hold the mirror up to current western views predicated on individual over collective action (Jennings et al., 2013) and market-orientation.

The reflexive ethnographic methodology and the research design employed in this thesis (including data collection and analysis techniques) are explored in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER FOUR:
# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Having reviewed the literature and identified the concepts that will be used to address the research question, this chapter describes how the study was designed, conducted, and how research materials were analysed. The chapter begins by exposing what triggered the study and the consequent research journey (Section 4.1.). It explores the philosophy behind the adopted methodology (Section 4.2.). Then, it elaborates on the study's reflexive ethnographic methodology (Section 4.3.). This involves a description of the research setting (Subsection 4.3.1.), and levels of immersion (Subsection 4.3.2.). Section 4.4. addresses data collection, employed research methods, sampling criteria, fieldwork challenges and ethical procedures. After, an outline of data analysis techniques is provided (Section 4.5.), including the employment of the ILP as a method of analysis (Subsection 4.5.2.). Finally, issues of reflexivity are discussed as a means to confer credibility, validity and transferability to the research findings (Section 4.6.). This is followed by a summary providing main methodological conclusions (Section 4.7.).

## 4.1. The Research Journey

Ethnography is a broad methodology for conducting research which encompasses a range of qualitative and quantitative research methods. A foundational principle for ethnography is a commitment to interpreting and analysing social life as this is meaningful from the bottom-up; that is, as social life is understood at the local level by social actors situated in everyday life. Ethnography was found to be crucial to be able to fully explore the understandings applied to practice by both participants and researcher. This study is therefore ethnographic and entailed a journey of bringing in and discovering SE that was triggered by a SE project called 'Garbage & Meal Appeal'.

### 4.1.1. *Bringing in Social Entrepreneurship*

In January 2012, after completing an MSc in Entrepreneurship, I went to visit relatives living in Mozambique (Maputo). This two week trip to Maputo prompted the identification of a SE opportunity. During almost two years, I engaged in

enterprising actions (e.g. resource mobilisation, business model design, deal-making, pitching) in order to take the project forward in an unfamiliar institutional context. The endeavour, aiming to empower people at the bottom of the pyramid to actively contribute to solid waste collection in exchange for meals or donated surplus food, was supposed to be financed and monitored by the World Bank (WB); provided that it would be implemented by a local municipality. Three exploratory trips to Maputo were undertaken to set the venture in motion: January 2012 (idea generation); August 2012 (developing contacts); and August 2013 (prospective partnership agreement). However, despite the existence of relevant connections across sectors in the country, the project did not succeed. This enabled a first-hand exposure to the local context when attempting to set up a social venture abroad. It also provided a direct sensitising experience of the process through which foreign actors, like me, attempt to transfer social enterprise models (which generate profits to sustain a social mission) to developing countries.

At the time, I was surprised with how easy it was to access development intermediaries and external sources of finance. I realised that there were two distinct 'contexts' in Maputo resulting from two sets of institutions operating in the same country: local and international. I was welcome by international development agencies and organisations due to my nationality, professional background, socio-economic status, and networks (including influential Mozambicans). The Mozambican WB mediator I engaged with along the process clearly stated over the phone:

> *You really should go ahead with this project as you have the language[4]!*

It appears that one of the crucial enabling factors to get funding for this kind of projects is mastering the English 'development language'**.** However, I bumped into unexpected institutional hindrances which were neglected until the very last stage. According to WB requirements, local municipalities are responsible for applying to

[4] 'Language' is a direct translation of the word utilised; given the context it refers to terminology/jargon.

the available *Subventions for Municipal Development*. After many failed attempts to meet the mayor of one of Maputo province municipalities, I realised that there was no interest to commit to this partnership. What was treated as a minor detail turned out to be a stumbling block. A resident journalist of my acquaintance remarked when I exposed my frustration:

> *He is a highly corrupt politician, believe me. No way could you get hold of him. He can't see the point of having an outsider next to him, messing his plans and watching over.*

However, throughout the subsequent academic study, some informants stressed contextual aspects which perhaps point to other explanations. For example, two public servants at IPEME (the Mozambican state institute for the promotion of SMEs) stated that SE is locally seen as charity and assigned to NGOs. According to other participants, from a range of organisations, Mozambicans are becoming distrustful of external intervention. Opportunistic behaviours and decontextualised goals were highlighted:

> *There were many 'puppet' projects being implemented after the Peace Treaties […] so now, when there is an external agent getting involved there is suspicion and reluctance.* (Religious Congregation)

> *There are economic interests in the country […] some are here just to put money in their pockets.* (Development Consultant)

> *They come from abroad and have their way of seeing things. They expect things to work the way they've imagined in our context.* (Cabinet Minister)

I was an exogenous element bringing in an exogenous concept. I had limited knowledge and was culturally distant from the local context: societal and institutional. Also, the social enterprise model I was willing to adopt is still emerging in the country. This suggests that the globalisation of SE is still limited and lacks customisation. It entails liabilities of foreignness (Zahra et al., 2008) and liabilities of newness (Stinchcombe, 1965).

Vignette 1 below is a reproduction of my first diary entry when flying to Maputo to conduct academic fieldwork. At this point in time, the study was still drawing on the exploration of my network of contacts, expected to enable the implementation of this new venture.

**Vignette 1: First Data Collection Fieldtrip to Maputo: Day 1 Reflections**

I didn't arrive in Africa sailing in a Portuguese Caravel like Vasco da Gama, or on a ship chartered by the Army like my father and my uncles. I was flying in executive on a TAP airplane due to the generous offer of a captain who happened to be an acquaintance of mine. I did explain to him the purpose of my visit: "it's for a good cause", I said. Was it?
But this is neither a novel nor a travelling memoir, it is a research diary peppered with reflections… The first incident I remember was, having to ask a black lady travelling next to me how to use some of the seat's gadgets. I didn't have a clue how they worked as I had never flown first class before. On my left hand side, two black children played joyfully. Betrayed by my own thought, I couldn't help envisioning them in a poor and harsh environment among the dirt and dust of the stereotypical Third World; an image that could be in a fundraising campaign's brochure where cute little smiling faces call out for our mercy. What a weird sensation of misplacement… I asked myself what these children were doing there, how their family's journey was like, how they could end up in this luxurious plane. Prejudice? Of course! The truth is I didn't question the presence of white passengers drinking champagne around me.

*Source: First fieldwork diary entry - 21th August 2013*

Interestingly, this endeavour led to this thesis. Initially, the study was supposed to draw on my work as a consultant for the 'Garbage & Meal Appeal' project. The project would be studied real-time as a live case study, utilising an 'action research' approach (Lewin, 1951). Action research aims to generate knowledge that is both valid and vital to the wellbeing of individuals, communities, and for the promotion of positive social change. It is rooted in the assumption that theory can and should be generated through practice (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003). However, as the project failed the research design had to be adapted accordingly; still maintaining a collaborative approach, yet focusing more broadly on the enactment of SE and its many manifestations in the context of a developing economy. Appendix 2 shows a research poster presented at a conference during the first year of my PhD. It illustrates early stages of this research that informed this thesis as the study progressed.

### 4.1.2. *Discovering Social Entrepreneurship*

Another serendipitous occurrence took place during the very last of my three exploratory trips to Maputo (August 2013), just four months before actually starting formal ethnographic fieldwork. It was then that I stumbled upon Xitique, something I never heard about in the past. Xitique is a local informal collective practice widespread in the country, referred to in the microfinance literature as Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs) (De Vletter, 2001). Whilst in the country, conducting one to one sensitising interviews, two informants (a Mozambican and an expatriate) randomly introduced this indigenous practice to me and emphasised its importance and popularity in Mozambique. Their accounts were surprising and revelatory. This encounter led to an adaptation of the research design, and further literature review to be undertaken on this specific topic. As the investigation progressed, Xitique's relevance and pervasiveness in the local culture became increasingly evident. For that reason, I made an effort to let go of reductionist *a priori* cognitions yet maintaining a certain degree of theoretical sensitivity. This enabled the identification of overlaps between Xitique and SE (which could easily go unnoticed) and led to more inductive concept development (Gioia et al., 2013). Figure 6 captures a Xitique ceremony among relatives, neighbours and close friends. The photograph was taken in the field.

**Figure 6: An Invisible Practice in the Field of SE**


This research focused on what was occurring and how. It is not value-free but strived to avoid judgment whenever possible. It is about how differences unfold, not why things are different or whether differences are good or bad. The episodes described above have shaped the development of this study and exemplify the

significance of practice and process for generating knowledge. Developing economies are assumed to be at different stages of economic and institutional development (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). Process philosophy describes and explains ongoing interactions and relationships. It is based on the premise that being is dynamic and that should be the primary focus of any philosophical account of reality (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2012). The next section elaborates on the research philosophy (ontology and epistemology) underpinning this thesis, i.e. the selected theories and concepts, the research question, and the methodology adopted.

## 4.2. The Research Paradigm

Research on SE has been catering for a dual logic: social and entrepreneurial, and often fails to deliver methodological robustness by omitting one or the other; this fact indicates it is a young research field that needs to borrow qualitative methods to explore and build its theories (Nicholls, 2010). As a nascent area of scholarly inquiry, SE also lacks an established epistemology (Lehner & Kansikas, 2011)

A study of this nature, exploring how different forms of SE emerge and are put in practice in a distinctive socio-economic and cultural environment, based on local interpretations and a multiplicity of conflicting logics, draws on interpretivist social theories (Denzin, 1997). An interpretive approach attempts to understand phenomena holistically through accessing the meanings people assign to them (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). The way the research question was formulated, the qualitative nature of the data that has been collected, the importance assigned to the contextualisation of the unfolding practices under study, and the reflexive ethnographic methodology (Brewer, 2000) that was adopted, clearly reflect this research paradigm.

A reliable qualitative research design requires consistency and commitment with specific epistemological and ontological assumptions (Avis, 2003; Johnson et al., 2006). These should be aligned with the research aims (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002) but also with the philosophical principles that guide the researcher's own worldview; otherwise, how can one be truthful and coherent in relation to one's

research findings? According to Morgan & Smircich (1980), researchers should be more explicit about the nature of the beliefs they bring to their subjects of study.

My ontological position does not necessarily acknowledge the existence of multiple realities but, instead, the existence of multiple interpretations of a reality that is far too complicated to be fully grasped (Watson, 2013); it is messy, dynamic and subjectively perceived (Langley, 1999; Soulsby & Clark, 2011). This thesis explores SE practices as depictions of different modes of becoming. The nature of process research poses challenges since it is based on an 'ontology of becoming' as opposed to an 'ontology of being' (Chia, 1996). This study adopts a process ontological perspective in which *nature* is a matter of process, activity, and change (Rescher, 1996). Therefore, change or stability is acknowledged as the way in which reality is brought into being, rather than something that happens to things (Langley et al., 2013). This ontology is aligned with the utilisation of practice theory and the ILP considering that processes "illuminate the role of tensions and contradictions in driving patterns of change, and show how interactions across levels contribute to change. They may also reveal the dynamic activity underlying the maintenance and reproduction of stability" (Langley et al., 2013, p. 1).

This thesis uses practices to examine how actors understand and mobilise multiple ILs through everyday actions. Entrepreneurship is viewed as an ongoing social organising process that expresses itself in different practices via diverse relational activities (Johannisson, 2011). This entails the acknowledgement that social reality can be better understood by capturing practices and their rationalities (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011). Practices illustrate dynamic modes of engagement with the world which are meaningful for those who enact them, and situated in contexts and logical frameworks.

By recognising social 'entrepreneuring' as a practice creatively organising people and resources with the aim to create social value, this study shifts the focus of analysis from the individual entrepreneur towards the entrepreneurial process (Hindle, 2010), and how its emergence is being experienced and influenced by local actors institutionalised understandings. ILs enhance our compreension of practices and lived experiences of actors (Thornton et al., 2012). Since SE is assumed to be a practice that emerges through multiple logics of action and social

groups, such as communities, the study accounts for contextual embeddedness, social and institutional (Steyaert, 2007; Watson, 2013).

According to Van de Ven (1992), researchers can address the dynamics of change by diving deeply into the process themselves in order to collect contextualised, real time data that enables the extraction of theory from the ground up. This view acknowledges that to truly understand how and why events play out, they must be examined directly (Mintzberg, 1979). Indeed, process data focus on a complex sequence of events and draws on changing relationships which pose analytical challenges (Langley et al., 2013). It implies multiple levels of analysis presenting ambiguous boundaries (Langley, 1999). This cross-level analysis of SE practices, shaped by available and accessible ILs, provides a holistic understanding of social action (Thornton et al., 2012). ILs are described by Friedland & Alford (1991, p. 243) as "ways of ordering reality". Hence, logics, i.e. sets of assumptions, values and beliefs, are connected to meaningful practices and material processes (Nicolini et al., 2016).

It has been recognised that a subjectivist epistemology can be combined with either subjectivist or realist ontologies (Bhaskar, 1978, Putnam, 1981). I assume that reality is subjective in the sense that it can be viewed from diverse angles. Thus, our knowledge of what exists - epistemology - is based on subjective evidence (Creswell, 2013). By considering multiple perspectives, we can get closer to the underlying 'truth' and, more importantly, we can improve our understanding of the diverse mechanisms and contextual contingencies that lead us to see the world and to act as differently as we do (Tsoukas, 1989); hence the need to account for multiple, diversified interpretations, and to contextualise them via the recognition of socio-economic and political circumstances, individual biases and beliefs, life experiences, as well as practices and social interactions which lead for example to the co-production of knowledge between researcher and researched (Lincoln et al. 2011). This demands a reflexive and critical analysis that includes my own interpretations and reflections as a researcher, in order to explain and better understand a social world that is simultaneously socially constructed and an objective reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Assuming that broader belief systems shape the cognition and behaviour of organisations and

individuals (Thornton, 2004), it is essential to reflexively account for the multiple ILs which constitute frames of reference influencing not only participant reasoning and actions but also my own as a social researcher.

### 4.2.1. *An Inductive yet Deductive Approach*

This thesis describes, decodes and interprets data inductively, so to understand the meaning, not the frequency, of naturally occurring phenomena in the social world (Van Maanen, 1983). The reasoning behind this inquiry is mostly but not exclusively inductive. It is in fact oriented towards a deductive bottom-up theorising (Eisenhardt, 1989; Shepherd & Sutcliffe, 2011); allowing theoretical propositions to still emerge from the research data. This means that theory building starts by defining a research question and the type of data that will be collected, together with an analysis of relevant academic literature that is revisited retrospectively; hence, providing direction and some *a priori* constructs and guidelines to the investigation which can be dynamically altered.

An inductive study is by nature more open-ended and exploratory, beginning with observations from which patterns and regularities emerge so that general conclusions or theories can be generated. Nevertheless a continuous cycle, moving from theories down to observations and back up again to theories, is likely to occur as an inductive-deductive logic process (Creswell, 2013). This theoretical sensitivity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) enriched this inquiry. Sensitising concepts, gathered from both secondary and primary sources, offer informed and insightful directions on how to gather and approach empirical materials (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). However, to be theoretically minded and pragmatic about how to assign meaning to data that can be applied to one's particular study requires caution. Otherwise, sensitivity can become narrowing or prescriptive.

During this research, the research question has been continuously refined and thorough primary and secondary data sources have been identified. Given this study's ethnographic methodology, comprehensive and varied empirical materials were interpreted in order to provide explanations based on a mostly inductive yet recursive inductive-deductive logic approach. This implied the formulation and evaluation of informed explanatory propositions grounded on relevant data.

## 4.3. Reflexive Ethnographic Methodology

This doctoral research is informed by the principles of ethnography. The overall design is grounded, in particular, on a reflexive ethnographic methodology (Brewer, 2000) in the sense that reflexivity, at both personal and broader cultural levels, is integrated making use of a variety of research methods. A critical and reflexive understanding is believed to assist the development of dependable knowledge about the social reality (Davies, 2008). The reflexive component accounts for my own assumptions and actions as a social researcher, the theoretical frameworks that inform them (Eisenhardt, 1989), and the interpretations of local actors (Soulsby & Clark, 2011).

Ethnographic methodology focuses on the situation-specific nature of human action via a direct engagement in the 'natural' setting (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and the lives of those being studied. The study draws on the tradition of using ethnography in anthropology to study social and cultural aspects of communities (Eriksen, 2001). In addition, ethnography allows patterns of human activity to be observed, i.e. practices through which people do things together (Van Maanen, 1979). This explains why it was selected as an appropriate methodology to explore how diverse degrees of cultural embeddedness (Greenman, 2013), and specific ILs, influence individual interpretations and practices of SE in the context of a developing economy.

An ethnographic 'thick description' of a setting, individual/s, and cultural interactions provides a means to explain how context makes behaviour more meaningful to an outsider (Geertz, 1973). This is illustrated in Vignette 2 below, which describes my first fieldtrip in Maputo travelling by chapa [informal mini-bus] on a Sunday, accompanied by my brother-in-law's cook.

**Vignette 2: Thick Description (Travelling by chapa)**

> The main goal that morning was to visit a religious organisation in the outskirts of Maputo and to attend mass there in the parish. Since I was going by chapa, Alexandre [the cook] offered to come and get me so that I wouldn't go alone. Chapas are mini-buses which are mostly used by black Mozambicans. He arrived forty minutes late because, according to him, chapas stop at every graveyard on Sundays.
> He was well-dressed with a white shirt and smart trousers, I wasn't. For me, that travel

was an opportunity to get into the *jungle*, unnoticed… for him it was Sunday and a special occasion to show off his town and his daily routine to a white Ma'am. Surely there were other reasons at stake. He could be doing it for money and/or because he simply wanted to be helpful. We used to have long chats in the kitchen. My sister-in-law shared with me once how much their domestic staff liked me - "You know? Alexandre simply adores you!"

He knew about my research interests and noticed my approach towards him was slightly different than what he was used to. His opinion mattered to me. I would enter the kitchen and open the fridge to help myself with juice, instead of ordering him to bring me something to drink in the living room. It was only a week earlier when he approached me first, telling me all about recent kidnapping stories announced on the radio. He addressed me using 'you', rather than the third person utilised in formal Portuguese! A slip of the tongue that could mean many things. It never happened again and, even though I felt fulfilled somehow for the fact he was addressing me as one of them, I thought it was better that it remained as before. To address someone using 'you' is associated with either social parity or a demonstration of hierarchical superiority. It is a social code of classes not ethnicity, I would say.

We caught the first chapa that would lead us to Maputo's central bus station. It was small, five rows of seats. We sat together and I filmed surreptitiously what I could. Men tended to sit at the front whilst women carrying heavy weights would go to the back (a pattern that didn't apply when the chapa started to become packed). On our way we were stopped by the Municipal police. The driver left the bus to speak with the officer outside. Five minutes later he was back, the time necessary for the negotiation... Alexandre translated: "He had to pay them because the chapa doesn't have a license, you see. He was lucky it wasn't the traffic police!" Apparently, these vehicles tend to be old and are managed privately so both driver and bus ticket collector are hired. We changed to another chapa for the longer journey to the parish. The joyful environment was contagious. African music was playing loud and everyone seemed to know each other as drivers greeted loudly and honked at other passing-by drivers. It was also extremely unsafe... A bus ticket collector was standing by the door trying to fit in as much people as possible, the driver was speeding, stopping anywhere every time someone expressed their willingness to jump in, and he'd proceed with people still getting in. On the other hand, the whole system seemed quite efficient. They could capitalise on 'economies of scale', passengers didn't have to run to bus stops to get transport and they were never late. At the traffic lights, water bottles were being sold through the window. I grabbed my purse to buy one. Alexandre interfered: "No, don't do it… the bottles are dirty and they refill them with tap water!"

When we arrived, Alexandre didn't leave until he confirmed I was safe with the priest I was meeting. I said that there was no need for him to wait for me. I was going to spend the whole day there anyway: "Now that I know my way around, I can go back on my own!" "Are you sure, Ma'am?" he replied, "then don't forget the fare is 7 not 9 Mts [equivalent to 8 instead of 11 pence], I want to ensure you won't be overcharged."

I returned safely standing up in two crowded chapas. I wasn't treated differently and people were helpful giving me directions. When I arrived home, I took a dip in the pool to refresh myself. Friends made fun of me but my sister-in-law confessed she was a bit jealous: "I've been living here for 18 years and I never managed to travel by chapa". She viewed it as an adventurous experience, a ride in a fun park.

*Source: Fieldwork diary, video recordings and photographs – 9th February 2014*

From this vignette many inferences can be drawn and reflexively examined (e.g. issues of class, embeddedness vs. disembeddedness, corruption, economic inequality, and so on). Analysis began as soon as data collection started, shaping future research directions and helping frame the study. As observations and meanings began to unfold, I realised that I needed to inquire a wider range of participants, directly or indirectly engaged in SE, in order to get better acquainted with the local context. 'Theoretical sampling' (Glaser, 1978, p. 36) was therefore employed to decide what data should be collected next. This was essential to ethnographically explore an unfamiliar research setting.

### 4.3.1. *The Research Setting*

This subsection describes the context in which SE was observed and analysed. Maputo (Mozambique's capital city) was selected because it epitomises the typical aid-based structure of an Eastern Sub-Saharan setting. It encapsulates a strong collective societal mindset, influenced by and inherited from its own history (Bromley et al., 2004), and also multi-cultural inputs (resulting from the presence of diverse social groups from many part of the world who express different degrees of interaction among themselves).

Mozambique is marked by a colonial past. It became independent in 1975 and experienced a brutal civil war from 1976 to 1992. The country moved through socialism, liberalisation, rapid privatisation and industrial restructuring, to a lightly regulated capitalist economy and a democratic government characterised by a dominant party system (Dibben, 2010). In 1995, Mozambique became the first member of the Commonwealth of Nations without any former colonial or constitutional links with the United Kingdom. Mozambique is characterised by extreme poverty (World Bank, 2014) resulting from a combination of high absolute levels of poverty and economic inequality, limited state resources, poor governance and market failures, aid-dependency, corruption (Hanlon, 2004), and a prevalent informal economy (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015; George et al., 2016) estimated to absorb 95% of the labour force (LO/FTF Council, 2014). However, the country has been considered the fastest growing non-oil economy in sub-Saharan Africa since the end of the civil war. Therefore, its economic growth has not led to a corresponding reduction in poverty (Gov. UK, 2013).

As in many African economies, there are issues of transparency and accountability. The local government has failed to solve challenges facing social projects because of an over-reliance on donor funding, which can be seen as a non-sustainable option (Karanda & Toledano, 2012; Sesan, 2006). Mozambique became target of many international development programmes due to its economic, political and social stability. Maputo hosts one of the highest concentrations of donor agencies and other development actors (DFID, 2012c). This was quite noticeable when conducting fieldwork. Mozambique is directly influenced by aid policies from outside countries and agencies. In fact, some argue that the significant involvement of donors is leading to a re-colonisation of the country (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007).

In regards to SE, it should be noted that there is not a legal form for social enterprises in Mozambique. This institutional void affects the governance of organisations willing to combine mixed sources of finance (Ebrahim et al., 2014). Even though it has been assumed that social opportunities are global in nature and many social business models from the industrialised world have scalable potential (Zahra et al., 2008), SE is an activity still emerging in Africa (Rippon & Moodley, 2012). There are key barriers for community engagement in the region (Urban, 2008). For example, most of the government development strategies in Mozambique focus on economic growth, which does not necessarily entail the economic empowerment of poor people (Eusébio, 2006). Furthermore externally induced developmental activities, common in African developing economies, face diverse challenges that have been preventing target beneficiaries from effectively participating in aid programs implemented by international NGOs (Burkey, 1993). The prevalent problem of aid dependency is related with the fact that most projects have been conceived and managed by development agencies instead of members of beneficiary communities (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006) that should be empowered (Mair & Martí, 2009).

The south of Mozambique is patriarchal, including Maputo and its outskirts (Loforte, 2003). As mentioned, ROSCAs are institutionalised saving practices (Bouman, 1983) in the country, undertaken mostly by the grassroots and among women (Dava et al., 1998; Trindade, 2007) as a means for low income households

to alleviate poverty (Armendáriz & Morduch, 2010). Xitique participants contribute a fixed sum of money on a regular basis which is lent in turn to each member of the group. These practices, widespread across the developing world (Brink & Chavas, 1997), are based on mutual trust and reciprocity and likely to emerge in contexts of subsistence where there is a shortfall in formal institutions (George et al., 2016), and a prevalence of informal institutional arrangements (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). It is believed that Xitique is aligned with the Southern African philosophy of Ubuntu that lies at the basis of social solidarity and mutual-assistance within families and communities more broadly. Ubuntu is described as a source of social coercion which eschews individual growth in favour of togetherness and indebtedness to one's kinship network (Lux et al., 2016).

Mozambique's historic past and current institutional, economic, cultural, and socio-political characteristics are thoroughly analysed in this thesis. More detailed information about the country, including statistical data and Mozambique's History timeline is presented in Appendix 3. As a country currently experiencing transformation, Mozambique offers a real-time 'eco-system' to study the origins, interdependence and changes of ILs (Thornton et al., 2012; Zahra & Wright, 2011). Moreover, it presents contextual particularities which resemble the ones of other developing countries. Sub-saharan Africa has been understudied. Hence, it is an ideal research context to apply and test existing theories (George et al., 2016).

### 4.3.2. *Levels of Immersion*

I stayed most of the time with relatives who have been living in Maputo for almost twenty years. Therefore, this study's ethnographic fieldwork entailed different degrees of involvement and participation in the research setting in order to bridge *etic* and *emic* perspectives. For obvious reasons, assuming the role of a complete 'member' - accepted as an 'insider' – was not possible at all times (Adler & Adler, 1987a). Diverse levels of immersion were a function of the research methods that were deployed, whom I was engaging with, and the specific circumstances of social interactions.

Formal in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted systematically, *in situ*, with key informants from the local government, NGOs, development aid agencies, MNCs, religious organisations, social enterprises, Mozambican

universities etc. However, these more detached interactions were often complemented with informal and spontaneous social encounters with some of these interviewees (e.g. when socialising at private gatherings and parties). This constitutes a form of *opportunistic ethnography*, in which researchers find themselves engaged in a group by chance (Reimer, 1977), and may enrich the investigation enabling an additional type of interaction where one can act as a 'disinterested' observer (Brannan & Oultram, 2012). Informal interviews (Heyl, 2001) or conversations also occurred throughout the study when engaging, for instance, with deprived communities. I have carried out volunteer work and accompanied local organisation operations in impoverished neighbourhoods in order to experience, first-hand, the daily routines and practices of both these organisations and the communities they serve (Brewer, 2000). Also, I have assisted workshops on SE taking place in Maputo and attended a public debate on 'Gender and Politics' that was broadcasted by TVM. I was part of the jury in a SE Bootcamp organised by a Portuguese Institute and supported by one of the top five global business schools, where nine social innovations were pitched. I had the opportunity to teach and engage with students at Eduardo Mondlane University and S. Tomás University of Mozambique. In one of the lessons, six local entrepreneurial case studies were presented by students, discussed and documented. In addition, I was invited to attend *Xitique* ceremonies. Hence, different degrees of participant observation (Gold, 1958), immersion and distanciation, implied the adoption of several identities and field roles as a social researcher (Reinharz, 1997).

During fieldwork, the construction of different 'selves' required sensitivity to shifting situations and a diversity of social contexts and participants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), balancing inner and outer viewpoints (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002) through a reflexive practice (Haynes, 2012).

### 4.4. Data Collection

This research project entailed a total of three fieldtrips to Maputo and its surrounding neighbourhoods for data collection purposes: two shorter trips; and a longer fieldtrip, in which I lived in Maputo for three consecutive months and

conducted ethnographic fieldwork. Additional data was collected remotely, on an ongoing basis, and incorporated in the study.

**The first exploratory trip** (August 2012) enabled me to develop a network of personal contacts in Maputo which facilitated access to gatekeepers and key informants from all sectors. I have carried out enterprising actions (e.g. resource acquisition, business model design, deal-making, pitching) as part of the pilot social-driven endeavour I intended to take forward in the country. This involved strategic intermediation between potential local collaborators, and provided a means of access to conduct fieldwork.

**The second exploratory trip** (August 2013) entailed three semi-structured interviews and four relevant informal conversations. These sensitising interactions allowed me to identify emergent, communal themes (e.g. Xitique practices and their logics) that helped me refine my research question, adapt my theoretical framework, and rethink how to conduct ethnographic fieldwork accordingly.

**The third fieldtrip - ethnographic fieldwork** (January 2014 – April 2014) enabled ample time to develop initial interpretations and probe for additional layers of interpretation (Fletcher, 2012). This prolonged period of fieldwork entailed an intensive and uninterrupted study of everyday life in the local context (Adler & Adler, 1987b), and helped to deepen observations via attaining a degree of membership in a variety of local communities engaged in SE. Clearly, this enriched the theoretical and empirical contributions of the thesis.

A fourth fieldtrip was planned as a revisit but was not conducted due to time and budget constraints. Even though this is not a longitudinal study, it acknowledges SE as a process unfolding over time. By revising the site and participants one year later, I was expecting to be able to generate process-relevant data that would be useful for evaluating prior data reliability, and to trace the development of people's interpretations and practices (Soulsby & Clark, 2011). It has been argued by some ethnographers that a crucial test for their accounts is 'respondent validation', by which the descriptions of actor beliefs and behaviour are recognised as valid by them (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Respondent validation constitutes a

valuable additional source of data and insight (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). However, feeding back data and analyses may be problematic since respondent reactions, whether enthusiastic, hostile or indifferent, cannot be assumed as a guarantee of validation or refutation of ethnographic inferences. Notwithstanding, I remained in contact with some of the participants, and emails (further discussing some issues) were exchanged after the official data collection period. In addition, I had the opportunity to ask participants about other participants to contrast their views on each other. This last trip was discarded as well due to theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), i.e. when analysis indicates that all theoretical concepts are well-developed and there is repeated evidence that no new conceptual insight will be generated.

### 4.4.1. *Research Methods*

Seventy-five semi-structured open-ended interviews were carried out. Seventy people were formally interviewed, some more than once and the majority of them individually but, in rare cases, in small groups. Most interviews were audio recorded and lasted thirty minutes to two and a half hours. They were conducted in English, Spanish, but mainly Portuguese, and followed protocols that evolved as the research progressed (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). An interview template of one of the six composed questionnaires (targeted specifically at social entrepreneurs) is displayed in Appendix 4. Photographs were taken and videos were produced whenever possible (Pink, 2001). Interviewees from all sectors comprised: members of the government, governmental agencies, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), World Bank and United Nations representatives, local and international NGOs, MNC executives, SMEs, micro-finance institutions (MFIs), religious organisations, local academic researchers, journalists, social entrepreneurs, and people involved in the promotion of SE initiatives. Informal conversations were also held with other residents, beneficiaries, and members of deprived communities in order to get a broad view. Appendix 5 provides a directory of interviewees across organisations together with individual experts. The research design drew on existing networks of contacts that were expanded as the study progressed, and accounted for multiple perspectives which generated in-depth written and audio-visual data of everyday life and practice. Also, situated interactions illustrating how different

entrepreneurial practices are enacted in Mozambique were observed. These were captured when visiting social entrepreneurial projects *in situ* and engaging in local community ceremonies. Appendix 6 and 7 provide a detailed description of the fieldwork conducted and the materials gathered, qualitatively and quantitatively.

To sum up, thorough ethnographic materials were gathered making use of semi-structured in-depth interviews, informal conversations, and participant observation (field visits, voluntary work, and participation in local official events and workshops). Materials include: a research diary; audio-recordings of interviews and conversations (approximately sixty six hours), events and field visits (approximately seven hours), reflections (approximately five hours); photographs; video recordings (approximately three hours); case studies' posters and written definitions contrasting commercial and SE (composed by university students); field notes and descriptions; and secondary data collected in the research setting (see Appendix 7). The utilisation of multiple methods and several sources of information allowed for triangulation to confer credibility, consistency and empirical 'validity' to the research findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994)

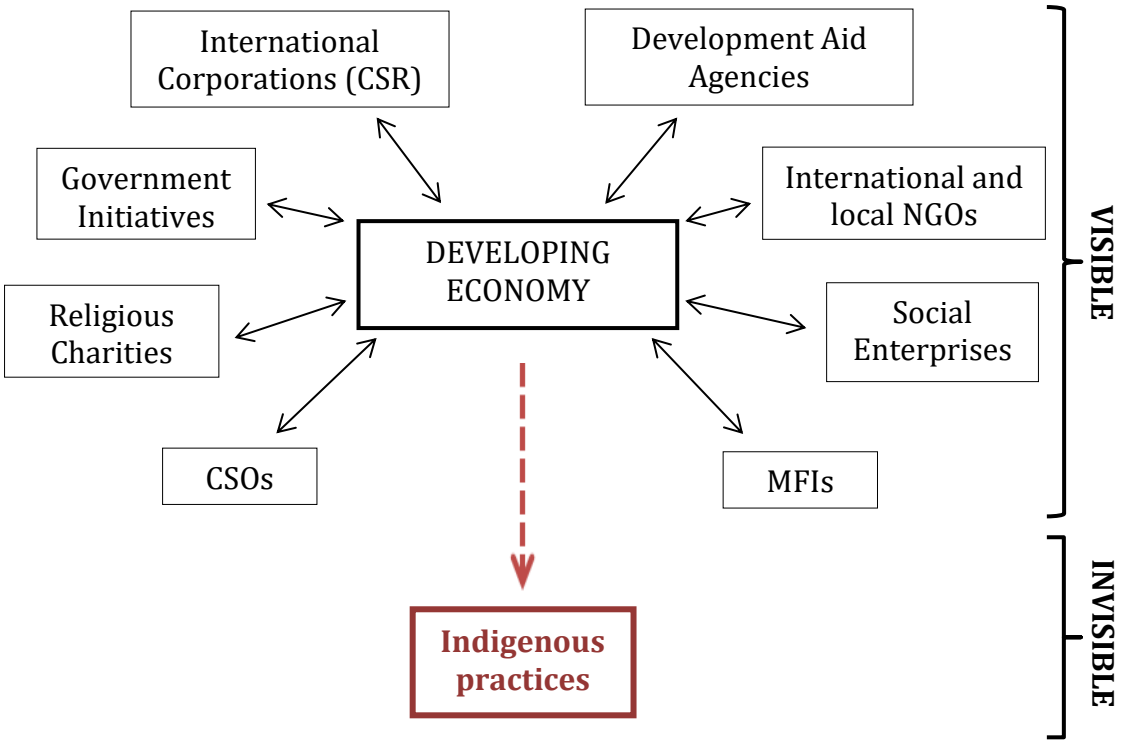
### 4.4.2. *Sampling Criteria*

This study is grounded on the interpretations of key local actors, i.e. individuals, social groups and organisations operating locally, directly or indirectly involved in social entrepreneurial practices (impoverished vs. resourceful, indigenous vs. foreign, educated vs. illiterate). SE encompasses different types of entities (Seelos & Mair, 2005b): the initiatives of non-profit organisations (e.g. charities); the initiatives of independent social entrepreneurs (e.g. social ventures); and the socially responsible practices of commercial businesses engaged in cross-sector collaborations (e.g. CSR). Hence, the criteria for selecting participants was based on the premise that a diverse set of organisations and individuals (national and international) from all sectors and also local communities should be examined.

Figure 7 illustrates the main actors that were selected prior to data collection, and after the first sensitising interviews. The selection criterion was based on desk research conducted on SE and developing economies, social enterprises' self-identification, and the assumption that SE may be manifested in multiple forms

across sectors (Mair & Martí, 2006), including the informal sector. Several formal organisations in the country were inquired (see Appendix 5) and relationships between them acknowledged (e.g. cross-sector partnerships for development). These are not depicted in the diagram below. Figure 7 also portrays informal organisational forms, such as ROSCAs, as alternative invisible manifestations of SE that were contemplated in the study at a later stage.

**Figure 7: Local and International Organisations: Manifestations of SE in Mozambique**




The economic inequality and social heterogeneity that characterises Mozambique, and Maputo city in particular, together with the country's over-reliance on foreign investment and donor funding (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007), posed sampling difficulties. Sample selection was inevitably constrained by time, access (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), safety restrictions, and the self-identification of social enterprises.

Most empirical studies conducted on SE in developing countries concentrate on organisations and founders self-identified as social enterprises and social entrepreneurs respectively (Mair et al., 2012; Littlewood & Holt, 2015, Santos, 2012). The utilisation of self-perception as a selection criterion is supposed to settle SE definitional inconsistencies, especially in contexts where there is not a

legal framework for social enterprises. However, care and reflexivity are needed when identifying 'social enterprises' or 'social entrepreneurs' based exclusively on their self-perception and, inevitably, the image they intend to convey (see Figure 8). Not only entrepreneurs' perception of themselves and their ventures varies across contexts (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015) but also the overall concept of SE is likely to be completely unknown to some indigenous actors, namely at the grassroots and in contexts of informality where a large proportion of social endeavours might not view themselves as 'social enterprises'.

For example, the representative of a global partnership for action on sustainable development and the green economy, supporting the growth of SE in Mozambique, stated:

> *I think almost all Sub-Saharan African countries are facing this challenge [not having a legal form for social enterprises]. So the way we approach this is: when the enterprise is socially and environmentally minded, and the core business is really creating a social or environmental impact then, from our perspective, it is a social environmental enterprise.*

This quote suggests a prejudiced selection of social ventures somehow based on the self-perception of organisations as social enterprises. Surely a formal organisation, self-aware of what SE is, with an underlying income-generating activity, and capable to show impact, is more likely to be selected for SE awards and sponsorships. Figure 7 captures and contrasts typical forms of SE encountered in the field together with informal practices which tend to go unnoticed as potential forms of SE. These aspects had to be considered for sampling purposes since both poverty and informality were found to be significant features of the research setting, and likely to cause local practices of SE to be dismissed. Conversely, a more inclusive selection criterion determined by the researcher's viewpoint raises other challenges and also demands reflexivity and transparency. It comes to be informed by the context but still influenced by personal biases.

**Figure 8: Images Contrasting Self-proclaimed SE with Informal Everyday Grassroots' Practices**

Since not all interpretations could be considered, a snowball type of purposive sampling was adopted. The research started with a smaller sample of participants which, in turn, informed who else should be considered in order to get a broad and varied perspective on the subject matter: how SE is enacted in the region. This has ensured a contextualised, systematic, credible, and feasible selection of experiences and opinions which was in accordance with the research aims. As the study progressed, new categories were discovered leading to more sampling in that particular dimension (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973).

### 4.4.3. *Fieldwork Challenges and Opportunities*

Even though ethnographic fieldwork went according to plan, I felt some reluctance from one specific NGO to let me accompany their operations in the field due to my privileged background and researcher status. I also struggled to have access to MFIs without making use of personal connections. It was a challenging period in terms of role play. Even though many grassroots encounters were actively pursued, it was difficult sometimes to have prolonged access to SE initiatives being conducted inside deprived communities. If it was not for a constant effort to 'swim against the tide', this research could easily have become a study of the many elites based in the country (both Mozambican and international). Conversely, my position in the field granted me access to powerful actors. This three month period of ethnographic work was very productive and led to the collection of rich and contextualised empirical data, from a broad range of social actors (from the elite to the urban poor). In addition, unexpected opportunities to teach at local

universities allowed me to gather precious input from Mozambican university students and extra materials. This was a result of strategic approaches through which existing contacts and people, I used to engage with on a daily basis (e.g. domestic staff, street vendors), provided a better knowledge of the local context and access to other participants. I have also learned how to effectively deal with an array of people from extremely different backgrounds. As mentioned in my field diary:

> *Ethnographic fieldwork is a 24/7 job. I can't disconnect for a minute, everything is data!*

#### 4.4.4. *Ethical Procedures*

A study of this nature raises many ethical challenges, especially considering that ethnographic fieldwork was also conducted in impoverished communities. Members of these communities tend to be illiterate and to lack the most basic life conditions and resources. For that reason they may be considered vulnerable. I have played an overt role, obtaining prior informed written consent from participants (Soulsby, 2004) whenever appropriate and feasible. Nevertheless, there were cases where it was only possible to gather verbal consent from respondents. Appendix 8 includes disclosed information for research participants (written consent form and verbal explanations script). Ethical procedures were implemented in accordance with Nottingham University's Code of Research Conduct and Research Ethics and ESRC guidelines regarding transparency; confidentiality; data protection; impartiality; and anonymity (ESRC, 2012).

## 4.5. Analysis Approach and Techniques

Data analysis techniques were informed by the principles of grounded theory, applying qualitative coding schemes in thematic analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). These comprised processes of open and axial coding so that similarities, differences and general patterns could be inductively identified (Bowen, 2005). Coding processes were cross-checked by my supervisors, thus subject to analytical scrutiny (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). However, depending on the nature of gathered research materials other interpretive approaches were utilised (Hammersley &

Atkinson, 2007) such as narrative analysis. This was useful to explore participants' accounts and 'stories' that stemmed from more relational modes of interviewing, and how narratives reflect wider socio-cultural norms, rules, values or identities (Riessman, 1993). Content analysis of gathered official documents, organisations' reports and websites, archival data, and relevant media coverage (Martens et al., 2007) was also undertaken, accounting for wider societal discourses.

Grounded theorising aims at theory generation from raw data and has been considered a robust and useful approach to analyse qualitative materials; especially in studies (such as this one) researching new organisational forms (Daft & Lewin, 1993), in which there is limited knowledge of the social setting (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), and focusing on the meanings assigned to unfolding processes (Langley, 1999).

Several qualitative empirical academic articles acknowledge the coding process as purely inductive; meaning that virtually no *a priori* theoretical assumptions guide the analysis approach. When more closely evaluating the criteria underpinning data analysis, that does not seem to be always the case. I do believe that a more explicit acknowledgment of theory at the analytical stage would improve the credibility and transparency of many studies; justifying more openly not only what has led to (sometimes hidden) propositions, linking data to prior knowledge, but also the underlying theoretical assumptions utilised to address them. A very similar interactive process have occurred when I was defining the research question based on my literature review, and from there selecting the most appropriate methodology and methods for my study.

### 4.5.1. *The Coding Process*

I remained flexible and opened to what the data was telling me. However, I defined beforehand some of the categories I would be coding for (such as ILs and legitimising efforts). This gave me a sense of direction during the formal data analysis period, and enabled a more targeted use of the wealth of data at my disposal, considering the core purpose of the thesis. My theoretical sensitivity was reflexively accounted for and transparently acknowledged whilst analysing my materials. Also, constant triangulation of several research methods and multiple

sources of information contributed to the consistency and empirical 'validity' of emerging research findings. I could better discern what was central to the 'story', still making use of complementing accounts to become more deeply acquainted with the research context and local circumstances.

Raw materials categorisation and interview transcripts' coding was followed by the composition of a table which contrasts interviewees' profiles and practices with their interpretations (see Table 1). This analytical table enabled me to position participants within organisations and/or the wider context. It filtered all information gathered on and from each participant through multiple methods and sources. Such framework was crucial to cross-verify, organise and cluster related materials, e.g. interview transcripts, field diary entries; written descriptions; photographs or video recordings; secondary data gathered from the internet or collected in the field (from participant organisations, the media and so on). It provided a means to structure scattered ethnographic materials and to deploy data triangulation. The table's content was then recoded. Using two rounds of coding, firstly interview transcripts and then structured table contents for each participant, was useful for codes and themes to become more refined and abstract (Saldaña, 2015). This process also allowed me to systematically compare and contrast existing asymmetries between participants, to find links or cause-effect relationships between codes, and to extract similarities and differences among interpretations through an exploration of patterns, conflicts and contradictions. Theoretical themes were then distilled from the codes generated in the table.

Table 1 displays and explains the pre-established analytical categories (left column). These categories provided *a priori* guidelines (grounded on the research question, the research design, and preliminary analysis taking place during data collection), and enabled a more inductive subsequent analysis. The final stages of the analytical process consisted of integrating existing theory with emerging findings in order to reach explanatory conclusions.

**Table 1: Analytical Framing of Data**

| Categories | Interview [N] – Name of interviewee |
|---|---|
| **Role** | *What they do – linkage to endeavours' logics of action*<br><br>[Participant role within an organisation and/or nature of the activities they carry out - this field merges primary and secondary data (gathered online or during fieldwork) and provides a thorough description of organisations or practices' mission, legitimacy, sources of financing, operational model, partnerships etc.] |
| **Description** | *Who they are – inference of logics they have been exposed to*<br><br>[Participant background and profile indicative of socio-economic status, previous influences, familiarity with SE etc. - this field merges primary and secondary data (gathered online or during fieldwork) and provides a thorough description of participants: age, gender, family, ethnicity, religion, nationality, education, professional background, connections (social capital); situating them and their resources in the local institutional and societal environment] |
| **Interpretations of SE** (highlighting and grouping codes extracted from interviews and illustrative quotes) * | *How they think – identification of actors' frames of reference*<br><br>[Participant opinions and perspectives on SE which reflect their forms of reasoning, and impact on their actions. This field was subdivided in:<br>1) Western exposure - affecting or not their interpretations;<br>2) Personal beliefs - identity (how they view themselves and their practices); mind-set (attitude, motivations, expectations); political and economic stances; cultural values; religious beliefs etc.;<br>3) Local context - personal views on the local setting (e.g. SE hindrances and potential in the region; role of international aid)] |
| **Interpretations of indigenous practices** (highlighting and grouping codes extracted from interviews and illustrative quotes) * | *How they think – identification of actors' frames of reference*<br><br>[Participant opinions and perspectives on indigenous practice attributes, purpose, triggers, advantages, limitations, implications which may challenge or reinforce SE underlying assumptions] |
| **Do these practices overlap?** | *What they think – probing*<br><br>[Participant views on what conventional SE vs. alternative organisational models may have in common] |
| **Dominant ILs** | *Their forms of reasoning – what institutional logics are being mobilised*<br><br>[Participant explicit or implicit adherence to specific logics, based on what was said and observed] |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Memos** | *Summary and Notes*<br><br>[This field includes a summary of my overall impressions, personal reflections, detected contradictions, quotes that do not fit, and controversial aspects; it provides a means to identify and explain discrepancies and to be reflexive when interpreting participants' interpretations and observed practices. This entails transparent acknowledgement of what was valued and why, existing power relations in social interactions, and issues of negotiated reality] |
| **Framing** | *Labelling*<br><br>[Participants' portraits in the form of a label that expresses the essence of their interpretations and behaviours (sometimes stereotyped nicknames were adopted based on theoretical concepts)] |

***** Emerging themes and clustered ideas were highlighted in a different colour at the end of respective illustrative quote/s (either matching existing theoretical concepts or suggesting potential for theory development)

The systematic analysis of collected materials (Gioia et al., 2013) led to the emergence of specific theoretical dimensions like *ownership ambiguity* and *necessity-driven SE* (explored in Chapters Five and Six). This entailed an iterative inductive analytical process of coding interviews and documents, summarised in the form of a data structure diagram (Corley & Gioia, 2004). However, other aggregate dimensions like *exogenous*, *endogenous*, and *trans-cultural* practices of SE emerged through more flexible ethnographic analyses focusing on the 'big picture', and extracted not only from discursive answers to interview questions but from direct observation. Practice theorising requires close ethnographic observation and analysis of what people actually do, which may differ from what people say. Ethnography has been favoured when analysing practices because it enables researchers to capture what participants themselves are sometimes unable to articulate (Langley & Abdallah, 2011). Therefore, this thesis makes use of illustrative vignettes, dialogue extracts, thick descriptions and reflections, to reveal the underlying dynamics of practices (see Kaplan, 2011 and Rouleau, 2005). Diagrammatic representations of mechanisms are another analytical device that is utilised across the empirical chapters of this thesis, where arrows signal relations and interactions between different elements (see Barley & Tolbert, 1997).

### 4.5.2. *The Institutional Logics Perspective as Method of Analysis*

This thesis employs the ILP as a meta-theoretical framework and as a method of analysis (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) to categorise individual actor behaviours and interpretations within an interinstitutional system - society. The interinstitutional system ideal types' model (shown in Appendix 1) was utilised as a tool for this study's empirical analysis. Such an abstract typology of institutional orders and their 'pure' logics (Thornton et al., 2012) contributed to better contrast the potentially conflicting logics underpinning different practices of SE, and to understand their interactions. The interinstitutional system ideal types' model was used as a reference point from which component ILs were adjusted in accordance to insights generated from the data. Max Weber argues that sociological causality relates to regular and favourable relationships between phenomena. This explains why ideal-types serve as an instrument to interpret cultural meanings and to relate them to practices (Swedberg, 2005). Also, ideal-type models have been successfully applied to institutional analysis (e.g. DiMaggio, 1991). Indeed, Hedstrom & Swedberg (1998) call for a systematic search of explanatory social mechanisms via conceptual schemes that illustrate associations.

This thesis provides mechanism-based explanations that depict dynamic causal relationships. These are certainly limited in revealing the underlying reality, yet plausible and illustrative of the tendencies and patterns of processes that elucidate what might be going on in the local context (Hedström & Ylikoski, 2010). An ethnographic methodology can make use of causal explanations for actor reasoning and action. Ethnographic evidence is able to trace interactions and capture unfolding meaning-making processes. Hence, causal explanations can be inferred of how a social phenomenon comes into being or acts (Tavory & Timmermans, 2013). At the beginning of Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, a schematic representation of the mechanism elaborated on the respective chapter is provided. The diagrams highlight how logics as 'rules' that help constitute social structures (Giddens, 1984) intervene. This requires breaking complex social phenomena into their component parts to see how actors employ habits to resolve problem situations that bring about systematic effects, and what are the broader cultural configurations in which those meanings become possible (Gross, 2009).

The utilisation of the ILP helped to contextualise the study, allowing for broader conditions and situated factors to be brought into the analysis and built into the explanation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This leads to the next section.

## 4.6. Reflexivity

"Reflexivity operates with a framework that stimulates an interplay between producing interpretations and challenging them" (Alvesson, 2003); this implies a move between alternative lines of interpretation. Issues of reflexivity and its importance have been mentioned throughout this chapter. Yet, this ethnographic research entailed particular challenges that need to be further developed in a separate section. Reflexivity was absolutely fundamental to deploy the research design effectively. It guided my field work and it also underpinned data analysis. Reflexivity granted transparency to the study through a proactive assessment of the metatheoretical commitments upon which I depended in order to be reflexive in the first place (Johnson & Duberley, 2003). In that, the production of knowledge is expected to explicitly acknowledge my interference in the research setting, and the impact of my own orientations (prior to and post fieldwork) on my ethnographic conduct and subsequent research findings. By systematically revealing and questioning not only the individual but also the relational bases of my interpretations, the reflexive practice is expected to change, moving beyond a closed reflection process to become more open and actively recursive (Hibbert et al., 2010).

This ethnographic study encompasses many limitations, only minimised through reflexivity. They include issues of identity, power relations and role play (amongst others) that result from a close involvement in a society and culture which seemed unfamiliar and distinct from mine; yet somehow close due to relevant historical communalities. Thus, reflexivity focused on analysing not only my 'self' but also participants 'selves', and the situated social interactions we have experienced (Alvesson, 2003). The implications of my personal opinions, the preconceptions the research is grounded on, and my own characteristics and 'selves' affected the study, and were thoroughly considered. Such aspects, exposed below, have shaped how I was perceived and how I have perceived the 'social world' I was studying:

- Class issues and education level: I was generally perceived as part of the 'white' elite. Moreover, my overt role as a researcher from the UK sometimes triggered distrust or, conversely, a need to impress since I may have been regarded as an agent of a macro political agenda. This status have created some animosity, in particular cases, but generally granted me access and facilitated relationships with powerful actors;
- Ethnicity issues: Being white in an African country poses challenges as people of the same ethnicity tend to bind together. My behaviour might have been perceived as misplaced by some and patronising by others;
- Nationality: Being Portuguese, and therefore associated with a long history of colonisation, got me closer to many local actors. I felt categorised but not discriminated by other expatriates and Mozambicans;
- Western upbringing: Major cultural differences made it difficult to gain a degree of membership in some circumstances. Nevertheless, it helped me to better balance the *etic* and *emic* perspectives in the longer term and to avoid 'going local' or becoming 'psychologically engulfed' (Adler & Adler, 1987a);
- Gender issues: Again, being a woman in a patriarchal society poses challenges. However, I believe it was advantageous in many occasions (e.g. I was possibly perceived as less confrontational than a man; also, people of the same sex tend to feel more comfortable speaking about sensitive issues);
- Religion: Being Catholic might have caused me to become more critical about market orientation and self-interest;
- Natural sciences background: As an ex-veterinary surgeon, I have a tendency to reason deductively. I also struggle to value research that cannot be generalisable, and avoid 'writing myself in' to my written output to make it more 'scientific' and impartial;
- Family past: I belong to a family with a strong military tradition. Hence, I have heard many accounts about the Portuguese former colonies from my father and uncles. They had to relocate for long periods, accompanied by their families, in order to take part in military operations in many African countries, as required by the Portuguese State due to the Colonial War (fought between Portugal's military and the emerging nationalist movements in Portugal's African provinces, between 1961-1975);

- Relatives in Mozambique: I was also influenced by stories of prevalent corruption and ineffectiveness shared by relatives residing in Maputo for several years. These influenced my interpretations;
- History of a failed endeavour in the country: This research stemmed from an attempt to implement a social-driven project that was compromised due to the unexpected lack of support from a local municipality. This personal experience caused me to be simultaneously critical and supportive of the struggles faced by social entrepreneurs operating in the country;
- Language limitations: Portuguese is the official language in Mozambique and my native tongue, yet something was surely 'lost in translation';
- Theoretical sensitivity: It would be misleading to disregard the theoretical assumptions and concepts brought by extensive previous reading on the research topic, the setting, and the local context. Theoretical influences had to be reflexively accounted for, transparently justified, and sometimes set aside not to hinder theory development (Glaser, 1978).

I have addressed the above mentioned bias towards pre-existing theoretical assumptions by acknowledging that inferences built from empirical data were inevitably theoretically informed (prior knowledge) or sensitised by the context, personal experience etc. However, when inferences are subject to reflexivity and critical analysis, they reveal with transparency why a researcher interprets phenomena in a particular way. Also, rival explanations (Yin, 2009) beyond those automatically constructed were considered. This awareness and articulation of adopted interpretations made me understand my own transformation as the research progressed, and to become accountable for my choices; thus, open to both participants and the audience to whom the research is targeted (Gilbert, 2008).

Not 'belonging' have allowed me to identify underlying ILs that a local or long term resident cannot easily recognise. Simultaneously, it caused me to misinterpret some of them due to a lack of common culture (shared meanings, cognitive and culture-based rules, values, norms, practices, history and identity). That is why an extended period of exposure to the local context was paramount to develop multiple layers of interpretation. Embeddedness allows researchers to act 'in

context', having less impact in the research setting. It informs researchers on their role in the social environment, how to position themselves within the structural context, and consequently how to reflexively build on existing logics in order to produce valid and reliable research outcomes. Just as a high degree of social and cultural embeddedness is assumed to paradoxically function as both an enabling and constraining condition for entrepreneurship for instance, the same can be applied to academic research.

Vignette 3 is another exemplar of a thick description (Geertz, 1973) that incorporates reflexive thoughts. It describes a university lecture that I was invited to attend and my unexpected participation.

**Vignette 3: Eduardo Mondlane University Lecture**

Black Mozambican Professor Ana Felix kindly invited me to attend one of her lectures at Eduardo Mondlane University. That was a great opportunity for me to get to observe from the inside the true atmosphere at the largest public university in Mozambique. It was an evening class of last year Geography under-graduates. The classroom was spacious, without air conditioning; there was an old chalkboard and a whiteboard over it where her slides were projected. Tables and chairs were old fashioned, occupied by more than 40 working students. Some arrived late, bringing their notebooks and dictionaries. The lecture started 10 minutes later than scheduled and lasted 1:30h. The acoustic conditions were terrible and we could hear people chatting noisily outside. Having to leave the door and windows open due to the heat made it even worse, but no one complained. It seemed I was going backwards in time…

I was introduced as an academic colleague, a doctoral student. From that moment on I didn't feel observed again. A late student sat down right next to me, casually. The lecture was on scientific methodology, what a pleasant surprise! "Research seeks to respond to a methodological question, which is something we worry about", she started. Students' behaviour was exemplary. Some took notes others didn't. Most participated actively, engaging in the discussion. No laptops on the tables and no mobile phones buzzing! Professor Ana was enthusiastic and showed cultural awareness, considering students different backgrounds and creeds. I felt slightly uncomfortable in my shorts and sleeveless shirt.

I've learned a lot. Professor Ana explained methodological issues in a clear, non-pretentious manner, providing interesting examples of real experiences in the field in which cultural aspects had to be accounted for. She gave tips to students on how to conduct data collection in diverse settings which I found truly useful for my own study! I've recorded parts of the lecture.

Towards the end, and without any previous warning, she asked me to introduce my doctoral study to the whole class. As I was standing up a bit nervous and moving towards her, I joked saying I had been tricked. Despite having to improvise and confront inquisitive looks, I felt at ease. After all it was a topic I was familiar with. I told them about my

professional career, where I was from and where I lived. I explained the aim of my research and the differences between an experimental and an inductive study. I teased them saying "you must be wondering right now what a white Portuguese ex-veterinarian is doing here studying entrepreneurship in Mozambique!" Their eyes were wide open gazing at me. Then I explicated that that was precisely what would allow me to contrast the West with a country such as Mozambique: "the study is ethnographic in nature. The objective is certainly not to study how university classes are being conducted here but surely these experiences will allow me to apprehend the local culture."
I think they liked it. I thanked Professor Ana who gave me a ride halfway to my house. I then walked in the dark, there was a black out at Av. Kenneth Kaunda and I've used my mobile to illuminate the way. When I finally arrived home, there was a party going on. What a contrast… I enjoyed myself - my mission was accomplished that day. I have disseminated my research or was it knowledge exchange? Probably both. The truth is I felt ashamed for not expecting to learn so much.

*Source: Fieldwork diary and photographs – 7th March 2014*

Through a reflexive research methodology, it is possible to ensure that analysis and conclusions are not strictly based on the researcher's opinion, neither a value-free absolute truth.

### 4.6.1. *Credibility, Validity and Transferability*

The utilisation of multiple methods and several sources of information allowed for triangulation to confer credibility, consistency and empirical 'validity' to the research findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994). By validity it is meant quality, rigour and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Precisely because this study is ethnographic and implied a degree of immersion in an unfamiliar research setting, it was paramount to reduce biases and increase the truthfulness of the propositions that emerged from the social phenomena being analysed (Denzin, 1978). This was achieved through reflexivity and triangulation of data. However, the notion of triangulation should be redefined (Golafshani, 2003) when applied to qualitative research. In the context of this thesis, triangulation is considered to be "a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126).

The research findings are, therefore, expected to provide plausible explanations with the potential to be applicable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Flyvbjerg, 2011), transferable or extrapolated (Patton, 1990) to other realities, yet acknowledging

the situated singularities of the case/s being studied (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This level of abstraction can be achieved by inferring the general theoretical phenomenon of which the observed particular is a part (Van de Ven, 2007). Rather than looking for similarities among diverse contexts, one can find more insight by developing theories of difference which are essential to be able to generalise not equalise (Welter & Gartner, 2016). This is especially important considering this thesis' research focus on widespread issues such as poverty alleviation.

## 4.7. Conclusion

Studying how SE is enacted and legitimised in a developing economy through local and globalised institutional logics demands a complex methodological approach. This chapter has outlined some of my motivations and a research journey that entailed bringing in and then discovering SE. My realist worldview and my interpretivist epistemological stance were specified as compatible research paradigms. I believe that there is an underlying social reality that is dynamic and can only be partially uncovered through the consideration of multiple interpretations and everyday practices. My use of a mostly but not exclusively inductive approach to generate knowledge is aligned with my ontological and epistemological positions and with the realisation that theoretical sensitivity inevitably influences data collection and analysis.

The adopted ethnographic methodology proved to be highly appropriate to explore how diverse degrees of cultural embeddedness, and ILs, influence individual interpretations and practices via a direct engagement in the 'natural' setting and the lives of those being studied. Data collection entailed the utilisation of multiple methods and several data sources, including a breath of participants ranging from the elite to the urban poor, selected making use of a snowball type of purposive sampling. Inquired and observed key local actors (i.e. individuals, social groups and organisations operating locally, directly or indirectly involved in social entrepreneurial practices) comprised members of the local government, NGOs, development aid agencies, MNCs, religious organisations, social enterprises, Mozambican universities, SE promoters, and also deprived communities. Ethnographic materials gathered through semi-structured in-depth interviews,

informal conversations, and participant observation (field visits, voluntary work, and participation in local official events and workshops) include: a research diary; audio-recordings; photographs; video-recordings; materials composed by university students; field notes and secondary data collected online and in the research setting.

Data analysis techniques were informed by the principles of grounded theory, applying qualitative coding schemes in thematic analysis. Grounded theorising has been considered a robust and useful approach to analyse qualitative materials, especially when researching new organisational forms, when there is limited knowledge of the social setting, and when focusing on the meanings assigned to unfolding processes. However, more flexible ethnographic analytical methods not exclusively based on discursive answers to interview questions but on direct observations instead, were also undertaken. Theorising practice requires close ethnographic observation and analysis of what people actually do, in order to capture what participants themselves are sometimes unable to articulate. The interinstitutional system ideal types' model was also used as a method of analysis providing a reference point in which component ILs were adjusted in accordance to insights generated from the data. Such triangulation of a variety of research methods and materials, analytical techniques and data sources, encompassing a multiplicity of voices, ensured the credibility, validity and transferability of the research findings.

Reflexive considerations were also thoroughly examined in this chapter, namely how my beliefs, my background, my role as a researcher, and my approach to research have influenced this study. Reflexivity was essential to transparently account for my interference adding truthfulness to the research findings. I have considered these aspects across the following three empirical chapters. The next chapter elaborates on the mechanism underpinning the transplantation of exogenous forms of SE.

# CHAPTER FIVE:
# EXOGENOUS SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: A TRANSPLANTATION

> In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism. […] Neo-colonialism, like colonialism, is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries. The temporary success of this policy can be seen in the ever widening gap between the richer and the poorer nations of the world.
>
> Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism (*1965, p. xii*)*

## 5.1. Introduction

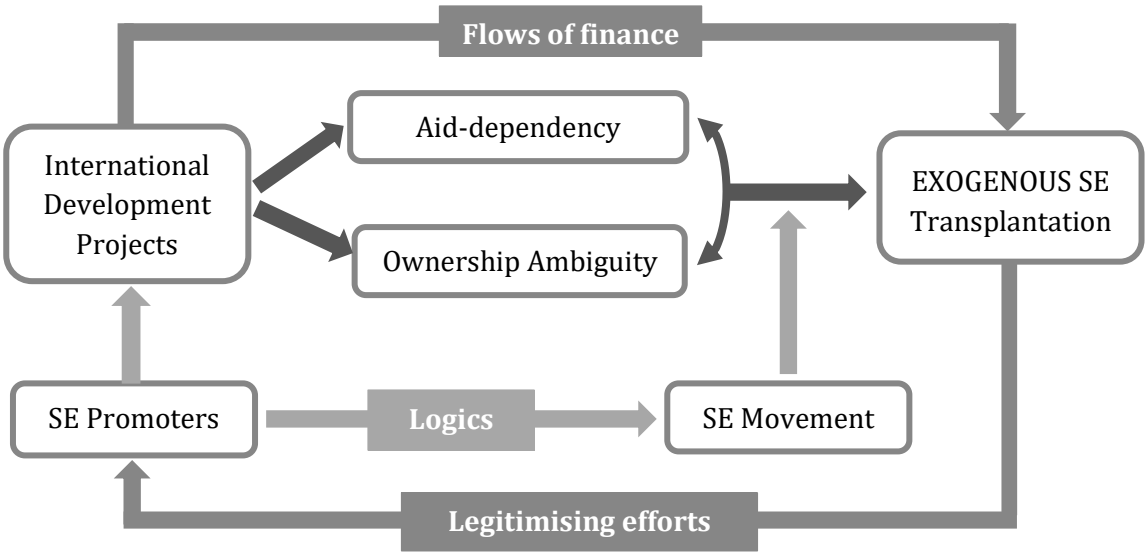
There is a generalised scepticism regarding the transformative outcomes of international intervention and development programmes in relation to poverty alleviation (Hickel, 2015). Main criticisms revolve around: perpetuating aid-dependency and ineffectiveness; the waste of resources due to donor agencies duplication; and local governance lack of transparency and accountability (DFID, 2012b). Development researchers have also referred to distorting drivers on the part of global North economies (Odeh, 2010), such as exploitation and other self-interested agendas. Some argue that globalisation has been accompanied by market-oriented development strategies, which are adversely affecting the livelihoods of the marginalised and the dispossessed (Guenther & Kasi, 2015).

SE shifts the debate around poverty alleviation towards enabling opportunity rather than providing aid. But how does SE actually unfold in the context of a developing economy over-reliant on foreign investment and donor funding? Is it being exported from developed countries where it originated from? How does it manifest in a different institutional, socio-economic and cultural environment? How does it translate considering the understandings, experiences and actions of local actors? These overarching lines of inquiry are considered in this thesis. As such, this chapter and the following two explore empirical data concerning this study's fundamental research question: *How is social entrepreneurship enacted and legitimised in a developing economy through local and globalised institutional logics?*

The splitting of empirical findings between three chapters matches the main forms of SE found to be enacted in the research setting. Exogenous (Chapter Five), endogenous (Chapter Six) and trans-cultural (Chapter Seven) practices of SE emerged from collected materials. This chapter demonstrates that conventional practices of SE, heading towards globalisation, are unfolding in the context of a developing economy through a process of transplantation; whereby prevalent logics, in the international field of SE, are being actively exported to poor countries. In this thesis, *exogenous SE* is thus defined as meanings and practices of SE which have been generated outside the local context, and are currently being transferred into Mozambique. Such forms, widespread in developed countries contexts, e.g. North America and Europe, appear to be rooted in normative Anglo-American repertoires of action and assumptions (Dart, 2004; Desa, 2012). Exogenous SE is associated with international intervention but does not imply the exclusive involvement of foreign organisations or expatriates. It may be performed by indigenous actors who have experienced western influences abroad, or who were exposed locally to developed country discourses of SE (Nicholls, 2010).

This chapter examines the mechanism underpinning the transplantation of exogenous SE. Figure 9 provides a schematic representation of the conceptual framework developed in the chapter. The darker arrows represent ongoing relationships. The lighter arrows represent areas of influence. The framework links established concepts, previously employed in SE and international development scholarly literature (Chapter Two), with a new theoretical dimension that emerged from the research data, namely *ownership ambiguity* (see Figure 3 in this chapter). It also builds on new institutional theory and the ILP (Chapter Three) to explain the interplay between SE legitimisation and the institutional environment. This conceptual approach sheds light on the processes behind the emergence of SE in developing economies. This chapter also makes two other contributions by theorising how exogenous SE meanings and practices relate to specific ILs (Table 4 in Section 5.4. frames these logics within the interinstitutional system ideal types' model - Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73), and how exogenous SE is legitimised through the replication of SE normative logics (Table 5 in Subsection 5.4.1. depicts legitimising efforts which build on dominant discourses of SE - Nicholls, 2010).

**Figure 9: Exogenous SE Conceptual Framework**




In this chapter, it is identified that international development organisations and policies have been conducive to aid-dependency and ambiguous ownership of projects. Such interconnected consequences are counterproductive and undermine sustainable development goals aiming to alleviate poverty through empowerment. As a result, SE is being gradually adopted and legitimised as a means to minimise these two issues. Exogenous forms of SE are expected to provide novel self-sufficient organisational models, enabling social entrepreneurs and beneficiaries to take ownership of projects, in support of sustainable development (Seelos & Mair, 2005a). However, these practices are shaped by a broad SE movement through which hegemonic ILs are diffused. In other words, SE promoters are carriers of logics of action which are being transplanted to developing countries via the SE movement. In this particular context, SE depends on external flows of finance and the support of international SE promoters who define SE paradigm-building discourses and ideal-type models (Nicholls, 2010). Consequently, legitimising efforts are targeted at resource-rich SE promoters instead of beneficiary communities and other domestic stakeholders. Conveying conventional SE narratives compliant with wider discourses and normative logics of action is unavoidable. It provides the path to acquire vital resources (Tracey, 2012) and to access entrepreneurial opportunities (Martens et al., 2007). This legitimacy cycle of positive feedback becomes detached from the local context as it tends to function outside the scope of local institutions. Firstly, exogenous SE may

lead to limited empowerment of the poor due to the high levels of expertise demanded by SE promoters. Secondly, a certain degree of aid-dependency still persists, bounding and homogenising social entrepreneurial action. Table 2 maps the concepts used in this chapter.

**Table 2: Chapter Five Mapping of Theoretical Concepts utilised in the Exogenous SE Framework**

| Theoretical Concepts (Figure 9) | Chapter-Section | Chapter Tables and Figures |
|---|---|---|
| International Development Projects | 5.2. | |
| Flows of Finance | 5.2.1. | Fig. 10 |
| Aid-dependency | 5.2.1. | Fig. 10 |
| Ownership Ambiguity | 5.2.3. | Fig. 11 + Table 3 |
| SE Movement | 5.3. | |
| SE Promoters | 5.3.4. | |
| Institutional Logics | 5.4. | Table 4 |
| Legitimising Efforts | 5.4.1. | Table 5 |

Drawing on this conceptual framework, the chapter is structured as follows: First, the perceived rationale behind international development is explored through an exposition of participants' accounts. These reveal the controversial role of NGOs and other stakeholders within the great machinery of development aid and philanthropy. Development projects are systematically fed by external sources of finance. Aid-dependency and other factors were found to lead to ownership ambiguity (Section 5.2.). Second, evidence of a SE movement permeating the global South is provided. The legitimacy of this movement is also explained (Section 5.3.). The section proceeds with an exploration of the effects of SE promotion for many constituencies across the public, private and third sectors. Section 5.4. elaborates on the logics underlying exogenous SE. SE promoters are instilling specific ILs. These prescriptions cause exogenous SE to be confined to a replication of pre-existing models and discourses. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of how opportunity-driven SE isomorphic legitimising efforts are most likely contributing to the diffusion of decontextualised and disembedded practices (Section 5.5.).

## 5.2. International Development Programmes

Mozambique was marked by a colonial past followed by a brutal civil war. It became independent in 1975 and then moved through socialism, liberalisation, rapid privatisation and industrial restructuring, to a lightly regulated capitalist economy and a democratic government characterised by a dominant party system (Dibben, 2010)[5]. Mozambique has been considered the fastest growing non-oil economy in sub-Saharan Africa since the end of its civil war in 1992. However, it is still among the poorest countries in the world (World Bank, 2014) inasmuch as economic growth has not led to a corresponding reduction in poverty (Gov. UK, 2013). Mozambique has become target of many international development programmes due to economic, political and social stability. It hosts one of the highest concentrations of donor agencies and other development actors (DFID, 2012c). This was quite noticeable when conducting fieldwork in Maputo. Some argue that the significant involvement of donors is leading to a re-colonisation of the country (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007). The paradox behind Mozambique's dependency on aid and its portrayal as an aid success story by the World Bank and the IMF (Hanlon, 2007) goes beyond the scope of this thesis. What does not, are local actor understandings of development projects and their intersection with SE.

This section sets the scene for international development targeted at Mozambique by exposing accounts that unpack how development projects are unfolding. Discussions held with participants on the roles of international aid and local contextual factors in reducing poverty proved to be relevant, as they could yield insights into the potential of SE to empower the poor. Several organisations in the country were enquired and relationships between them acknowledged (e.g. cross-sector partnerships for development). Appendix 5 gives a directory of interviewees across diverse organisations, together with individual experts.

The Mozambican government is struggling to solve challenges facing social projects because of an over-reliance on donor funding (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007), viewed as a non-sustainable option (Karanda & Toledano, 2012; Sesan, 2006).

[5] See Appendix 3 for more detailed information on the country, including Mozambique's History timeline.

However, the morality of a market approach aiming to solve social and economic problems is arguable (Sandel, 2012); especially when transposed to poor countries by powerful international actors such as development aid agencies, multinational corporations, NGOs, philanthropists, and donors own agendas. Sud et al. (2009) contest the ability of SE, by itself, to provide solutions to large-scale social issues such as poverty. Hybrid models may have the drawbacks of for-profit and not-for-profit organisations with none of their individual advantages. Moreover, there are many examples of controversial public–private partnerships for development which have been serving the interests of just a few (Utting, 2003). Thus, it is fair to question whether the concept of SE, increasingly institutionalised in the developed world, actually translates into other contexts (i.e. different institutional, socio-economic and cultural environments) when applied to development projects.

It was evident that people in Mozambique tend to clearly demarcate for-profit from not-for-profit endeavours.

> *There's a clear separation between for-profits and non-profits. The perspective people adopt on this is that* ***SE is for assisting a community not an opportunity.*** (GOV1)[6]

> ***SE manifests itself through NGOs*** *which implement social action programmes. It's* ***seen as charity*** *and because of that is already assigned to other institutions.* (GOV2)

When walking in the Sommerschield/Polana area of Maputo city centre (where I was residing) I was overwhelmed by the quantity of embassies, donor agencies, NGOs, and philanthropic foundation offices all bundled in this affluent part of town. I realised that the third sector does offer attractive employment opportunities for skilled local people; considering corresponding lower paid jobs in the public and private sectors. International development organisations are inclined to recruit English speaking professionals, educated to degree level. Once entering the non-profit industry it is easy to build an employment record of NGOs. Furthermore, qualified Mozambicans employed by the government or private companies are likely to have worked for the third sector in the past. Beneath the

[6] Parts of quotations highlighted in bold stress concepts/ideas being discussed.

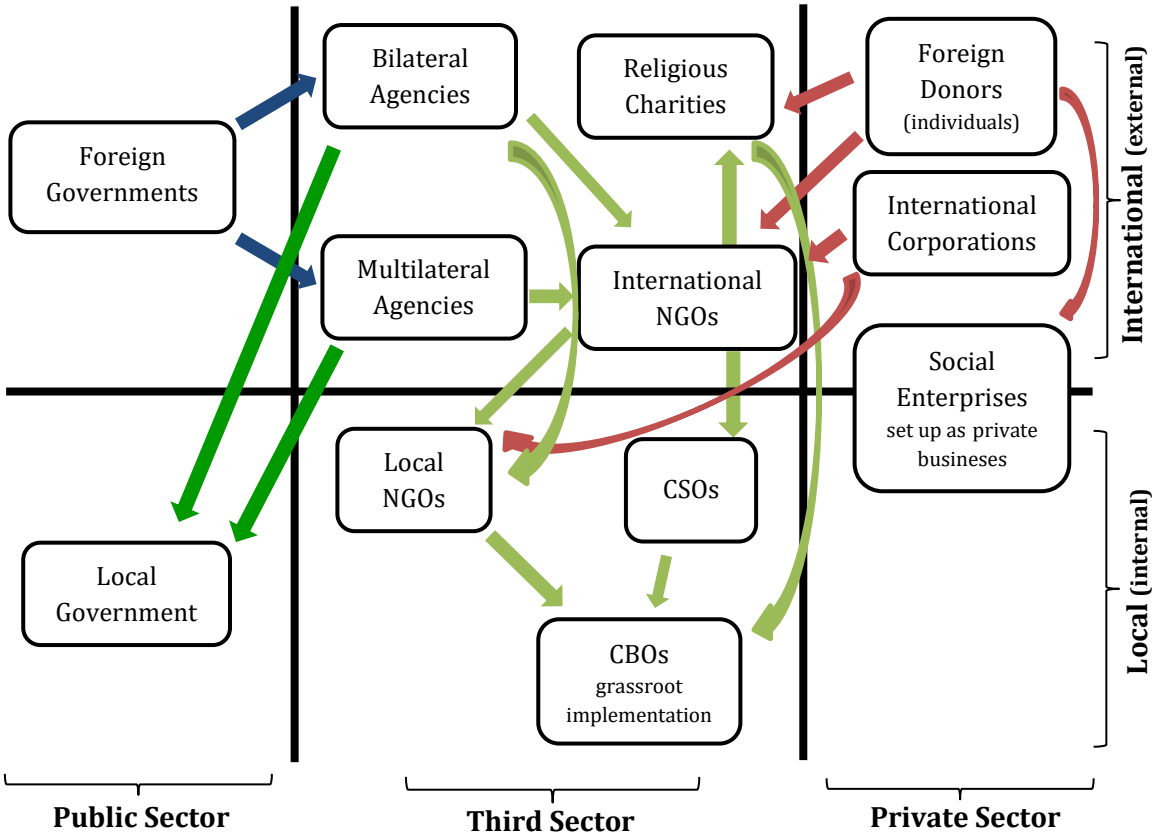
obvious social segregation caused by economic inequality, there is a cosmopolitan society in Maputo characterised by clusters of people from many parts of the world, forming diverse 'communities' among expatriates and Mozambicans, who are directly or indirectly involved in development projects.

### 5.2.1. *Flows of Finance and Aid-dependency*

According to Moyo (2009), there are three types of aid: humanitarian or emergency aid, mobilised in response to catastrophes; charity-based aid, disbursed by charitable organisations; and systematic aid, in which aid payments are made directly to the recipient government. Bilateral aid refers to assistance given from a donor government to either the recipient government or non-governmental organisations operating locally (e.g. DFID, USAID, Portuguese Cooperation); whereas multilateral aid is channelled by an institution representing a group of countries (e.g. WB, UN).

Figure 10 depicts sources of finance of development projects in Mozambique in what regards charity-based and systematic types of aid. It illustrates donation supply flows and key players in the process. The figure was based on participants' accounts and understandings, and secondary data gathered on-site, including the consultation of official regulations for organisations' legal forms, local studies etc.

**Figure 10: Flows of Finance for Development in Mozambique**




It is important to highlight that this diagram is simplistic in nature. The arrows represent customary sources of finance as described by participants. However, social projects may be funded by multiple partners, entailing cross-sector collaborations. Local NGOs, CSOs and CBOs, are all aid recipient not-for-profit organisations. They are depicted separately as, according to participants, they play slightly different roles. Local NGOs have governance systems similar to those of international NGOs. Being based in the country, they act as implementing agencies executing projects on the ground, oftentimes through the involvement of CBOs. CSOs, also known as associations, tend to be smaller than NGOs; they result from the deployment of civil society collectives, sometimes involving membership fees, and are usually representative of social movements. CBOs range from formal cooperatives formed at the heart of communities to informal grassroots groups mobilised by community leaders.

The pattern of the arrows indicates that financial resources are systematically channelled by external actors typically via international organisations that act as intermediaries. This suggests extra institutional complexity within the field of

development and the existence of a stakeholder network consisting of several layers of beneficiaries, all relying on aid. In addition, some rules are strictly observed. For example, local not-for-profit organisations can capitalise on donations from the third and private sectors. However, they are not allowed to raise capital via income-generating activities unless it contributes to covering administrative costs only. Consider the quotation below from a CSO accountant which illustrates aid-dependency:

> *There is an international standard which specifies the requisites to get funding […]* ***Sources of finance beyond donations are limited****. The association by-laws specify we are not-for-profit, but there are some terms that enable us to generate income. The association* ***depends on external funding, directly or indirectly.*** *Our operations are financed by donors but administrative services should be sustainable.* (CSO1)

Conversely, 'social enterprises' incorporated as private organisations are rather rare and cannot access grants. They have to rely exclusively on own revenue streams. In Mozambique there is not a legal form for social enterprises. Such institutional void has implications for the governance of organisations willing to combine mixed sources of funding (Ebrahim et al., 2014). It confirms that there is a steady distinction between sectors and that any organisation has to comply with either for-profit or not-for-profit requirements and expectations. SE remains for the most part confined to the third sector in Mozambique, as explained by a Mozambican lecturer in entrepreneurship when describing the president of a Mozambican NGO:

> *She [the president] assisted in securing financing and support from international organisations; secondly, because she is such a visionary, she challenged the leadership, the directors and managers of the NGO, to move forward with a business-led arm of the organisation.* ***SE should be sustainable but people here don't look at this or understand it*** *[…] this is a huge challenge. People who work in the third sector often don't have this awareness.* (A2)

Social enterprises were represented in the diagram lying in between local and international organisational forms. This is because, although they are set up locally as private companies, they were found to be run by expatriates.

> *If you notice and you look around, and I think this is interesting for your research, who is running social enterprises springing up here? They are* ***mostly run by expats*** *[…] it's not even an idea that hits Mozambicans, to have a social enterprise, and the fact that such a thing doesn't exist legally is for sure one angle.* (DC4)

It is not uncommon for social ventures to draw together two types of organisations in order to navigate regulatory constraints and take full advantage of the system. It is a 'one in two' model instead of the 'two in one' social enterprise hybrid format commonly adopted in developed countries, for instance Community Interest Company in the UK or B-Corporation in the USA. Clearly, following this strategy entails expertise and the existence of international networks.

> *One of the possible mechanisms,* ***followed by those who are aware of this very rigid legal framework****, would be to incorporate an association and simultaneously a for-profit organisation. The for-profit organisation can cross-finance some of the association activities and, at the same time, the association will facilitate the operations of the company. In this case, there's a consortium in which one assists the other.* (CSO1)

> *Sometimes they have two entities, a for-profit and a not-for-profit subsidiary. Whilst the NGO is looking for* ***grants****, the business activities stay around the* ***business****… this is relatively common.* (P1)

According to participants, moving away from aid-dependency is an enormous challenge in contexts of extreme poverty. Constant injections of funding from abroad not only promote a certain degree of passivity on the part of poor communities, often described as lacking initiative; but are also conducive to opportunistic behaviours from local and international organisations across sectors, whose operations are dependent and conditioned by taken-for-granted donations.

There is *dependence on foreign resources and such, and an idea of* ***accommodation****…* (UN1)

*Social development is 'take this', not a* ***give and take*** *as in SE. That's not empowerment because you're* ***serving things on a platter****.* (DC1)

*There were many* ***'puppet' projects*** *being implemented after the Peace Treaties from which many* ***people took advantage****.* (R3)

*Some are here to* ***put money in their pockets*** *and make few things happen.* (DC1)

### 5.2.2. *Cross-sector Partnerships for Development*

Cross-sector partnerships for development (CSPDs) are agreements between public, private, and/or not-for-profit organisations, in which involved partners work cooperatively toward common development goals by committing unique competencies and various resources. CSPDs are expected to shift divergent interests into engagements capable of delivering outcomes that surpass those of single sectors acting in isolation (Kindornay et al., 2014). For example, both the WB, via IFC - WB's International Finance Corporation, and DFID stressed their efforts to expand their agendas to direct financing of the private sector. Development agencies seem to be exploring opportunities for public-private partnerships as a means to promote CSR, allegedly integrating international development with the process of economic globalisation.

*The WB is an organisation that has changed a lot in recent years. And… of course in the social field the Bank works in partnership with or rather* ***promotes public-private partnerships*** *[…] There is space to work together with the private sector,* ***co-financing projects****, especially in the social field where the private sector can contribute.* (WB1)

*Companies need support because sometimes they really don't know* ***how they should be investing their corporate social contributions****. We can help them with our global experience to*

> *overcome those challenges, you know,* ***in partnership*** *with them.* (DFID3)

Although there is heated debate on the self-interested motives behind CSR, such as corporate brand leveraging, undue influence in policy making and the governance of multilateral institutions etc., bringing together partners within the international sphere is expected to enable further access to resources, increase effectiveness of projects, drive innovative development solutions, and infuse SE principles of market-orientation. A North-American development consultant claimed the overlap between CSR and SE.

> *I think any social enterprise would by definition be* ***an inclusive model****!* (DC4)

She assumes inclusive business models are manifestations of SE inside existing organisations. The IFC emphasises that inclusive business models provide commercially viable mechanisms for sustainable development around the globe, by integrating low-income consumers, retailers, suppliers, or distributors in the core operations of companies. Indeed, the interviewee's perspective is aligned with Seelos & Mair's (2005a) who associate SE with global corporations that have created collaborative new models catering to basic human needs that remain unsatisfied, whilst fulfilling their own economic interest. The consultant added:

> *Inclusive-business models are being* ***introduced in the country from other places*** *[…] Corporations are implementing business models that include poor people so they're creating jobs and income for poor people on purpose! They don't have to do it like that and so in my mind that's SE […] In our workshops, we spent most of the time talking about the concepts and providing specific examples of partnerships, and collaborative business models, so that people could understand what we mean. In Maputo, people are not that open to* ***the role of business in development and the role of the state in supporting that***. (DC4)

This quote suggests once again the exportation of practices which, in turn, give rise to local barriers to acceptance. Although businesses and governments can

creatively exploit market-based opportunities for new products and services to meet the needs of the poor, it is arguable to what extent this leads to truly inclusive models. A European social entrepreneur also endorsed the value of CSPDs:

> *The more the government and private companies realise this, the better. The greater potential lies in combining CSR with SE.* ***CSR brings the resources from powerful companies, the muscle, and SE on the other hand brings entrepreneurial individuals, active and dynamic****. Combining these two within a favourable legal environment that creates the opportunities to take this forward makes all sense. It's the '****think globally act locally****'!* (Se2)

But how exactly are grassroot communities being empowered? What are the actual consequences of these alternative routes for development and poverty alleviation in terms of ownership, considering the overwhelming involvement of numerous and disparate stakeholders? These issues are explored in the following subsection.

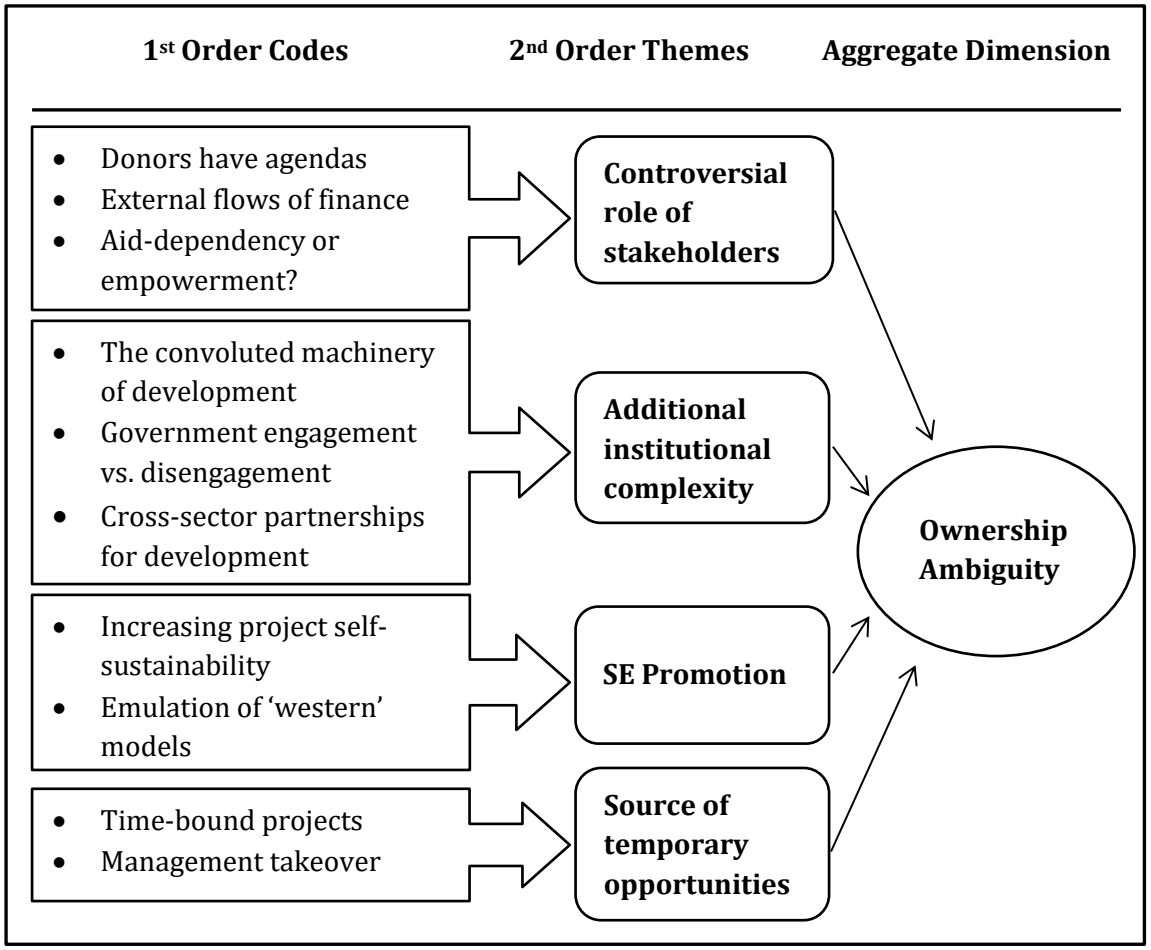
### 5.2.3. *Ownership Ambiguity*

Exogenous SE is unfolding in the context of a developing economy primarily through the execution of diverse development projects carried out by an array of organisations. Such projects tend to cut across sectors and countries. They require the involvement of external actors that provide financial support and influence local operations based on economic power relations and interdependency. If general support from external bodies is limited due to disagreement over social priorities or alienation from the process of determining the social end, SE is not expected to be as effective as it could otherwise (Cho, 2006). Key actors in the field of SE, both local and international, were interrogated about the role of international intervention and local contextual factors on poverty alleviation. Their actions, understandings and experiences suggest discrepancies in relation to the value assigned to foreign aid and its controversial administration. However, a systematic analysis of collected materials (Gioia et al., 2013) pointed to

generalised problematic issues of ownership ambiguity within development initiatives.

Figure 11 summarises the iterative inductive analytical process of coding interviews, observation notes, and documents (Corley & Gioia, 2004), which led to the emergence of the theoretical dimension of *ownership ambiguity* within development projects.

**Figure 11: Data Structure for Ownership Ambiguity of Development Projects**




*Source: Adapted from Corley & Gioia (2004)*

Project ownership ambiguity prompts defective participation and empowerment of intended beneficiaries and exacerbates deficiencies in accountability, as a tendency was found for responsibilities to be recurrently transferred from one intervenient organisation to another. This signposts the difficulties of transplanting pre-existing models via multiple intermediaries without accounting for contextual conflicting logics of action. How projects materialise may not

actually translate what was planned from the outside. Initial codes, some of them overlapping theoretical components of the conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 9, were subsequently merged into four second-order themes explained below:

1) Controversial Role of stakeholders:

Stakeholder roles within development was considered to be controversial (Hickel, 2015; Moyo, 2009). Both expatriates and Mozambicans, depending on their positions within organisation, previous professional experience, and personal political stances, tended to be critical about either donor self-interest or the existence of constant flows of capital supplied from abroad, through governments, charities or private corporations. There was generalised consensus regarding the consequences of aid in terms of dependency. The importance of empowering residential communities was unanimously accepted; some advocating partial participation based on endemic local lack of capacity. Assuming that stakeholders have different agendas, sources of finance for development are channelled from external actors and, as a consequence, aid-dependency became pervasive in the country in place of local empowerment, it is clear that there is an issue of ownership ambiguity underpinning development projects which are likely to have decontextualised goals.

2) Additional Institutional Complexity:

The institutional complexity of development was acknowledged. Expatriates and Mozambicans, depending on their positions within organisation, previous professional experience, and personal political stances, emphasised the existence of a convoluted machinery which entails additional control systems and managerial challenges (Peredo & McLean, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2005b). According to participants, only privileged and influential members of both local and international communities are able to navigate the system, often for their own benefit. The development industry has to self-feed itself. Resources are easily diverted on the way. They may not reach target beneficiaries since the machinery itself facilitates rampant corruption. The local government's bargaining power and overall engagement were contested. The value of CSPDs was recognised by the majority (Kindornay et al., 2014). However, multi-sector and multi-national

interference implies the articulation of conflicting interests and extra player identities. Furthermore, CSOs do not tend to be involved. All aspects mentioned above suggest ownership ambiguity, oftentimes observable when people within organisations blamed partner organisations for the inefficiencies of joint projects.

3) SE Promotion:

An intersection between development projects and SE was identified (Zahra et al., 2008; Seelos et al., 2006). SE as a concept and organisational model is emerging in the country and not yet fully understood by the majority. It still tends to be associated with non-profits. However, there is growing recognition among local actors that SE can provide new mechanisms to turn development projects into self-sustaining endeavours, less dependent on aid. Expatriates emphasised the impact of CSR and inclusive business models, whereas Mozambicans were more critical of the core motivations and market-oriented activities of corporations in general. An emulation of 'western' models is gradually taking place through the promotion of innovation and the private sector. Notwithstanding, issues of disembedded agency have been raised when acknowledging the still significant involvement of foreign actors. SE, as a nascent tool for development not yet adapted to the local circumstances, still resonates with the idea of ownership ambiguity. It is an exogenous practice; leveraging on the development industry and struggling to empower the locals.

4) Source of Temporary Opportunities:

International development aid was found to be a source of successive temporary opportunities. Participants mentioned that projects are time-bound. Therefore, after a certain period donations are supposed to stop in order for other projects to be taken forward. This presupposes management takeover by beneficiary communities which might not be prepared to take ownership of projects, or by the government which might not allocate the necessary resources to sustain operations over time. Such policies intend to mitigate aid-dependency by turning off the aid tap at some point. However, they can easily lead to waste through uselessness and deterioration of infra-structures as projects are abandoned. In addition, temporality and ownership transfer promote opportunistic behaviours and partial engagement: NGOs are discouraged to commit fully to aid projects,

engaging in box-ticking exercises to gain new contracts; the local government, elite mediators or development consultants jump from one project to another, channelling efforts towards the most promising returns.

Table 3 provides some demonstrative quotes supporting the codes described above which lead to *ownership ambiguity* as a theoretical dimension. It contrasts foreign actors and indigenous actors' understandings, independently of the organisation for which they work. A thorough collection of illustrative quotes is available upon request but not included in the thesis due to word limit constraints.

**Table 3: Demonstrative Quotes Breakdown for Ownership Ambiguity**

| **2nd Order Theme 1) Stakeholders' controversial role** |
|---|
| **1st Order Code - Donors have agendas** |
| Foreign:<br>*There are pressures/lobbies from the UK government but DFIDs' mandate is clear, fairly exempt.* (DFID1)<br>*Accountability isn't direct. The donor is basically paying for a report. Many NGOs have to implement something, full stop. They're not asking people to think because they've already done that.* (INGO4)<br>Indigenous:<br>*We aren't neural but we are impartial. Neutrality implies there aren't compromises with parties and we do receive money from member states. Also we receive more from some than others so we have to follow the impositions of donor x and z.* (UN2)<br>*Some people see the WB as a form of intervention, a way of introducing certain policies but it's impossible to live in a world without interdependence.* (GOV3)<br>*Projects are set up in the US and then reach a country where there is a rooted reality that is different.* (Se7) |
| **1st Order Code - External flows of finance** |
| Foreign:<br>*This whole NGO system has to sustain and self-feed itself.* (C2)<br>*This is a global, huge list of funding mechanisms for social entrepreneurs; but then you need people in this mechanism who can actually make the applications on behalf of the locals.* (DC4)<br>Indigenous:<br>*We're sustainable due to donor money. The government doesn't support us financially; they provide the space and licence to operate.* (CSO3)<br>*All help is beneficial, but what I'm seeing is that these funding organisations have to be in tune with reality… we think that it is important to understand the people, the local culture, the way we organise.* (A1) |
| **1st Order Code - Aid-dependency or empowerment?** |
| Foreign:<br>*People are addicted to assistance. Feeding the expectation that someone will solve your* |

*problem because they're from Europe and rich is a problem. They need to take ownership of the association. Other NGOs don't wait for people to take charge and join in.* (INGO4)
*Donor funding is largely focused on social ventures or preparing the community, but it's not realistic that the community would assume control of all these businesses!* (Se1)
*Enough of blaming others! Social development is not the same as SE. Social development is 'take this', not a give and take. That's not empowerment because you're serving things on a platter.* (DC1)

Indigenous:

*If NGOs want to work properly, they need to come in and do what we call empowerment of locals. Let people say what they want and how. Let them feel as if that work is their own and take responsibility for it.* (GOV3)
*An association needs to subsist. It becomes dependent on donors' impositions. It can't express itself.* (CSO1)

## 2nd Order Theme 2) Additional institutional complexity

### 1st Order Code - The convoluted machinery of development

Foreign:

*There's heavy machinery. Everything's controlled, several new mandates per day and reporting levels.* (UN1)
*It shouldn't be about 'staging development'... Development allows for misuse of funding, poor management, that type of abuse.* (INGO4)
*'Opportunity makes the thief'. There's a lot of corruption. This happens with large-scale political actions when all these large organisations are involved… And I think in the end a lot gets lost.* (C1)
*There are so many intermediaries! It is fairly complex.* (P1)

Indigenous:

*Projects take time to be reimbursed because local people don't get the rules of the Bank.* (WB2)
*You have to pass this whole scheme in which the only survivors are the ones who are known, have internal connections or can pay.* (CSO1)
*The system died because it is not responding… The administrative costs of NGOs demonstrate the monster they have created to protect themselves.* (Se4)
*Who is managing this? It's too branched, so many entities involved that it doesn't reach the bottom.* (Se7)

### 1st Order Code - Government engagement vs. disengagement

Foreign:

*The government has to create those mechanisms. We can't keep on paying! We are here mainly to support the Government… otherwise they wouldn't welcome our presence.* (UN1)
*We don't ask the government for anything. They do not give us a cent!* (R5)
*There are no requirements from the Government when it comes to the area of CSR.* (C1)
*The state wants to be in control. There are national strategies and as long as you contribute to these you don't have to work through the government and a lot of them don't!* (DC4)

Indigenous:

*All international development aid has now to go via the government. There is reduced efficiency when it is the government implementing and making use of foreign aid resources.* (INGO1)

*We don't have the power to decide… Our partnerships with financing institutions are based on Memoranda of Understanding that are signed. It's about intermediation and we can't assume responsibility.* (GOV2)
*I understand why some NGOs think that the Government should take on the responsibility, but what we suggest is: if someone wants to develop an activity, they have to integrate that into our programme.* (GOV3)
*The government needs to get involved so that it feels as an integral part of the organisation: a main actor, contributing too.* (CSO1)
*Donor matrices do not motivate the government, so the government became lazy. We have a cosmetic policy of filling holes!* (DC3)

**1st Order Code - Cross-sector partnerships for development**

Foreign:
*Bigger initiatives have impact… not benefits for the local communities. Smaller projects changed the lives of community members because they started having a sense of ownership. I've witnessed that.* (R2)
*Mozambique is at a turning point, willing to attract new investment. There's where I think most opportunities lie, coupling social enterprises with CSR.* (Se2)
*Partnering with NGOs is an easy way to spend money unreasonably. I've seen waste, bad management...* (C2)
*Partnering with the government is there but not because anything's expected from them. They have very low capacity, limited resources… It's there for legitimacy. If you want to implement an inclusive business model, you have to engage with poor people and businesses aren't very good at that. They generally bring in an NGO to do capacity building and bring up the quality of the product.* (DC4)
Indigenous:
*But how then do we organise the people together with the State, and lobby the Government?* (LNGO2)
*WB projects go through the government. The WB promotes public-private partnerships and works with the private sector co-financing projects.* (WB2)

**2nd Order Theme 3) SE promotion**

**1st Order Code - Increasing projects' self-sustainability**

Foreign:
*We started creating alternatives to promote the integration of these people and their protagonism as actors of their own life stories. It has to do with local empowerment.* (R2)
*These social enterprises aren't financially sustainable but they'll generate money in the near future.* (P1)
*We come here and say 'where are the social entrepreneurs?' But what if the real question is: what's the role of business in development? The models in line with the core business are the ones that survive.* (DC4)
Indigenous:
*Sustainability and capacity building is a priority.* (DFID2)
*This is a form of SE because we end up influencing people so that they can be more self-sufficient.* (LNGO2)
*Some of our schools generate revenue. We have carpentry workshops that have to generate return.* (R3)

*Mozambican NGOs aren't developing own activities to be self-sufficient. They depend on aid, and they don't create mechanisms... we want sustainable economic development!* (CSO4)

**1st Order Code - Emulation of 'western' models**

Foreign:

*You should consider western models a draft, a way forward not something final…* (INGO4)

*The private sector and religious organisations should engage more to become more social entrepreneurial. There's still a lot missing to reach that stage.* (R2)

*A social venture is a business and it's the private sector that takes over from the donor funding and grows the country into a more developed nation. But donor organisations try to touch communities themselves! There's a lot of potential and need for donor funding to get SE moving.* (Se1)

*Combining SE with CSR programmes is gaining momentum and I intend to make the most out of it!* (Se2)

*Corporations on their own can't do the whole job, nor the government on its own or NGOs.* (C2)

Indigenous:

*SE is a new concept but it has been implemented here already. It was perceived as charity. People used to thing that doing good was philanthropy and donating money.* (UN2)

*Projects can come from abroad as long as there is Mozambican support to confirm what is implementable based on our local reality. When you bring an idea from Europe you have to think locally. It's like an earring... it has to be made out of what we have here!* (WB2)

*We concluded that we couldn't get results because a significant part of our policies were based on practices and habits from wealthy countries… Now studies are done here.* (INGO1)

*Things can be done differently, based on people who can donate their know-how and expertise and take ownership of the projects.* (Se4)

*Northern models with more capitalist states are a reference. But the state is a social agent right?* (C3)

**2nd Order Theme 4) Source of temporary opportunities**

**1st Order Code - Time-bound projects**

Foreign:

*In the short-term you can carry out this kind of activities, but they have to be coupled with actions in the medium- and long-term that guarantee continuity for the support.* (WB1)

*Many NGO's are social contractors. No one's scared if money is diverted. It's completely unpunished!* (INGO4)

*Lots of projects are not working because of that. For 2 or 5 years you have this tap open, when it finishes everything collapses! Nothing was created, everything stays the same.* (Se2)

*I have a lot of work as an independent consultant. I charge 600 dollars a day. Since there's so much work for me, I can choose the projects I think will work.* (DC4)

Indigenous:

*We confronted ourselves with the problem of going to a district sorting out a problem today, and I worked for international NGOs, and then as we went away the problem would come back within months. People have to be taught to do things in a sustainable way…* (UN2)

*When foreign NGOs leave, very often everything they've undertaken just stops. It's like a car that runs out of petrol. It runs as long as there's fuel and the process of social transformation requires time!* (LNGO2)

| |
|---|
| *Communities adhered without getting anything back. They were used and others keep the dividends.* (R3)<br>*NGO's operate according to other political agendas, not ours, because they live of the donor. They don't end up operating with consideration for the beneficiaries; they operate based on the money.* (DC2) |
| **1st Order Code - Management takeover** |
| Foreign:<br>*We paid a consultancy for a sustainability plan. We can't continue fundraising/managing this shelter.* (UN1)<br>*There is always this process wherever we go of planning to reduce aid overtime and move away altogether because the country will have improved economically.* (DFID3)<br>*It didn't work [management takeover] because people don't have a service culture, there's no culture of accountability, no culture of selflessness.* (INGO4)<br>*Donor organisations fund through the government without requiring transparency to see if the money is being spent properly or misappropriated.* (Se1)<br>*We can spend our careers here working on this stuff and never be out of a job.* (DC4)<br>Indigenous:<br>*We now handed this over to the Ministry of Education which is supposed to keep this up from now on and to expand it.* (UN2)<br>*They solved the problem for a lot of people at the time and then they left… I think it's important to do these things with a view to sustainability. While doing it we need to create local, national capacity.* (WB1)<br>*Now there's a sort of shared management At a certain point we can no longer be responsible for the management of it. We have to officially rend it over and the state has to step in.* (C2) |

These statements suggest inconsistencies between foreign and indigenous actors' understandings. Simultaneously, there are obvious depictions of the influence of western institutional discourses on local actor opinions; as there are illustrations of foreign actors increased embeddedness in the local culture. That being said, all accounts illustrate a common rational among participants who, explicitly or implicitly, acknowledged issues of ownership ambiguity behind development projects. International interference encompasses mutual processes of disengagement across sectors and participant organisations as a result of institutional complexity, lack of embedded agency, and self-interested behaviours. These are conducive to overarching ambiguous ownership. On the one hand, the local government and/or the local civil society do not feel responsible for projects which are generated, financed, and initially operationalised from the outside. On the other hand, international NGOs inevitably have to respond to donor political and economic agendas, oftentimes disregarding the local reality and needs.

An exogenous intervention, following developed economy guidelines, sets a precedent for disjointed ownership and feeds an industry that rewards international and local elites. SE is currently permeating developmentalism (Smith, 1985; Calvo & Morales, 2015), and becoming better received for being a model increasingly institutionalised in the industrialised world. Furthermore, it already has a track record in some emerging economies (Seelos & Mair, 2005a). SE attempts to promote local participation, autonomous and flexible governance, and financial sustainability. It increases accountability, shifting ownership from an unclear mix of partner organisations to individuals or teams; although still building on the leverage of the international development machinery.

The next section elaborates upon the SE movement.

## 5.3. The Social Entrepreneurship Movement and its Legitimacy

SE is widely recognised as an efficient mechanism to address social and environmental challenges in a global scale. This is conducive to the diffusion of new ideas, supposed to make a positive change, across borders. Indeed, SE has expanded and spread-out over the last years (Bornstein, 2007). According to Dacin at al. (2011), there is a SE movement gaining momentum in contemporary market economies. It not only demands a wider ethical and socially-inclusive type of capitalism, but also has sustainable development at its core when applied to poor countries (Seelos & Mair, 2005a). The SE movement is headed by international elites, e.g. Skoll Foundation, Ashoka Organisation, Schwab Foundation etc. (Schwartz, 2012). These organisations are committed to promote a network of 'changemakers', aiming to create a sustainable world of peace and prosperity (Skoll, 2015); in other words, to change the world for the better (Ashoka, 2015). The SE rhetoric tends to put social entrepreneurs in the spotlight as the agents of a new crusade. In addition, university business schools persist on propagating exceptional cases of SE which, when taking place in developing economies, are someway supported by international NGOs or other foreign organisations. Arguably, this raises an important issue: whether SE is being utilised as a means to disseminate western political agendas or neoliberal ideologies (Dacin at al., 2011) which still neglect the contextuality of development processes (Brohman, 1995). That is, to what extent SE has been appropriated to serve particular stakes and

interests while eluding others (Dey, 2006). SE is subject to varied degrees of approval and support from entities external to the endeavour.

SE tends to be portrayed in the media and academic research as an unequivocally positive phenomenon. It became a fashionable trend legitimised through consensual discourses that posit irrefutable benefits (Dey, 2006) in all contexts. Most participants in this study expressed opinions that are no exception to the rule. Practitioners of exogenous forms of SE stressed the unquestionable merits of organisations that generate profits to sustain a social mission:

> *I don't think a social venture should act like an NGO. A social venture is a business and* ***it's the private sector that takes over*** *from the donor funding and grows* ***and develops the country into a more developed nation****.* (Se1)

> *Companies' logic can be applied to social aims.* ***The donor's logic is doomed****. It is an ineffective rotten model. The capitalist logic also proved to be insufficient. Thus,* ***SE offers a new model****. The more the government and private companies realise this, the better.* (Se2)

Although it was recognised that SE is still at an early stage in Mozambique, evidence was found that the SE movement is permeating the country, local institutions and organisations, from the outside.

> ***The concept is still really new****. When I say that we are a social business in the Netherlands or in Portugal or the US, I don't have to explain it, but here I do.* (Se1)

> *In the past all funds would come from abroad; now mentalities have changed.* ***Some of our activities have to generate financial return****.* (R3)

> *The* ***Mozambican society is heading towards the commercial world*** *and trying to create conditions for development in order to understand the social sphere.* (CSO1)

> ***SE is a new concept*** *but it has been implemented here already. For a long time it was perceived as charity. There's no legal form for it yet.*

> *People used to thing that doing good was philanthropy and donating money.* (UN2)
>
> ***In terms of SE things take their time**. We need to understand that first we crawl, then we walk and, only after that, we run.* (C2)
>
> *SE is still in a very **embryonic stage** but Mozambique is at a **turning point**… The biggest investors, even big local companies, being in a developing country have an extra pressure in terms of social responsibility.* (Se2)

It is clear that social entrepreneurial models are pervading the system; altering operations of existing organisations, and enabling hybrid social ventures to gradually emerge. This process involves legitimisation. The central arguments utilised by participants to convey local legitimacy to SE were found to be: (1) increasing financial self-sufficiency in order to mitigate aid-dependency; (2) taking ownership of projects (see Figure 11). Consider the quotations below from the Mozambique's liaison officer of a renowned religious foundation, a foreign development consultant, a Mozambican social entrepreneur who was exposed to the SE rhetoric, and a project manager of a prominent Mozambican NGO, respectively:

> *We have **many sources of finance and lucrative activities**. The basis of our institution is not charity, is **sustainability**. We give the right tools to furnish the knowhow at the grassroots. The civil society is weak in Mozambique so our objective is **to identify civil society entities and to empower them through SE**.* (Religious Foundation - R1)
>
> ***SE needs to be on board, as does the private sector**. I think SE is a means of achieving poverty alleviation, but **all sectors are interlinked** and one can't function without the other. It's about **taking ownership.*** (Development Consultant - DC1)
>
> *Things can be done differently, **not based on volunteering but on people** who can donate their know-how and expertise and **take***

> ***ownership*** *of the projects. SE is* ***not about donations but engagement*** *and the ability to act as a bridge, mobilising people.* (Social entrepreneur - Se4)
>
> *We develop and implement projects with an* ***integrated development facet*** *by fostering the creation of a* ***market perspective****.* (Mozambican NGO - LNGO2)

One way or another, all participants expressed market logics when interviewed, and emphasised income generation as the most valid pathway to create social value. Whilst the foundation officer focused on the importance of promoting local capacity building in order to be able to empower the locals; the development consultant insisted that SE requires joint participation through an adaptation of established business models. Such adaptation involves incorporating social aims that, being aligned with core businesses, end up potentiating them. She argued, without even noticing that she was also part of the system: "the system here is anti-business and, by definition, anti-social!" The social entrepreneur stressed the role of individual leader capabilities and outright commitment. The NGO asserted its credibility as an agent of development that encourages profit generating activities at the grassroots.

Surely, these statements are illustrative of the dominant legitimising discourses of SE currently being transferred to developing nations: busines-like or social change models, based on hero-entrepreneurs or community action (Nicholls, 2010). They suggest isomorphic legitimising efforts that ultimately replicate existing templates, since local ventures are being pressured toward uniformity (Sud et al., 2009). So who is being empowered then? Complying social entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurial organisations, or target beneficiaries? The empowerment of the poor is undoubtedly a goal, not a *modus operandi*. Therefore, organisational representatives are not exactly striving to obtain legitimacy from the Mozambican civil society or impoverished communities. Instead, they are directing their legitimacy efforts towards exogenous SE promoters who delineate the SE agenda and its logics. After all, these are the actual legitimacy-granting authorities; powerful international actors able to lobby the local government and to provide the resources these organisations need to subsist, take forward, and scale their

activities. The following subsections examine how the promotion of SE is impacting on many constituencies across the public, private and third sectors.

### 5.3.1. *The Government's New Agenda*

Drawing on interviewee's accounts and gathered official documentation, it was evident that the Mozambican government is actively engaged in putting forward a strategy that promotes entrepreneurship and the incorporation of SMEs. The objective is to alleviate public sector dependency through self-employment creation, and to increase the number of formal businesses. However, there are no government programmes targeted at supporting SE in particular. There is a blurred line between commercial and SE. Mainstream entrepreneurship has been identified as a driver for economic development and poverty reduction. Thus, it is expected to have significant social impact as well. Indigenous people tend to be familiar with the term entrepreneurship but the same does not always apply to SE. Interestingly, SE was often unconsciously mistaken for what can be framed as 'Entrepreneurship of the Common', namely entrepreneurial practices carried out by grassroot sections of society. For example, a knowledgeable lecturer in entrepreneurship who has been involved in several SE initiatives inadvertently mentioned at some stage:

> *We saw that it is possible to be self-employed and to have more stability compared to having an employment contract, a boss. This is something I try to show my students, because* ***this type of SE*** *is lacking in urban areas.* (A2)

Entrepreneurship has risen in the political agenda. It is currently being taught at secondary schools, and the Ministry for Education made it compulsory for all university degrees to have a module on entrepreneurship. A graduate in Philosophy clarified:

> *It is fashionable,* ***an imposition****… We learned mostly theory and case studies from abroad, never local! It was totally* ***decontextualised!*** *SE wasn't taught as such and the truth is, small entrepreneurial initiatives end up having much more social impact within the communities in which they happen. I was taught about Ford and*

> *internet businesses! All stories were magnificent, huge, very successful, perfect.* (R2)

Incorporating a private company is now less bureaucratic. In 2008, the government set up IPEME (introduced by the UN) - a state institute devoted to the promotion of SMEs.

> *We urge people to join our training events, capacity building workshops. We make them aware of existing funds, improvements in the legislation, or opportunities to formalise their businesses.* ***IPEME is basically a facilitator****.* (IPEME's officer - GOV2)

There is also the '7 Million' initiative. A Cabinet Minister explained:

> *This is the biggest state led program for the promotion of entrepreneurship, in which public funds are utilised by people outside Maputo to develop their businesses. But these funds can't be used for social endeavors.* ***There are other sources of finance for that****… these 7 million are specifically for economic activities.* (GOV3)

According to him, SE is identified and encouraged by the government even though the concept is still unknown to the majority. Apart from having to endorse or accredit local non-profits, i.e. CSOs, for them to be able to approach donors, the government is not yet implementing economic development policies targeted at SE. As a consequence, external funding becomes restricted, for the most part, to international established organisations or well-connected Mozambicans. Also, the absence of a legal framework for social enterprises poses additional challenges to private hybrid organisations, which have to sustain their activities based exclusively on own revenue streams. These institutional voids suggest that SE is not a priority for the government. In reality, many Mozambicans are poor; people who struggle to maintain a livelihood. Thus, it is not surprising that local structural and contextual factors are preventing the average citizen to engage in SE. SE appears to be confined to an elite-dominated third sector.

> *You have to pass this whole scheme in which **the only survivors are the ones who are known, have internal connections or can pay**.* (CSO1)

Nevertheless, the effects of the SE movement are noticeable in regards to the public sector's approach to tackle social needs. The government itself is striving to employ the logics of SE in some of its projects.

> *The first round is state budget but then, from that point on, we try to work with the resources that are being generated. People pay less for social housing but it is still paid for. Then, we invest in another housing project. And that goes on and on... We are **creating the conditions that will allow the project to sustain itself**.* (Cabinet Minister)

Definitely SE is burgeoning in Mozambique. However, the local government is not actively participating in the process. Its role is passive, ambivalent and subservient. Consider the following quotations:

> *SE for me is an activity, an innovation that provides something to society and carries a social outcome. But what exists here in terms of SE is unknown, not recognised… and **probably this is a type of entrepreneurship that IPEME should be promoting**.* (Public servant - GOV2)

> *Entrepreneurship is a direct consequence of what we're living through. Starting from the point where the country was forced to open its doors to investment, open up to the market, these have been the consequences. So it's a response, because people have to survive. **We have to follow these models**, yes. Whether we want to or not, we have no other alternative. Now the problem is that we're not given the time to evaluate what's good and what isn't. There's **no adaptation because this is what someone else is demanding**.* (Mozambican academic - A1)

### 5.3.2. *Involving the Private Sector*

The SE movement is impacting on the private sector; both SMEs and large corporations. Private sector development experts are engaged in promoting CSPDs and in providing assistance to MNCs in order to tackle global business sustainability challenges. I was even invited to attend two workshops providing awareness to these issues. Two distinct groups were identified among interviewees, expressing opposing understandings of the role of inclusive businesses and CSR in development: advocates and sceptics.

Advocates included foreign and Mozambican development professionals, who believe the market is, by definition, social and that corporations based in poor countries are, or should be, the protagonists of development.

> *Development aid is the way by which poor people in rich countries give money to rich people in poor countries. You have this development industry... I frankly feel it's very bad! The private sector is open and more transparent. Most of these companies have a CSR department. It's improving. There's a greater awareness now. I can see tremendous progress. […] They had a service and made it available as a solution to a social problem. For me, this really embodies CSR: a company being aware of the social impact that their products and services can have when they are used in a certain way. I use this phrase a lot: '**It's not by how they spend money, but by how they earn money'**. […] SE happens when you don't create poor people and create workers instead.* (DC2)

> *When companies don't take CSR seriously it's exactly like donor money, right? It's not business! What we are trying to do is to persuade existing businesses to **have a development impact by changing their business models a little bit, and doing what they do anyway**. You can start to **create products that are targeted at poor people and then you have a huge market growth because everyone's poor** [laugh].* (DC4)

Sceptics were all black Mozambicans, who reveal cynicism in relation to CSR and inclusive, win-win business models.

> *We don't recognise CSR as part of SE. CSR means that a private company causes externalities, directly or indirectly.* ***Somebody is going to get harmed without having interfered and somebody will benefit without having contributed with anything.*** *In this case, what's going to be the benefit for society? […] CSR has to do with making companies responsible for the negative impact they are causing. It's simply* ***compensation****. But you have to give it a fancy name, so they call it CSR. Basically it's to reimburse the negative impact caused where these companies are operating.* ***SE is a different approach****.* (CSO1)

> *These days, demands are getting higher. Very soon they'll start asking… What I was saying about CSR in Mozambique; there are now people questioning it. That's a sign already. First of all it's a question of money: a tax free zone for investment we could say, but then* ***there's a lot of profit****. So that's the question!* ***Why aren't we benefiting from it?*** *But there's more questioning now.* (CSO4)

Even the CSR general manager of a leading global mining company pointed that the government has been failing to have a more demanding agenda. It appears that CSR impositions on MNCs, if any, come from abroad.

> *The government should not only regulate, but create incentives and obligations! Because I think that* ***the volume of SE will be a result of the incentives and pressures that exist in the contexts in which companies are operating.*** *In Mozambique,* ***CSR is more of a voluntary thing****. As in… if you have money you engage in it, when you want and where you want. To think that businesses are good Samaritans and they'll do all this for… that's all a lie. They won't […] It might sound ridiculous but it works the other way round -* ***it's about avoiding negative things to happen****.* (C3)

As mentioned in the previous section, multilateral and bilateral agencies are currently providing finance to the private sector. DFID explained that this new agenda is aligned with the local government's priorities, and is supposed to incentivise corporations to be creative in the development of responsible and more inclusive business models.

> *DFID is now developing a study to understand what exactly should be done in the area. But it's not yet clear. Nonetheless, I found this receptivity to work with the private sector very positive. We are beginning to see* ***a change in approach, on the international level.*** *And, while before the focus of donors was only on the state, now they are starting to create independent agencies that work with the private sector.* (DC1)

Although the objective is to boost employment in the country, I was perplexed that development agencies were willing to subsidise big and resourceful corporations, instead of focusing on local SMEs directly. Private social enterprises and small consultancies are not allowed to receive funding from donors. They are competing with NGOs for service provision. A small business owner expressed her dilemma:

> *I'm going to have to set up an NGO [non-profit organisation] if I want to continue to survive… basically to hire me! It seems subverted to me. But then no, legally I can. Lots of corporations are asking for these projects. But I am a for-profit, I provide consultancy services. Now we start to see X number of NGO's offering exactly the same, and they charge more than I do! It's becoming much more impactful, in terms of communications, to do it as a non-profit…* ***I've never been eligible for projects financed by donors*** *- 'we love this project but we can only pass on funds to NGO's so please set up an NGO'. We have two options here. Either we set up an NGO, or we find a Mozambican NGO to sell the idea to. The NGO presents the project, and then subcontracts us to implement the project which, to me, seems less 'clean'. I prefer to put my cards on the table. As long as this relationship is set out beforehand* ***the non-profit arm will only serve as a legal link****.* (DC2)

A social entrepreneur conveyed a debateable opinion when assuming social businesses are indispensable elements:

> *It would be* ***very impactful for donor funding to assist the development of social businesses*** [she meant MNCs] *not just in start-up capital but in technical assistance and services and equipment and training. A lot of these* ***donor organisations do that but they try to touch the communities themselves****. So definitely there is a lot of potential and need for donor funding in order to get SE moving.* (Se3)

SE within businesses is arguably contentious but gradually gaining legitimacy in developing countries through discourses that portray unmet social needs as economic problems addressable via market solutions (Karanda & Toledano, 2012). However, there are still regulative, normative, and cognitive institutional constraints (Scott, 2007) to be circumvented.

### 5.3.3. *Effects on Religious Organisations*

The SE movement is noticeably infusing its logics not only in non-faith-based NGOs (Calvo & Morales, 2015) but also in religious organisations. Several SE evangelisers had a religious background or religious beliefs of some kind; beliefs that were sometimes concealed by them precisely because they may withhold the profit-generating pillar of SE. The empirical materials suggest that the SE expansionist movement, and its legitimising rhetoric, avoid any direct association with religious values or dogmas. In fact, informants who explicitly acknowledged their religious beliefs stressed that, regardless of having honourable intentions and positive outcomes, religious organisations normatively lack SE skills and vision. That said, interviewed representatives of religious organisations expressed their determination to become more entrepreneurial in view of complementing increasingly reduced donations with alternative sources of finance. Religious organisations and smaller NGOs are struggling to self-sustain their social projects; thus, they are willing to become more market-oriented. Important deficiencies within their governance systems were specified, namely limited business competencies and a lack of commercial mind-set. Such organisations appear to be

overloaded with ongoing social work. Time and resource constraints cause them to avoid unnecessary risks and to be averse to new approaches. The general secretariat of ECMR (Episcopal Commission for Migrants, Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons) expressed, however, very progressive views:

> *It is easy to give; you get rid of the person, the problem. Charity is something you do without expecting anything in return, but simply giving is to create needs. It is important to educate people that begging all the time is not the way forward. We can promote* ***fair exchanges*** *and that is much more beneficial as people learn that, in order to receive, something should be given in return for the benefit of others. SE has to do with local empowerment. We can help each other.* ***We can do things differently*** *and we are striving to* ***generate income*** *to cross-finance our projects.* (R2)

This nun urged private companies to engage more with religious organisations so to boost SE, but was also very critical about creating markets and consumerist lifestyles among the poor.

> *The idea is to innovate, to create something different at all costs, focusing only on* ***profit generation and the creation of needs*** *– I see this as a very negative thing… to* ***innovate just to innovate****!* (R2)

Similarly, a religious Brother in a Congregation in charge of managing vocational courses expressed the internal conflict of merging religious and market logics:

> *We are now trying to implement the 'Tithe'… some Brazilians came here to explain to us how it works. But it's optional and each one gives what they can! We are also* ***asking for volunteers with commercial/business backgrounds in order to fill in the gap****, since the income we get from school fees and our workshop sales are insufficient. […] Outside teaching time these industrial machines are motionless and they are designed to be working 24/7… but in order to maximise these resources we would have to be business men.* ***I am not a business man that's the problem!*** *I am incapable to negotiate, bargain****. I am a religious man so entering that world would be…***

> *Finding someone willing to help us hiring these machines would be great. Somebody willing to do it for the cause not to rob us! We just want to cover the costs.* (R5)

Nonetheless, lay employees at the Congregation utilised entrepreneurship terminology like 'diversifying', 'escalate', 'innovation'. All vocational courses they deliver include a module on entrepreneurship. The head of the Congregation described how social change emerged in the past twelve years as part of the 'Occidentalisation' process: "nowadays what comes from abroad is what is good". It appears that there is a new SE narrative pervading the Church. The following passage was extracted from an interview with the vocational courses' manager:

> *Brother: At the present moment we are providing training in this classroom but we do not have ownership over it. There was a project from an Italian NGO, funded by the EU. They called it 'World of Labour – New Challenges for XX Youths' and they asked to be our partners. XX is our neighbourhood, we couldn't say no… this is what we've been doing for many years so* ***we had to join the project****!*
>
> *Me: Interesting…*
>
> *Brother: So we gave them the premises, equipment... well, they bought the computers, and they conducted many interviews with young people. Dozens and dozens a day! We also provided a room for them to gather together and get personal development training. We participated on that too.*
>
> *Me: So you seem pleased. They work well, don't they [the NGO]?*
>
> *Brother: We are... [quite hesitant] At the end of the day* ***we are the ones putting all the effort****… We are giving everything and more, we had to come up with a new course for the youngsters here, they call it 'innovative course'. We already have electricity, sewing, locksmith, carpentry and so on, but we were told "****it needs to be innovative!****" So we started thinking together with Father Antonio: 'innovative, innovative…' We came up with the idea of a more advanced IT course, something around the lines of Photoshop, Core… instead of just Word or Excel. We got back to them saying we could go ahead. Initially they were pleased with it but then they said "no, there's another partner who's already willing to do that". So 'do it' we thought, 'we'll find another*

*way'. Then, we thought of another, more modern, type of welding that many companies working with stainless steel are using. It had to be innovative, right? We proposed this course. They said yes. So, we are now* ***obliged*** *to deliver this course to 20 people they sent us. And we don't get anything in return.*

*Me: But isn't this supposed to be a partnership?*

*Brother: That's the thing… it is a partnership in which we are the ones giving everything! Still, we are complying with our obligation which is what matters. This is a two year project and one has passed already. But I already stated 'I WON'T be signing anything else with this NGO or this project from now on'. They are already suggesting we should prolong this but, from me, they won't be getting approval. This is a nuisance after another! There were attempts to rob their computers at night. We had to call the police. I'll have to make statements… We are doing our share and* ***it's a good thing but it costs us money****. I must say they did pay for specialised training in order to prepare a teacher. We recommended 2 people and they paid a private company for that, but they never gave us anything. They do not contribute towards students' fees either. Anyway, this is the innovative course we didn't have previously. You know, stainless steel is all over the place now! [proud]*

*Me: So it ended up being useful?*

*Brother: Useful indeed!*

*Me: The NGO demanded an innovative course and you were the ones who came up with the idea.*

*Brother:* ***They demanded, we 'innovated'****. We've identified this course after meeting with all the partners.* ***The important is for the innovation to be useful****. During the meeting, we were the ones proposing a feasible and useful project with sound implementability. We explained what would be needed: materials, machinery…*

This account illustrates the effects of the SE movement on a long-established organisation. The project is now well publicised in the partner NGO's website. It gained visibility worldwide. Priests were compelled by an international NGO to brainstorm and to be innovative. They resisted but ended up feeling accomplished and proud for the usefulness of the final result. I wondered to what extent

innovation has currently become the 'Holy Grail' of the social sector. I also wondered whether this was a mere case of piggybacking. It is clear that innovation, for the sake of change, is being imposed by SE agents complying with predefined agendas based on donors' demands (Calvo & Morales, 2015). Such demands seem to be rejuvenating rigid and innovation-starved organisations, ironically at the expense of existing resources which already yielded benefits.

### 5.3.4. *Social Entrepreneurship Promoters*

Promoters of SE from developed nations are determined to introduce and disseminate the concept and the practice in the country. These promoting actions include courses/workshops, financial support, and granting awards that provide international recognition to existing social ventures. I realised that these initiatives are informed by normative SE discourses and models. They function in a parallel system led by international development actors, such as global social enterprise organisations and networks (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). Hence, it is not surprising that primacy is given to the ventures that better fit their standards. Inevitably, smaller local undertakings, driven by Mozambicans who operate at the margins of these networks, end up being laid aside for not exactly complying with the SE best practice expectations of sponsors.

ROOT, for example, is a global partnership for action on sustainable development and the green economy. It supports the growth of SMEs that deliver social, environmental and economic returns in developing countries. ROOT runs an annual awards scheme designed to find the most promising and innovative start-up social enterprises, based in selected developing economies. Award winners are offered a customised support package consisting of business tools training, capacity building, profiling, networking, and financing. Eligibility criteria include: scalability and growth potential; triple bottom line impact; innovative approach; financial sustainability potential, partnership model (three parties), and being locally-driven or locally-led. The project manager in Mozambique explained ROOT's purpose and how it operates:

> *We are **showcasing** that there are good examples out there in developing countries committed to a green economy, and Mozambique*

> *is a donors' priority and part of the agenda. To disseminate our call, we approach all kind of different donors. They have a private sector agenda. We also approach all kind of NGOs which are relevant in the country. We do a lot of research and ask people to link us up. There are* ***all kinds of channels that we try to reach out on the side of donors****. But we don't approach the ministry to reach out to the private sector because normally they don't have* ***linkage agents*** *[laughs]. All candidates have to show that they are either integrating poor people in the value chain, like a consumer, a distributor or a supplier. So in this case we are also very much along the lines of the* ***grand inclusive business****. There is this whole* ***partnership paradigm*** *but the winner can be an NGO, an SME or a CBO.* (P1)

This suggests awards are granted based on information provided by international channels, i.e. donors and NGOs. Also, CSPDs and inclusive businesses are prioritised. Despite ROOT's focus on increasing local capacity and community engagement in order to have a multiplying effect, awards depend "on the quality of the applications":

> *Mozambique has still a long way to go. Looking at the applications from last year… it is definitely not easy for us here to find this kind of initiatives. […] Regarding grassroots involvement, somebody else must work with grassroots enterprises to create that awareness. At the very low level there's the need for that kind of groundwork. They [candidates] need to have* ***something to show the donors****.* (P1)

Other similar exogenous programmes are rewarding and boosting SE in the country. He added:

> *There are 3 or 4 organisations like us operating in Mozambique. At a global level, there are at least 15 organisations financed by the private sector, like Skoll, eBay Foundation, Ashoka etc. You have to look at* ***donor supported programmes****. There is also the global network financing new ventures. So, yes, there are a few initiatives promoting SE on the donor side. There are many foundations in the US supported by high networked individuals, and they focus a lot on social*

> *enterprises. When you look at* ***philanthropy*** *in particular, SE is really higher on the agenda.* (P1)

SE is also being promoted via courses, masterclasses and workshops. Whilst living in Mozambique, I came across and attended events organised by foreign NGOs or internationally recognised business schools, with the support of diplomats, foundations and patron MNCs. They intend to raise awareness and to provide SE training opportunities. I was invited to be part of the jury at an annual workshop, where SE ideas and projects developed over two intensive days were pitched to a panel responsible for providing feedback and suggestions. I have engaged closely with several attendees, organisers, speakers and mentors in informal and formal occasions. I have also researched related promotional documents and media materials. After directly observing the dynamics of these events and listening to many accounts, I realised the evangelising nature of the initiatives; as one would expect from a spiritual retreat in which a collective identity is constructed through emotional contagion. Interviewees, ranging from workshop coordinators to attendees, described this and past events as inspirational, transformative, contagious, enlightening, explosive, or even cathartic experiences. Such attributes have somehow transcendental connotations. Indeed, they are closely aligned with Ashoka's 'world changing' discourse: the grandiose discourse that is serving a political 'unconscious' (Dey & Steyaert, 2010).

> ***People come out of here hysterical****. The setting is also beautiful, the hotel is great. People rest, relax, eat well, drink well. They laugh, say nonsense…* [Workshop coordinator - P3]

At least half of the attendees at this specific bootcamp, promoted by a SE European institute, licenced and trained by a worldwide renowned business school, were white expatriates. Some were sponsored, others were not. I also questioned the feasibility of the outcomes. There was an effort to account for the local reality. However, the teaching methodology and tools are exactly the same being employed in developed countries. In addition, the criteria for assessing prospective social ventures designed over the course of this training programme seemed unrealistic and disproportionate.

> *The first time we organised a bootcamp in Maputo was last year. We were concerned the model would not be culturally adaptable. We thought it could be nonsensical but the average satisfaction rate we've got was 4.9 out of 5. We do generate* ***catharsis****! Our mission is also to identify and distinguish existing high impact SE initiatives in the country, the focus being on the solution. Our winners are selected based on models which have to be:* ***innovative, high impact, disruptive, scalable, replicable, and sustainable****.* (P3)

He stressed:

> *We have trained 32 people last year and nine SE projects were created. Our vocation is to build bridges and networks.* ***We are social entrepreneurs!***

But how many of the ideas developed were actually implemented? Despite having a representative in Mozambique and a support mechanism in place, aiming to assist and follow up on the projects that are created at the workshops, I could not find tangible results. None of the projects pitched in the year before went ahead. Also, I struggled to get hold of the organising team without making use of personal connections. I offered useful contacts of potential financiers that were ignored. The focus seems to be on giving visibility to awarded successful ventures through convincing case study videos, and to showcase the institute's credibility as an accredited training centre which trains and certifies social entrepreneurs; in other words, a legitimate SE 'professional body' providing the recipe for success. Albeit their emphasis on "combining synergies", they neglected potentially fruitful collaborations with other SE promoters operating outside their circle, i.e. potential legitimacy competitors within the field of SE possibly viewed as a threat. I was disappointed with the approach and resulting activities duplication. Another member of the team overly justified himself:

> ***SE is not ours****. I don't want to save this all for me; that is not my role, no! If there is someone that you believe will add value, I'll be pleased to invite her to take part of the event for example.* (P2)

One of the Portuguese attendees from the year before, residing in Mozambique for many years, told me: "The reality is different. I realised that when I attempted to pursue my idea right after the course. Support is not really there for us to carry on. They [organisers] are a bunch of well-intentioned posh kids out of reality, but I loved it still!"

These initiatives shed light on how SE is being conveyed in the country: a 'new religion', or an expanding ideology that may not directly translate into real life practices. Conversely, it is challenging the *status quo* and bringing to the fore conflicting ILs amongst various constituencies. Despite the controversies raised above, there are two stories worth exploring; cases in which the bootcamp experience may have yielded very positive effects. These are below:

Lisbete is a middle class black Mozambican who attended this course in 2013. She is a dynamic woman in her fifties. Owner of a guest house, she also set up a non-profit organisation together with five other women. The project was initially supported by a Mozambican telecommunications company. However, after attending the course, Lisbete managed to attract new collaborations from small local businesses and to generate income to sustain the social mission.

> *Last year we've changed direction. The support from MCel that would enable us to carry on stopped, and they were expecting us to continue. At the time of the bootcamp we had to downgrade the project. However, this year, we have decided to avoid being over-reliant on this. Our idea was then to* ***transform*** *the project […]* ***we don't want to depend on just one thing****.* ***We do not ask for money, we sell things****. After attending the bootcamp, we decided to move on with the association and to ask other people with the same spirit to join us. Last year, only two of us took part in the bootcamp. This year we are sending two other colleagues.* (CSO5)

Although Lisbete already owned and managed her own busines, she learned how to mobilise resources more efficiently and how to apply market logics for the benefit of a non-profit association. In her particular case, the bootcamp enabled

her to be more innovative and gave her tools to improve the financial sustainability of her initiative.

Sandra is ADIV's operations coordinator in Mozambique, a small Portuguese NGO for development. She relocated to Mozambique in 2009 and is now living in a modest house in a rural area, with a Mozambican partner and his mother, near the communities she supports. She reads philosophy and African anthropology. When I first approached the organisation, I experienced unexpected resistance. A friend of mine who was facilitating a meeting was astonished:

> *I had to explain your intentions to Sandra. She thought you were one of those willing to do favela [slum] tourism! She said 'going from air conditioning to air conditioning is not the same as going to the bush!' This makes no sense!!! It shows lack of social skills… They're becoming backwoodsman!*

I tried to be reflexive about this episode; in fact it was the first straight rejection I got from an organisation. Could it be issues of health and safety? That they did not identify with my academic, outside of reality, pretentious research? Could it be my surname?

After explaining my intentions, the organisation allowed me to accompany two other partner NGOs on a fieldtrip. This was a joint project and the other parties were going to visit beneficiary community associations for monitoring purposes. Sandra was awaiting them there. After some attempts to reach the destination, the event was cancelled as the roads were impassable due to the rain. Whilst travelling in the car with the partners, I overheard conversations and phone calls. The tension was building up. I could sense conflict and disengagement. How easy it was to simply dodge responsibilities at each other to justify the lack of coordination and to look good before donors! Five days later, I managed to meet Sandra in a restaurant near her house and to interview her. The conversation conveyed disenchantment, unconditional dedication to ADIV's cause, and aversion to the concept of SE: a western fad, full of biases. As a researcher, I was shaken by her thoughts which made me question my own assumptions. These are some of her comments, prior attending the SE course:

*There's always going to be someone who wants to be **useless**, who tries to do the irrational, the impossible, to set straight an injustice that is a part of life. It's crazy. It's not that it doesn't lead anywhere. The horizon is there, we're supposed to walk towards it, not to reach it. There's no guaranteed success. It depends on many factors […] You'd never be successful working for the communities from a SE perspective. That's **hypocritical.** […] There're different types of SE, but this is the problem of concepts. **Words are words**, and what words mean depends on what's being done on the ground. I understand you've come here conditioned by your own **preconceived** ideas, and your own notions, especially academic ones. You'll probably understand that many of your ideas are here to be perfected, to be starting points and not end points. That's the meaning I wanted to give to 'uselessness'. And often you have **exotic ideas** about SE, sustainability… things that are so **vague** they can mean anything… that in the end what they reveal are your own notions, your **provincialism** in what that idea means to you; not what people really want, what they understand it is, or need, what their expectation of prosperity is! So, your action is conditioned and has to start from preconceived ideas. You understand that your conception of the world is dominated by… I mean, the ethnographer's perspective approaching African provincialism is just as provincial […] There are examples of **social engineering** at its worse. It's Nazism! […] I don't know what SE is [laughs]. No [she doesn't consider herself a social entrepreneur]. As an NGO coordinator, you're **not working for impact or scenarios or to feel good**, you don't work to share your hurt and despair, you work… […] I think what I don't like is to have names…There isn't one single reality for that term [SE], see. It's not very easy to apply. It's just a concept, and a topical one; it's modern, **fashionable**, to describe something that's very old. You have to do what you think is right, but you have to maintain that reservation that you can be wrong. They have their sense of dignity [local communities], put it that way. **They don't want to be a character in your story**.* (INGO4)

Sandra went through a process of acculturation. Her local embeddedness caused her to detach herself from the rest of the world. Meeting her again at the SE workshop was puzzling. Vignette 4 below is self-explanatory of Sandra's

transformation: a verbatim transcription of the last emails we have exchanged a couple of days after the bootcamp.

**Vignette 4: Sandra's 'Conversion' to SE**

Hi Sandra,

I'm on my way to England but I couldn't leave without saying goodbye.
I was surprised when I saw you again at the Bootcamp. They invited me to take part in the last day of the event, and seeing you there as a participant and myself as part of the jury seemed quite ironic… considering your vast field experience in Mozambique. On the other hand, I felt happy for you as I believe these experiences, with all their positive and/or unrealistic outcomes, are always enriching for making us get out of our own world understanding what's going on around us.
I wish you and ADIV all the best in the future! Let's keep in touch.
Margarida

Dear Margarida,

I loved meeting you, after so must reluctance and obstacles. Especially, I loved to rediscover you there. This was important to **moderate convictions** of: 'proudly alone doing what no one else wants to do' or 'addressing the neglected social cause because it is the one nobody sees and what's out of sight is out of mind'. We all have our role and we are important to each other because **we're on the same team**... I think it is like what angels do for us "hold on there that I am holding it from here".
I loved my team: a final year female undergraduate student in Economics at Eduardo Mondlane University, 40 years old (about to start her dissertation); a 25 year old economist who works at the CSR financial team of the Bootcamp's patron company; and another guy responsible for the agro-business department of the National Association of Young Entrepreneurs. We joined together because, from all social transformation topics that were presented to us in the first task of the Bootcamp, we all elected 'Community Development' to intervene. This is very funny because out of all introduced areas: 'Education', 'Income Generation', 'Economic Development', that could have multiple interpretations, what we really had in common for one reason or another was knowing exactly what the Mozambique of the small isolated rural communities is all about (3rd poorest country in the world). Any disagreement would end there, because when materialising we all actually knew what we were talking about.
And here, Margarida I'm not talking about the team in itself: I am talking about the method they used to form the teams and I am talking about people who, in the socio-economy of Mozambique are far away from me. I never met them and I didn't know they existed – having in their hearts the same as I have. So, after apprehending the Mozambique as the towel that wipes my efforts to reach beyond, I had the privilege of diving into Mozambique at its best, the Mozambique of the future.
Finally I feel capable to answer the question you posed me 10 days ago, when facing the Indic :)

- SE is… to turn **social transformation** into an **epidemic** that we hope will spread and grow at a **spectacular exponential rate**.
- I do consider myself a social entrepreneur because... I believe **passionately** that our condition of birth does not have to be a determinant of the potential that each one can develop, and I do **invest my time and competencies on the generalisation of these**

**opportunities**.
Thank you. A big kiss, a good return and lots of sun waiting for you :)
Sandra

*Source: Farewell emails - 1st on the 31th March 2014; 2nd on the 1st of April 2014*

Sandra is a *sui generis* character, an outlier? A social entrepreneur who does not seek any visibility whatsoever nor wants to change the world! She works in the field in very tough conditions confronted with mixed-feelings. On one hand, she does not judge the African *modus vivendi*, does not want to change people's ways. On the other hand, she feels frustrated; what she calls 'uselessness': doing things because one feels privileged even though it is not going to bring social justice to the world. However, her journey involved moving from being a proactive citizen willing to contribute to society and make a difference, to a sceptical player acquainted with the crude reality, to a revitalised agent again; capable to leverage on her local embeddedness to move things forward from afresh. Her discourse changed and she has legitimised SE as a beneficial practice. Also, the bootcamp made her realise the importance of public visibility, marketing and networking as important resources for doing SE. Interestingly, it seems there was an inversion… while she converted I became agnostic. I reflected on how I might have influenced her to become more pro-SE and what Sandra said on our first meeting: an illustration that challenges exogenous intervention narrow-mindedness.

> *There's this cartoon where you see five kids and a speech bubble. The kids are barefoot and dishevelled, hugging each other and looking at a huge landscape from the top of a mountain. And they're saying: 'You know, in Europe kids are locked up in classrooms, they have to sit on a chair for eight hours!* ***Poor things, we have to start a project to help them****, to free them from classroom slavery!' So I think… well… this is always very relative.* (INGO4)

## 5.4. The Logics of Exogenous Social Entrepreneurship

This section aims to directly unpack and tackle the fundamental research question of this thesis. It explores the logics underpinning exogenous practices of SE, the taken-for-granted social prescriptions (Battilana & Dorado, 2010) that are mobilised to assign meaning to SE models derived from the outside, and being

transplanted into developing countries. Proclaimed social entrepreneurs in Mozambique are examined in order to understand how their understandings and practices of SE are a result of embeddedness in specific cultural logical frameworks, shaping their motivations, expectations, and goals (Thornton, 2004). Western or westernised rationalities arising from modern capitalist societies were found to influence the enactment of SE in Mozambique by both foreign and indigenous actors. This section bridges the logics behind exogenous repertoires of action with social entrepreneurial practices and their legitimising efforts. It then provides a reflexive critique of SE hegemonic assumptions and discourses, leading to the replication of pre-existing models from developed economies.

Three cases are explored in this section since they were found to be representative of the interrelationship between the logical meanings and practices (Friedland & Alford, 1991) behind exogenous forms of SE. However, the exogenous SE framework is not a static categorisation but a continuum that enables an understanding of the partial autonomy of actors from social structures. Discrepancies within and across cases suggest the existence of contextual (dis)embeddedness that leads to a misalignment between actors' stated beliefs and values and their practices. Established binary discourses of SE, i.e. business-like models based on the figure of hero-entrepreneurs vs. social change models based on community action, are utilised to legitimise practices (Nicholls, 2010) that not always translate into what actually happens on the ground.

CASE 1 – 'The Neo-liberal Individualist Discourse':

Nicole is a white North-American social entrepreneur: A Wall Street young financier, who relocated to Mozambique in 2008 to take part in a programme led by a large international NGO that promotes business solutions to the poor. She undertook four-month voluntary work to raise capital for local ventures in rural areas. According to her, something was missing from her life. She completed an MBA at IESE, Barcelona, in 2010; returned permanently to Mozambique straight after and founded Mozambikes for-profit company in 2010. Nicole manages the company but still works as a financial consultant. Mozambikes sells bicycles publicising company brands, projects and important social messages. The bicycles are either purchased by the branding customer for employees, customers and local

communities, or distributed at reduced rates into rural markets. The business model also involves a non-profit affiliate through which poor people can get free bikes via online donations. She describes it as "a dual revenue stream model".

Nicole and her company have been earning many prizes. In fact, Mozambikes was one of the winners of the 'High Impact Social Initiatives' Award from the SE European institute discussed in the previous section. Due to her background, Nicole masters the SE jargon and approach predefined by international promoters. She possesses social capital in the field. This unique set of capabilities allows her to navigate the institutional environment, capitalising on the international development system and its expectations. When interviewed, she reiterated the need for expatriate influence and credibility to access resources. In addition, she was outspoken about the market-orientation of her venture.

> *You're speaking to someone who thinks that there doesn't have to be a trade-off between economic and social value. There's a place for SE because there's* ***a place for business****. Legally this is a for-profit venture because if there is a case that in the future we want to take an investor or use that* ***to grow****, you know… It's very important to us and always has been that this is a for-profit model, paying salaries, paying taxes,* ***sustainable overtime without donations****.* (Se1)

Yet, there is a non-profit affiliate that not only increases sales through donations and enables cost reduction through voluntary work, but also qualifies the company to access alternative sources of finance from the third and private sectors. It is an example of the 'one in two' model. The company does not seem to be entirely aid-free, and obviously benefits from having a social mission legitimising it before development agencies and other international players - a unique selling proposition. The Mozambikes website conveys that there are partnerships established with private companies. However, Nicole explained:

> *That's what people want to think… It's not a partnership model in reality. It's a client model. We are giving them something that is* ***very valuable*** *to them: bicycles. So yes, there are partnerships but not in the way that you think…* ***We call all of our customers partners***

> *because they are intermediating to our model but, in reality, they are our customers. The bicycle itself is a tool for development, so the fact that we sell a* ***social product*** *obviously means that our model is rather social in nature.* (Se1)

It is debateable what products are not social then: weapons, tobacco perhaps? Indeed, legitimising efforts are targeted at global resource-rich actors who feed and delineate the SE agenda. When discussing bribes and corruption engagement, she vindicated:

> *It's an awful thing to do because it almost implies that you accept it and that you plan for it; but all this is simply a cost. That's* ***not something that you should ever want to admit or that you certainly ever want to talk to investors or donors about.*** *But it is the truth!* (Se1)

Simultaneously, the company is not exactly striving to obtain legitimacy from the Mozambican civil society or impoverished communities:

> *Here people ask why we are a for-profit… We say that we are a social business, which means that we are earning profits that we apply to scaling our mission, and* ***our mission is changing lives*** *in Mozambique. We give interviews here and then go to read them and they* ***end up saying we're an NGO, and it becomes clear!*** (Se1)

Nicole agrees with discourses that associate SE with efficient and effective commercial organisations. She acknowledges the centrally of social entrepreneurs for development, in opposition to the state, third sector, or even community led action.

> *More businesses are thinking like* ***social entrepreneurs*** *now […] As opposed to NGOs, I don't think a social venture should transfer its operations to the local community. A social venture is a business that takes over from the donor funding and grows the country into a more developed nation. Even though donor funding is largely focused on improving the development of social ventures or in some ways maybe*

> *preparing the community,* ***I don't think that is realistic that the community would assume control*** *of all of these businesses!* (Se1)

In this case, there is no ownership ambiguity. However, donors must remain on board.

> *A lot of donor organisations are supporting social businesses but they* ***try to touch the communities themselves****, they* ***duplicate what the governments are doing****. They fund through the government without requiring transparency to see if the money is being spent properly or misappropriated. So definitely there is a lot of* ***potential and need for donor funding in order to get SE moving****.* (Se1)

Nicole stated, when describing Mozambikes hired technicians: "Ultimately we create entrepreneurs", and "they [technicians] become this independent network that we hope to grow." Still, when visiting the company's warehouse, I was not absolutely convinced of the 'inclusiveness' of the business model; except for the fact that Mozambikes is targeting untapped markets at the bottom of the pyramid, positioning poor people as prospective employees or customers… Community ownership and empowerment do not seem to be a priority. This suggests a misalignment between stated beliefs and values and what really happens on the ground. Caution is needed when classifying social enterprises or social entrepreneurs based on their self-perception only (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015).

CASE 2 – 'The Missionary Collective Discourse':

Elsa is a white Portuguese social entrepreneur, born in Mozambique. She left the country when she was two and returned permanently in 2007. Interestingly, she considers herself Mozambican: "I don't even feel Portuguese… It was here that I felt at home". Elsa grew up in Abu Dhabi, studied and worked in Portugal in the media sector. She holds a degree in Social and Cultural Communication. In 2001 she went on a Catholic mission in which she did voluntary work in Mozambique. Her life motto is: *be the change you wish to see in the world* (M. Gandhi). From 2007, she worked at UNESCO and many other organisations in the country. In 2012, after writing a book for children (Ant Juju) through crowdfunding, she founded a for-profit publisher. The project is described on Facebook as a social

movement, whose mission is "to enable children to become the authors of their own life stories, by producing culturally-embedded children books for free distribution and building community-based mobile libraries". Elsa manages the company but still works as a communications consultant.

Ant Juju was also one of the winners of the 'High Impact Social Initiatives' Award. In fact, Elsa attended two SE bootcamps, one in Maputo and another in Lisbon. She described it as an explosive experience. Elsa is now definitely well acquainted with SE and very well connected in the field.

> *I was a bit fundamentalist... for me the book should be free. I didn't consider sustainability, long term vision… Now* ***we*** *have* ***a sales strategy*** *in place. Juju became a phenomenon bigger than the sum of the parts! The bootcamps were vital to understand that* ***there is a name for this*** *which is SE; also, that* ***we*** *can achieve sustainability without being too focused on* ***the commercial side*** *and preserving the social mission. I used to think these aspects were incompatible, 'profit, no way!' There's no legal form for social enterprises in Mozambique, so* ***we*** *have founded a for-profit company. However, the company's by-laws specify that it follows the profile of a social business. […] Ant Juju is a* ***civil movement****! And that was unexpected and unintentional.* ***We*** *have created the company which shouldn't be mistaken for the Juju spontaneous and informal civic movement.* (Se2)

Elsa uses 'we' when addressing her venture. She has legitimised the adopted business model through SE; a means to increase efficiency, impact, and to avoid dependency. Elsa struggled to reconcile market logics with moral values. Her discourse is grounded on universal virtues such as social justice, altruism, unselfishness, citizenship duties, and team-effort for the benefit of common good.

> *The situation here is so dramatic you* ***can't stay indifferent****. Yes… over these years I've had access, that's true, but every time I get the chance to* ***shift protagonism*** *to somebody else I do it. The Ant Juju* ***is not me****, is not Elsa. For me, SE and even crowdfunding and so on, are*

> ***citizenship practices**. You look around you and you ask yourself 'what can I do?'* (Se2)

She explained Ant Juju's underlying model:

> *We thought we could do something to make it **different**, something **new**. So we decided to use a tchova [wheelbarrow to transport things] as a mobile library. Our rationale was that there is buying power within these neighbourhoods; however, pricing has to be adjusted to people's financial capacity. The tchova's facilitator would sell the books and get a commission. And it worked! At this point we realised there was **a market**. We were overwhelmed! We've realised this could be **revolutionary**. It also showed us its **huge potential** as a micro-business for the tchova facilitator, who is at the base of the pyramid. The tchova is now **sustainable**. It will work in a system of **micro-franchising**. We'll give them a starting pack, our support, and Juju's image, and after 3 months they are supposed to pay us a monthly fee for the tchova. We are doing it step by step in a manageable way in order to **scale** it in the future. I do believe that **companies' logic** can be applied to social aims.* (Se2)

She criticised the world of NGOs:

> *There's a **culture of dependency** which is a consequence of many years of aid and **donors' logic**! NGOs have to justify their projects by paying beneficiaries. People enrol on a training programme because you tell them to, not because they are genuinely interested. So it is difficult to distinguish between those who are truly **committed** and those who are just expecting a reward. For me there is no such thing as 'poor them!' People have to **want** it, **believe** they can do it, and **pay** for it.* (Se2)

Elsa took ownership of her project and wants others to do the same. Conversely, she recognises that her privileged position enables her to capitalise on an extensive network of personal contacts to raise funds from outside the country.

This makes her mindful of her added agentic responsibility, and also of promising opportunities.

> *There's where I think most **opportunities** lie, coupling SE initiatives with CSR programmes. This is gaining momentum and **I intend to make the most out of it**!* (Se2)

She believes that she can contribute to 'changing the world' through a 'give and take' approach. The figure of the hero social entrepreneur is concealed. Elsa wants to prioritise group or network action over pure individualism. However, despite being aligned with more collective legitimising discourses, she is inevitable detached from the local community structure (Jack & Anderson, 2002). Community logics are not readily accessible to foreign actors when undertaking SE abroad since outsiders do not 'belong' (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). This causes quite a few goals to be unrealistic. After all, exogenous models do not tend to be embedded in the context and certainly do not emerge from the spontaneous mobilisation of local communities.

CASE 3 – 'The Community Leader's Discourse':

Ruben is a black Mozambican social entrepreneur. He lived in Portugal for seventeen years where he did part of his secondary studies and went to university. He graduated in Architecture and Interior Design, and did a postgraduate degree. He returned to Mozambique in 2005.

> *I didn't really want to return. But after graduating and exploring the market place, I've realised that in Portugal I wouldn't probably have the **professional salience** or the **social impact** I always wanted to create. Here, I could impact more significantly on people's lives and their general needs.* (Se4)

Ruben worked for the largest Mozambican NGO, and other cross-sector development initiatives. He owns an ethnic artwork shop, manages an environmental sustainability project, together with a South African MIT graduate whom he considers his mentor, and founded Kimani: a platform providing services

that promote self-sufficiency among the marginalised and the poor. Kimani's doctrine is "Solidarily Sustainable".

Although he does not consider himself part of the elite, Ruben has many connections, is highly educated and well-travelled. He owns a sophisticated shop and is part of a Mozambican middle class assimilated by the Portuguese expatriate community.

> *To be considered part of the Mozambican privileged class you have to wear a suit everyday and own a fancy car… which I don't, meaning I won't be identifiable as such. […] I have interesting stories because of this affected accent of mine. When I speak with people over the phone, especially when dealing with white Portuguese,* ***I have a discourse*** *that does not enable them to position me as black. When I meet them in person, they become quite surprised and part of the magic of our first contact can be lost… Portuguese tend to do business with Portuguese, Americans with Americans, Indians with Indians… and* ***the blacks do business with everyone****! We live with this 'complex'; we feel we need to blend with others to be recognised.* (Se4)

Ruben was invited by the US Embassy to participate in the 'International Visitor Leadership Programme'. This entailed a one month trip being acquainted with the impact of SE in different parts of the USA. He acknowledged the influence this experience had on his own projects and in facilitating valuable networks of contacts.

> *Travelling and living abroad had a huge impact on me. I use to say 'travelling is like to be reborn'. Every time we travel we* ***reinvent ourselves****. This trip to the US touched my* ***freedom*** *of speech logics…* (Se4)

When discussing his views on SE, he highlighted:

> *SE is about distributing wealth not accumulating it. It's the* ***trickle-down effect****. It has to be sustainable. I've done this* ***bridge*** *without benefiting at all from it. That's my strongest asset as a* ***social***

> ***entrepreneur**. I found out that the 'facilitator business' is the **best business in the world**! I consider myself a **PhDO**.* (Se4)

Ultimately, he defaults to an egocentric narrative that emphasises his role and advantaged position as an embedded actor. He talks about responsible citizenship and connecting classes so that knowledge can be shared. He heads flexible volunteering schemes in the country, although he states that he does not believe in volunteering. His focus on leadership is clear:

> *The concept of community does not exist, not here… not anywhere! Without **leadership** people are unable to generate whatever is needed… Look at Jesus, Mandela… they were the ones causing social transformation. There are people with ideologies able to transmit them to others. Whoever likes them follows. Humans need leadership. We can't think synchronously, can we? That's not possible.* (Se4)

He criticised non-profits self-interested goals and lack of sustainability. He considers himself a mobiliser and takes full ownership of his projects. Also, he does not agree an exit strategy is feasible at some stage. The ongoing presence of a leader is a requisite for SE to work.

> *Development projects do not account for context. I believe SE is the only way to build a **sustainable society**. I define SE as a bridge, **somebody** who arrives and does the link between the needs and who can address these needs. Ideas can be transferred from one place to another but problems are very specific, the **appropriation** and solutions for those problems vary from culture to culture.* (Se4)

Ruben has realistic expectations but ambitious goals in terms of replicability and impact. He believes not all people can be (social) entrepreneurs.

> *I think we all have a limit to our expansion that is why not all people graduate, get masters or PhDs. I defend that we, as promoters of any initiative, have to understand up until where we can leverage… we have to **define the limits of our intervention** and to make concessions to reach our goals.* (Se4)

Ruben is an ambitious African humanist highly exposed to Anglo-American pro-business, pro-market political and ideological values (Dart, 2004). He can be positioned at the less extremist end of the exogenous SE spectrum. For him, the identity and development of a community can only be preserved through a leader. He is the good shepherd leading his flock; a multi-embedded agent integrating the overlaps between local and globalised logics.

All these cases, one way or another, suggest that a similar set of logics is being utilised across diverse social entrepreneurs to either help them reconcile their own values and beliefs with SE practices in the context of a poor country, or to legitimise their agency before resourceful external SE promoters (Calvo & Morales, 2015). ILs, as macro-level belief systems, affect the cognition and behaviour of organisations and individuals (Thornton, 2004). Table 4 frames the logics of exogenous SE within the 'interinstitutional system ideal types' (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73). The identified logics underpinning actors' narratives and their enacted practices are positioned in a societal context which conforms to the normative institutional expectations of exogenous legitimacy-granting authorities. The table zooms in on the three dominant institutional orders that are mobilised in exogenous forms of SE: market, state and religion.

The solid-lined cells indicate pre-existing, or adjusted categorical elements that were incorporated in the interinstitutional system ideal types' model.

Table 4 shows that exogenous SE integrates market logics with elements of state logics. Indeed, from a western perspective, SE is supposed to encourage more market-oriented activities in addressing social failures, replacing the welfare role of the state. Religion was also incorporated as a trigger of agency (Shumate et al., 2014; Miller et al., 2012). However, religion logics had to be expanded to accommodate wider spiritual beliefs.

**Table 4: Interinstitutional System Ideal Types for Exogenous SE**

| Exogenous SE | Institutional Orders | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Categories** | **Religion/Spirituality** | **State** | **Market** |
| **Root Metaphor** | Temple as bank ↓ Making the world a better place | State as redistribution mechanism | Transaction |
| **Sources of Legitimacy** | Imp of faith & sacred-ness in econ. & society ↓ Belief in Humanity | Democratic participation | Share price ↓ Shared value |
| **Sources of Authority** | Priesthood charisma ↓ Social Justice | Bureaucratic domination | Shareholder activism ↓ Stakeholder activism |
| **Sources of Identity** | Association with deities ↓ Self-realisation | Social & economic class | Faceless ↓ Sustainability |
| **Basis of Norms** | Membership in congregation ↓ Devotion to cause | Citizenship in nation | Self interest ↓ Mutual interest |
| **Basis of Attention** | Relation to supernatural ↓ Compassion | Status of interest group | Status in market ↓ Status in economy |
| **Basis of Strategy** | Increase religious symbolism of natural events ↓ Increase common good | Increase community good | Increase efficiency profit ↓ Increase efficiency market |
| **Informal Control Mechanisms** | Worship of calling | Backroom politics | Industry analysts ↓ Academia, Ashoka. Skoll |
| **Economic System** | **'Moral'** Occidental Capitalism | Welfare Capitalism | **'Fair'** Market Capitalism |

*Source: Adapted from Thornton et al. (2012, p. 73)*

Crucially, the economic system of the religion/spirituality institutional order changed to a 'Moral' Occidental Capitalism. Likewise, this thesis contends that the economic system underpinning market logics is a 'Fair' form of Market Capitalism, due to SE triple bottom line, i.e. economic but also social and environmental effects of organisations that determine sustainability.

### 5.4.1. *Legitimising Discourses and Practices*

Legitimacy requires "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). SE, as an arena lacking set boundaries (Nicholls, 2010), is likely to pose additional struggles over what is to be considered legitimate and who has the authority to attest it (Lounsbury, 2007). The cases discussed above suggest that, in order to legitimise social ventures and access resources, social entrepreneurs in developing economies strive to comply with normative SE discourses and practices, i.e. the globalised logics predefined by exogenous SE authorities. Legitimising efforts include: (1) conforming to established discourses of SE; (2) replicating ideal-type models as templates for SE practices.

Nicholls (2010) analysis of SE paradigm-building discourses reveals two dyadic clusters based upon the narrative logics of existing discourses, and ideal type organisational models. Table 5 illustrates how conflicting logics across SE hegemonic discourses and practices are reconciled, in the context of a developing economy. It also depicts the frames of reference influencing exogenous SE reasoning and choices. The elements, (within 'Legitimising Mechanism') highlighted in bold constitute contributions of this study.

**Table 5: Exogenous SE Legitimisation**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Legitimising Mechanism**<br><br>(adapted from Nicholls, 2010) | **CONFORM** | DISCOURSES:<br>Hero-entrepreneurs ⟶ **Take Ownership**<br><br>Community ⟶ **Empowerment via Inclusiveness** |
| | **REPLICATE** | ARCHETYPE PRACTICES:<br>Business-like models ⟶ Sustainability<br>**[Fair Market Capitalism]** & Effectiveness<br>Social change models ⟶ Social Justice<br>**[Moral Occidental Capitalism]** |
| **Frames of Reference** | | Capitalism; neo-liberalism; economic development; globalisation; views predicated on individual over collective action; devotion to the cause |
| **Dominant Institutional Logics** | | Market, State and Religion |
| **Metaphor** | | 'One for all' |

The legitimising efforts of exogenous SE lie in conforming to both hero-entrepreneurs and community discourses. In the first case, legitimacy is conveyed by stressing the need to mitigate project ownership ambiguity, explained in Section 5.2.3. In the second case, legitimacy is conveyed by stressing the need to empower beneficiary communities through inclusive models, explained in Section 5.2.2. Exogenous SE legitimising efforts also include replicating both business-like and social change models. In the first case, legitimacy is construed under the argument that SE materialises in social businesses or social enterprises, i.e. financially sustainable effective organisations, pursuing the double or triple bottom line, and capable to mitigate aid-dependency, as explained in Section 5.2.1.; SE is the starting point for a 'Fair' Market Capitalism and its core logics (see Table 4). In the second case, legitimacy is construed under the argument that the ultimate goal of SE in poor countries is to promote social justice; SE is triggered by a 'Moral' Occidental Capitalism and its core logics (see Table 4).

The frames of reference underpinning exogenous SE, based on western-centric normative assumptions and repertoires of action (Desa, 2012), are also highlighted in Table 5. They encompass Anglo-American political and ideological references (Dart, 2004) predicated on individual over collective action. Hence, exogenous SE entails the 'one for all' principle.

## 5.5. Explanatory Summary

> I was the only white person. There were the donors, and me. So I was always on the outside. 'OK, you don't get it', they would say. I had to prove that they could trust me, talk to me… Because the feeling was always that 'she belongs to the other group, she's here but she doesn't understand us'. And it was very painful, until I was able to understand that they were right! And they are still right, because my reality continues to be different from theirs. I was the one sent to speak to the donors. I have excellent contacts in the private sector because that's my natural network… I grew up in a bubble like most people who stayed here. Completely in a bubble! I mean, we went to a private school; we had a car, air conditioning, internet, satellite TV… I wasn't living in Mozambique! Just like most people who live in Maputo now still don't live in Mozambique. How distant is one world from the other and we're in the same country.
>
> White Mozambican describing her work at a local NGO

Exogenous SE transplantation raises the issue as to whether western opportunity-driven SE may be contributing to the diffusion of decontextualised and disembedded practices. This form of SE, undertaken by western or westernised social entrepreneurs, appears to be grounded on hegemonic assumptions and models from developed countries that self-perpetuate themselves through a process of replication (as depicted in Table 5). Isomorphic pressures are likely to cause grassroot voices from developing economies to be neglected. Requirements of compliance with paradigm-building discourses of resource-rich actors (Nicholls, 2010) cause exogenous SE to be embedded in narrow and fixed cultural logical frameworks, which may not account for contextual factors.

> *They come from outside and have **their way of seeing things**, and they **expect things to work the way they've imagined in our context**.* (Cabinet Minister - GOV3)

Looking back to the exogenous SE conceptual model introduced at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 9), significant implications can be drawn. The diagram illustrates a feedback loop. SE emerges to mitigate development project ownership ambiguity and aid-dependency. However, exogenous forms of SE in developing countries still operate within the parallel system of international development, making use of elite networks and knowhow. The rules of the game are determined by exogenous institutions and organisations from which social

ventures seek recognition and the resources needed to take forward their activities (Calvo & Morales, 2015). In this context, agency is opportunity-driven and sources of finance and other forms of capital are external namely bilateral and multilateral agencies, international NGOs, MNCs, crowdfunding in developed countries. This leads to a self-perpetuating mimetic cycle in which SE practices are likely to be shaped by globalised ILs derived from outside the country (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). Legitimacy-granting authorities identify and support social ventures that resemble existing ones. This selection process favours 'ready to wear' models (see Wry & York, 2015), and pressures social entrepreneurs to comply with logics of action that may not be embedded in the local culture.

> ***International political agendas*** *put the carrot in the direction that interests them… They [social ventures] don't end up operating with consideration for the beneficiaries; they* ***operate based on the money****.* (DC2)

Referring back to the research question, this chapter contains empirical evidence showing that the enactment and legitimisation of exogenous SE in Mozambique is influenced by globalised ILs. It therefore, makes a contribution to the field of SE and to the ILP. It explains the mechanism underpinning exogenous SE in Mozambique and its legitimisation, based on ILs that reconcile global discourses' tensions and conflict. It also brings to the fore the limitations of transplanting SE to different contexts, since careful considerations have to be made as to whether 'one size fits all'.

Exogenous SE practices make their way out of and go beyond the constraints imposed by the local context via planning and execution. Based on scientific modes of thought (Lévi-Strauss, 1967), they aim to access the most appropriate resources which have been conceived for the well-defined demands of their projects. Exogenous SE replicates existing SE models from developed countries. It creates a new environment which may be nevertheless decontextualised as it does not make use of what already exists locally. SE in the context of a developing economy, namely exogenous SE, does not seem to be the 'Entrepreneurship of the Common', as suggested by some Mozambican interviewees. Instead, in can be theorised as the 'Entrepreneurship of the Elite', i.e. opportunity-driven entrepreneurial

practices carried out by privileged social groups who can strategically access resources to generate economic and social value.

> *By definition poor people are uneducated mainly. It's not for being poor, but for being uneducated and unskilled that they* ***can't be running things****.* (DC4)

> *It's* ***the price of development****! Why does* ***inclusiveness*** *have to be on the same scale? The level is so basic still. No one is born a businessman, or becomes one overnight. How would they? Where did they study management?* (DC3)

In a context of extreme poverty and economic inequality being a social entrepreneur is a luxury.

> *'Only the wealthy can afford a conscience'. It's an acquired right of people who have money. You can afford the* ***luxury*** *of being generous. So let's not* ***romanticise poverty****: oh, it's all so beautiful; we're all such good people… It's not that poor people are bad; it just happens that they don't have that* ***privilege****.* (DC2)

The next two chapters elaborate on alternative forms of SE that were found in Mozambique (Maputo), associated with more local intervention: endogenous SE and trans-cultural SE.

# CHAPTER SIX:
# ENDOGENOUS SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: MAKING DO

> Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language. It speaks of the very essence of being human. [… Having ubuntu] you share what you have. It is to say, 'My humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in yours.' We belong in a bundle of life. We say, 'A person is a person through other persons.' It is not, 'I think therefore I am.' It says rather: 'I am human because I belong, I participate, I share.' A person with ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others […] for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole […].
>
> Desmond Tutu, *There Is No Future Without Forgiveness* (2000, p. 31)

## 6.1. Introduction

The exploration of Mozambique's intrinsic forms of SE and their role in local poverty alleviation are also an important part of this inquiry. Whilst Chapter Five examines how exogenous SE is being transplanted into the country, this chapter demonstrates that endogenous forms of SE are also present. An in-depth examination of multiple meanings and practices suggests that resource constraints and institutional voids bound and reshape social entrepreneurial activity (Welter, 2011), giving rise to less conventional practices of SE. This chapter theorises endogenous SE as a 'make do' response from the grassroots to alleviate poverty.

Exogenous SE was identified in the previous chapter with the 'Entrepreneurship of the Elite', i.e. opportunity-driven entrepreneurial practices carried out by privileged social groups who can strategically access resources to generate economic and social value. However, Mozambican informants frequently cling to the idea that SE and the 'Entrepreneurship of the Common', i.e. entrepreneurial practices carried out by grassroot sections of society, are linked. One of the research gaps this thesis addresses is the lack of research in Africa (George et al., 2016); in particular, studies situating SE in contexts of subsistence, where people have to make do to maintain a livelihood (Viswanathan et al., 2010). This is especially important when examining informal contexts and how SE may emerge from the grassroots rather than for the grassroots.

Littlewood & Holt highlight that in sub-Saharan Africa "the distribution of skills, knowledge, financial, and social capital typically needed for venture start-up, including social enterprises, remains skewed toward particular groups" (2015, p. 29). This leads to well-positioned social entrepreneurs to be considered outsiders to their target beneficiaries and communities. That said, it is pertinent to contemplate that SE may emerge from within contexts of subsistence reliant on informal activities as main sources of survival income (Byiers, 2009). It may be undertaken from grassroot sections of society, manifesting itself through the understandings, experiences and actions of less resourceful indigenous actors. In essence, it is pertinent to consider that the poor may afford a conscience after all.

There is an untold story in what concerns SE in the midst of poverty. This story, voiced by the marginalised and the dispossessed, provides additional insight to the research question underpinning this thesis. This chapter demonstrates that informal necessity-driven practices are also enacted, in Mozambique, as forms of SE where different logics of action are mobilised as a result of cultural influences, and contextual resource constraints and institutional voids. In this thesis, *endogenous SE* is defined as meanings and practices of SE being generated inside the local context. These under-researched forms of SE arise from within the local setting and appear to be rooted in local ILs, traditionally associated with non-western societies (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Friedland & Alford, 1991). Hence, endogenous SE is related to indigenous intervention and local community reflexive agency.

SE, as entrepreneurial activity with an embedded social purpose (Austin et al., 2006), entails many challenges when applied to poverty alleviation in developing economies. This does not necessarily imply that poor people are unable to find endogenous means to address their own needs and their communities'. Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs), for example, are informal financial pre-cooperative groups which have been documented throughout the developing world (Bouman, 1983). They are explored at length in this chapter. ROSCAs' participants contribute a fixed sum of money on a regular basis which is lent in turn to each member of the group. In Mozambique, these institutionalised saving

practices, are known as 'Xitique'. They operate as informal arrangements based on mutual trust and reciprocity.

This chapter examines the mechanism underpinning endogenous SE through the lens of bricolage (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). Once again, hitherto western presuppositions and normative assumptions of what SE is or should be were used as a starting point yet loosened in order to better understand the idiosyncrasies of an economy dominated by a resource constrained informal sector, and a society mostly marked by informal institutions, e.g. norms, attitudes, values (Welter, 2011). In this environment, SE is not a term or a practice that is commonly acknowledged at the local level.

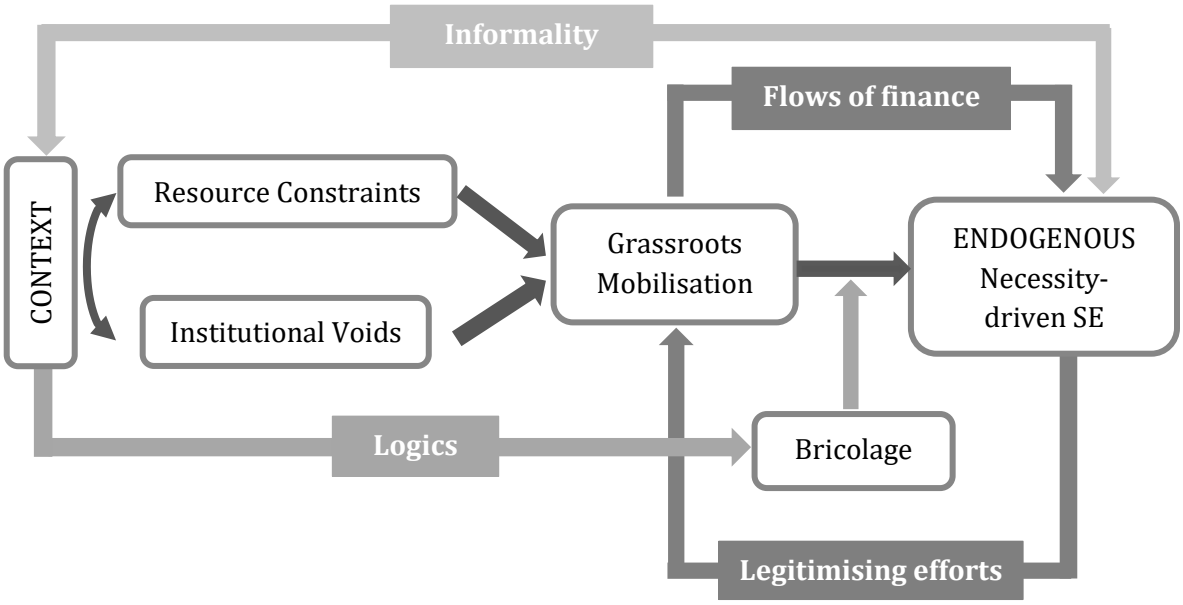
Figure 12 provides a schematic representation of the conceptual framework developed to explain endogenous SE. The darker arrows represent ongoing relationships. The lighter arrows represent areas of influence. Likewise Figure 9 in Chapter Five, this framework links established concepts from SE research (Chapter Two), with a new concept that emerged from the research data, namely *necessity-driven SE* (see Figure 20 in this chapter). It also builds on new institutional theory and the ILP (Chapter Three) to explain how ROSCAs are (de)legitimised as forms of SE; considering their informal nature and the fact that such practices are already highly institutionalised in a context of subsistence. Endogenous SE meanings and practices are rooted in a different set of ILs. Table 10 in Subsection 6.4.1. frames these logics within the interinstitutional system ideal types' model (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73).

This chapter makes two contributions to theory: it brings to the fore informal practices of SE, challenging prescriptive conceptualisations of SE which emphasise some logics over others. It also problematises (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013) dominant legitimising discourses that offer a narrow perspective on the SE phenomenon, namely on how grassroot SE unfolds in poorer countries.

In Mozambique, the context is characterised by extreme resource constraints and institutional voids (see Appendix 3). Such structural deficiencies are interrelated and produce responses at the grassroots. The marginalised and the poor mobilise themselves and engage in endogenous practices through processes of bricolage

(see Chapter Two): making do with the scarce resources at hand as non-optimal yet workable means to tackle enduring poverty (Baker, 2007). Xitique can therefore be conceptualised as a necessity-driven form of SE, emerging from local community social networks and cultural repertoires of action within a context of informal practices, where participants act simultaneously as social entrepreneurs and beneficiaries.

**Figure 12: Endogenous SE Conceptual Framework**




It is through 'bricolage' (Lévi-Strauss, 1966) that ROSCAs make do with what is accessible in order to tackle everyday problems. Xitique's bank of resources includes: local social networks, savings from the poor themselves, and culturally embedded collective logics of action like trust and reciprocity (Cleaver, 2002). Logics provide a cultural 'toolkit' (Swidler, 1986) for bricolage, which expands the repertoire of locally available resources (Mair & Martí, 2009) to the poor. In this case, local logics are reproduced within the context via bricolage. Hence, the local context, and its dominant logics, can be leveraged to enable and give meaning to entrepreneurial action (Phillips & Tracey, 2007). They allow Xitique informal groups to function effectively and to remain cohesive.

However, rather than an endogenous form of SE that entails self-sustaining positive economic and social outcomes, Xitique is viewed by most of this study's participants as an institutionalised informal subsistence practice only. It operates

in deprived and closed social circles, where people are alienated from the globalised logics of exogenous SE. Xitique's legitimising efforts are therefore redundant and almost imperceptible, aiming exclusively at maintaining grassroot participation in order to urge people to remain compliant with their financial contributions. This allows the practice to be self-sustainable. Table 6 maps the concepts used in this chapter.

**Table 6: Chapter Six Mapping of Theoretical Concepts utilised in the Endogenous SE Framework**

| Theoretical Concepts (Figure 12) | Chapter-Section | Chapter Tables and Figures |
|---|---|---|
| Context / Informality | 6.2. | |
| Resource Constraints | 6.2.1. | Fig. 19 A |
| Institutional Voids | 6.2.2. | Fig. 19 B |
| Grassroots Mobilisation | 6.3. | Table 7 + Table 8 |
| Internal Flows of Finance | 6.3.1. | Fig. 19 A |
| Bricolage | 6.3.1. | Fig. 19 (A & B) |
| Necessity-driven SE | 6.4. | Fig. 20 + Table 9 |
| Institutional Logics | 6.4.1. + 6.3.1. | Fig. 11B + Table 10 |
| Legitimisation | 6.4.2. | Table 11+Table 12 |

Drawing on the above conceptual framework, this chapter is structured as follows: First, key contextual features of the research setting affecting the local enactment of SE are examined; namely severe resource constraints and prevalent institutional voids (Section 6.2.). Second, Xitique is introduced as a typical and widespread example of grassroots' mobilisation to mitigate poverty. Informal collective saving practices are explained in detail applying the conceptual lens of bricolage (Section 6.3.). Endogenous social capital is leveraged so that needed resources become available. Local repertoires of family and community logics circumvent institutional voids, sustaining Xitique practices in the absence of formal structures. Section 6.4. describes and theorises the emerging concept of necessity-driven SE, elaborating on its underlying ILs. The section proceeds with an analysis of participants' disparate understandings, legitimising or delegitimising Xitique as a form of SE. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the implications and boundaries of necessity-driven endogenous SE and its non-consensual legitimacy (Section 6.5.).

## 6.2. The Local Reality of (Social) Entrepreneurship

Mozambique was unanimously described by participants as a country where extreme resource constraints affect the livelihoods of the poorer, and where institutional voids further limit their options. These contextual features influence social entrepreneurial activity at the grassroots. The tendency is for informal institutions associated with social capital, cultural norms, and societal attitudes and values, to fill the gaps left by deficient formal institutions, i.e. laws, regulations and policies characteristic of modern market economies (Mair & Martí, 2009; Welter, 2011; George et al., 2016). It was acknowledged by Mozambicans across organisations that a different context entails a different 'reality'.

> *Our primary sector is similar to Europe's during the Middle Ages; it's not productive… so* ***trading*** *imported goods is prioritised! This is paradoxical considering the current perception of Mozambique's macro-economic competitiveness. There's no relationship between what is going on in the macro level and our communities'* ***everyday lives****… Our* ***informal sector is huge*** *and it increased as factories were closing down. This was a response to* ***unemployment****.* ***Institutional barriers*** *make local companies struggle. There are* ***constraints****…* (UN2)

> *Informal trade is a* ***response****, because* ***people have to survive****, there's no alternative. We're talking about people who have their* ***day-to-day needs****, starvation! In a context of poverty the informal sector has an impact! People have an entrepreneurial spirit here but they need to* ***overcome barriers****...* (A1)

In a context of subsistence, poverty and informality affect the local expression of SE. There is an abundance of social needs but virtually no formal means to address them. Although SE is attributed with achieving greater economic efficiencies under conditions of resource scarcity (Leadbeater, 1997; Dees, 1998a; Chell, 2007; Zahra et al., 2008), participants expressed inconsistent views on how SE as a natural response may emerge from within poor communities, and where its 'social' component actually lies (Karanda & Toledano, 2012):

> *People need to create **self-employment**; create their own sources of income. I'm always asking myself where SE begins and ends and what is the commercial, the individual aspect. There's a **tenuous limit** especially when it comes to this reality. People are interested and willing [to engage in SE], but **they have to make a living too**.* (P4)
>
> *It's a slightly **artificial title** that of a social entrepreneur. Nobody starts a business thinking 'I'm going to be a social entrepreneur'. You know, individuals looking for livelihoods are not saying this is going to be social or not [laugh]. **It just happens**! The definition of SE taken in the western context is narrower but, if taken in this country's context, then almost **everything could technically be classed to be SE**.* (DFID3)
>
> *I have some difficulty in defining what SE is within the various activities I see. But here there's no doubt, it's like mushrooms! It's **born out of need**.* (C1)
>
> *In this country, SE, if we want to put a label on it, is **born spontaneously** and not in a structured way. Within communities, people are always doing little things to earn money they need.* (DC2)
>
> *SE is almost everything… we **never called it that** here… the social is what motivates entrepreneurship. People start these things out of **necessity**! SE in a poor country **is about people solving their own problems.*** (Se5)

These interview extracts suggest that informants expect SE in a developing country to be enacted differently and in an unplanned manner. SE may be born informally, out of people's own needs; thus, necessity-driven rather than opportunity-driven. As an ethnographer, observing what happens on the ground, I had to search beyond the typical, self-identified cases of SE[7]. I also became sensitised to the influence of subsistence and informality in shaping indigenous practices creating social and economic value. Endogenous forms of SE are less

[7] Self-identification as a limited selection criterion for participants is explained in detail in Chapter Four.

visible in the field and remain overlooked in academic studies. Many informants acknowledged that, just like local forms of SE are not divulged internationally, the broader concept of SE is not known by the majority in the region.

> *I know some Mozambican social entrepreneurs but* ***they do not know they can be framed as such****. They create projects that benefit them and their community. There are many ideas coming from people who* ***didn't have any contact with the world*** *out there. The problem is* ***these stories aren't disclosed****.* (Se2)

> *There are local associations which have entrepreneurial activities with a social focus, however* ***these activities aren't publicised and they don't have much visibility.*** (GOV1)

> *SE does exist here; the problem is terminology and concepts.* ***People do it unconsciously and do not call it that****. That is why we need policies and incentives which may sensitise people that everything they do that generates value is SE. In SE* ***anyone can contribute*** *whoever they are.* (CSO1)

> *What exists in terms of SE is* ***unknown, not recognised.*** *SE is still* ***unfamiliar*** *and unexplored here. In a poor country* ***people have to prioritise themselves and their community.*** (GOV2)

Untold and less-conventional forms of 'barefoot' SE are reported to emerge for and from the grassroots. Priority is given to affect people's local reality instead of that of strangers, precisely because they are the ones most in need. Therefore, one of the possible ways for SE to manifest itself in contexts of subsistence and deprivation would be through necessity-driven practices which aim to fulfil people's basic needs, mutually benefitting each other (Karanda & Toledano, 2012). In that sense, members of poor communities become beneficiaries of themselves.

The involvement of women, in particular, and their relative importance as agents of SE was also consistently affirmed by informants. Women are believed to be more exposed to daily struggles and to feel compelled to provide for their families.

Female entrepreneurship pervasiveness stands out as a contextual characteristic, with undeniable positive effects on the local economy and community well-being.

> *Here there is a different type of* ***entrepreneurship led by women****.* (Se7)
>
> *Subsistence entrepreneurship might not fit the scientific definition but it is our reality. There's no surplus. We utilise terms like '****female entrepreneurship'*** *to accommodate these activities of housewives who open little stalls to sell goods that will help them feed their children.* (GOV2)
>
> *The whole city is a huge informal market where there are* ***more women by far****. Sometimes we don't see how entrepreneurial our women are.* (CSO4)
>
> W*hat men earn is not enough to respond to all* ***family needs****. So, women engage in informal activities as a means to reinforce the household income whilst* ***supporting their community****.* (CSO6)
>
> *Even women who have a formal job have a* ***side business*** *to complement their reduced income.* (DC1)
>
> *The informal sector reflects the following: I don't have* ***a means to subsist*** *so I have to find ways to support my family,* ***starting from almost nothing****. In addition,* ***small businesses are crucial*** *because the social structure is different. People can't afford to buy normal quantities of food so ladies in the markets sell a lid defined portion of oil, or 2 tomatoes only... it's a subsistence approach that* ***helps everyone****.* (GOV1)

The objective of this section is not to assert that all economic activity within the informal sector aiming to alleviate poverty at the bottom of the pyramid is SE. Rather, it proposes that the circumstances in which SE can emerge are not restricted to favourable contexts, and vary substantially. In light of the above, contextual factors may challenge the assumption that SE implies a trade-off between value creation and value capture (Santos, 2012), especially when

undertaken by the poor themselves. At grassroots level it is impossible to disregard value capture exclusively in favour of value creation. Also, preconditions of prosperity, stable institutional conditions and individual freedom considered to be necessary for SE to occur (Bornstein, 2007) can be questioned. They exclude, *a priori*, marginalised and dispossessed sections of society as active agents of SE, capable to improve local welfare conditions. According to informants, disadvantaged people seek the fulfilment of their own basic needs together with their communities'. This happens through mutually beneficial relationships and interactions that ingeniously dispense formal organisations. Due to the above, informal SE can be considered legitimate in a context of subsistence.

The contextual features of the research setting, found to affect the local enactment of SE include: severe resource constraints and prevalent institutional voids. An analytical separation has been made between resource constraints and institutional voids. It is acknowledged that whilst these concepts overlap and are inseparable in practice, an abstraction is necessary to analyse their interdependency (George et al., 2016). It helps to explain the relationship between context and ILs.

### 6.2.1. *Resource Constraints*

As illustrated above, informal activities are a response to both resource constraints and institutional voids. They provide alternative means to access resources which are scarce or unavailable to some.

> *Institutional conditions aren't totally unfavourable but it's a long road… and then there's the context of* ***extreme poverty, dependence on foreign resources*** *and such.* (UN1)

Mozambique is characterised by extreme poverty resulting from a combination of high absolute levels of poverty and economic inequality, limited state resources, government and market failures, aid-dependency, corruption, and a prevalent informal economy (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015; George et al., 2016) estimated to absorb 95% of the labour force (LO/FTF Council, 2014). Resource constraints and poor governance pose additional challenges for impoverished communities,

compromising their access to resources. By 'resource' it is meant a tangible or intangible asset used to leverage value (Makadok, 2001).

Resource constraints were recognised by informants as a major hindering factor, bounding SE. Consider the quotations below:

> ***They support each other*** *but it's not easy to be altruistic, they have no time. We are surrounded here by* ***subsistence needs****.* (R6)
>
> *To undertake SE, you also need* ***some kind of resources****.* (LNGO2)
>
> *SE is a bit unknown here. Some ideas can be implemented with* ***fewer resources*** *but they still have to be mobilised. No, there isn't much room left for people to devote themselves to social action.* (P4)
>
> *It is possible to* ***be small****, what's complicated is to grow or expand.* (DFID1)

However, it was also stated that resource constraints play a role in reshaping SE and entrepreneurship more generally - something has to be made about it.

> *This happened [engaging in cross-border trading] when I realised that what I was earning on my regular job* ***wasn't enough****.* (Xs1)
>
> ***Social needs*** *abound here due to the fact people don't have money and still they have to* ***deal with*** *them.* (DC2)
>
> *The whole support structure is lacking so SE models have to be more* ***an issue of the community****.* (DC1)

The following quotes suggest that informality provides a means for the poor to simultaneously cope with resource constraints and institutional voids, which are both expressions of contextual adversity.

> *To set up a formal business is expensive. Major hinders to entrepreneurship include* ***lack of know-how*** *and also* ***limited access to capital*** *and existing* ***tax policy****. So… it's* ***easier to have an informal busines.*** (DC1)

> *Informal businesses are a result of the* ***lack of financial resources****. Also, interest rates are very high. People do not want to be indebted and informal activities imply* ***less risk and fewer costs****.* (GOV2)

### 6.2.2. *Institutional Voids*

Institutional voids result from an inadequate formal institutional structure such as rule of law, tax system etc. They can be defined as "situations where institutional arrangements that support markets are absent, weak, or fail to accomplish the role expected of them." (Mair & Martí, 2009, p. 419). Institutional voids limit people's ability to act, especially those living in poverty.

> *The informal business owner* ***doesn't have many opportunities*** *to improve and grow his busines.* (GOV2)

In addition, institutional voids and resource constraints lead to one another. An officer from a state institute devoted to the promotion of SMEs identified the lack of financing support from banks as a major issue. This illustrates how an institutional void is conducive to resource constraints. He also highlighted that additional costs hinder the formalisation of businesses or (in a similar vein) cause the formal sector to rely on informal businesses as suppliers. This suggests that resource constraints further weaken formal institutional arrangements, perpetuating institutional voids. A Mozambican development consultant explained:

> *In Mozambique, entrepreneurship lies outside the formal sector. Subsistence entrepreneurship is quite alive but* ***structured*** *entrepreneurship, promoted by the government through* ***legislation*** *and* ***incentives****, doesn't exist and Mozambicans should be privileged over foreigners! Donors made the government lazy. We have a* ***cosmetic policy of filling holes****.* (DC3)

Informal necessity-driven commercial entrepreneurship thrives in contexts of subsistence where informal institutions prevail (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). It is not surprising that 'barefoot' SE may take similar forms as it fills the voids of the formal institutional structure (Desa, 2012). It was found that the government's

agenda prioritises commercial entrepreneurship. Hence, there is not a single government agency in the country dedicated to the promotion of SE and there is not a legal form for social enterprises.

> *Few people understand SE. That explains why the **legal framework** does not approve these organisations. These kinds of organisations here are **foreign** and have a different **social framework**.* (CSO1)

Participants gave emphasis to particular institutional voids: inexistence of a legal form for social enterprises, bureaucracy, lack of incentives for job creation, lack of access to credit, deficient local skills development and capacity building, poor governance, widespread corruption, bargaining power of international corporations, gender inequalities. The programme liaison officer of a well-known foundation explained:

> *There's lack of engagement from the **government**, poor **accountability**, and a weak **civil society**. These aspects are related and extremely important in **fragile democracies**…* (R1)

Issues related with corruption were mostly acknowledged by expatriates. However, some of them seem more aware of what facilitates it:

> ***Corruption** is not a cultural issue it **is contextual**: accountability is reduced that's all. The context facilitates so whoever wants to do it does it! Also, the **state is absent** and people don't have a **safety net**.* (DFID1)

Due to subsistence needs, SE is not supported by the state neither consistently pursued by the Mozambican civil society as an alternative strategy for development. People do not formally engage in it as a result of institutional voids. Contextual adversity helps to explain why SE takes alternative forms, reliant on informal arrangements in order to mobilise scarce resources and fill the gaps left by institutional voids.

> *In Mozambique it's still very hard to talk about 'state aid'. First, because of the **economic situation**: second, because the government*

> *doesn't have the **logic of financing** that you'd see in Western countries. The state doesn't support these initiatives.* (CSO4)

According to informants accounts, poverty and informality are related with resource constraints and institutional voids. These factors have been described as opportunities for social ventures and well-positioned actors to carry out work in neglected areas (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015; Littlewood & Holt, 2015), rather than actual triggers for local responses from the unskilled and the marginalised. Severe resource constraints and prevalent institutional voids surely pose additional challenges for SE. However, poor people were found to make use of endogenous practices to ensure their survival and improve the quality of life of their family and community.

The following section presents Xitique (informal collective saving practices) as a typical example of grassroots' bricolage to mitigate poverty, and a legitimate form of SE.

## 6.3. Xitique: Grassroots Mobilisation

Whilst conducting sensitising interviews, two informants (a Mozambican and an expatriate) randomly introduced Xitique and emphasised its usefulness and popularity in the country. The Mozambican resident described it as an alternative folk form of microfinance, self-funded by group members. The Portuguese expatriate insisted that the most entrepreneurial person she had ever met in Mozambique was her maid: "a proactive single mother, HIV positive, who has conquered a lot in life through Xitique". Such comments were unexpected and revelatory[8]. Later, during ethnographic fieldwork, the head of CSR at an international commercial bank mentioned how misfortune and adversity may trigger SE at the grassroots:

> *Because of the floods, very nice things happened. I think **necessity** is what contributes most to nurturing SE: **calamities**, **poverty**... I don't*

[8] The repercussions of this ethnographic serendipitous encounter are described in detail in Chapter Four.

> *know if you've heard of… I'm trying to remember the term which is unique here in Mozambique… Xitique! Have you heard of it*? (C1)

Informal mutual-help and collective cooperation practices, such as Xitique, are widespread across the developing world under different names (Brink & Chavas, 1997). They are referred to in the microfinance literature as ROSCAs - Rotating Savings and Credit Associations - and were identified as precursors of modern microfinance group lending models (Armendáriz & Morduch, 2010). Xitique groups are formed based on individual self-selection and unanimous approval by the other members. Participants informally agree to contribute predetermined amounts of money to a common 'pot' on a regular basis, monthly, weekly or daily. The sum of the contributions is then allocated to one individual at each meeting, following an order established at the beginning of each cycle. In special cases such as disease, death, marriage, the predefined order of the loans may be changed. Participants spend their stake of the money at their own discretion, normally in accordance with most urgent needs. However, members who make the best use of Xitique funds tend to become role models to other participants.

> *Xitique is based more on your **conscience**. People say 'oh well I saw what he did' or 'he got it and did nothing with it', and then they say 'well let's sit down and refine things'. People get to know each other so they become **an influence on one another**.* (LNGO2)

Although informal, Xitique was found to be highly institutionalised in Mozambique as an indigenous saving practice, especially among the poor who struggle the most to save.

> *It's **all over**! Lots of people do it […] **Money is transient** here. There's a lack of planning ahead so Xitique is a **saving system that works**. It makes you **deprive yourself for a goal**; otherwise money would be **spent along the way**.* (CSO5)

> *It isn't easy **to save** when you have very **low income**, **family obligations** and **vulnerabilities**. Xitique is **institutionalised in society**.* (GOV2)

> *It's quite an **old practice**. And I think it has to do with the **monetisation of the economy**, people are constantly getting more involved in it…* (A1)

> *Xitique is a **big institution** which helps many people indeed!* (R3)

However, Xitique becomes irrelevant when formal borrowing is required. Hence, it does not offer legitimacy to formal businesses.

> *When you need to approach a bank in order to get a loan, Xitique is **not recognised as credible**… for that you need a bank account.* (GOV2)

Xitique's positive economic and social outcomes were described by informants as ways to counterbalance resource constraints and institutional voids. Xitique practices enable group members to invest their savings in: children education; starting or expanding businesses; improving machambas (small agriculture plots); acquiring land, household assets or essential goods such as food. Xitique satisfies consumption and production needs since it increases self-control on spending, enabling people to save for a specific purpose or to have liquidity to purchase something that would be unaffordable otherwise. It is accessible to the most deprived, since collateral is not needed nor interest is charged, and to the less literate, due to its simplicity and transparency. Accounting is straightforward considering one person is responsible for record keeping. Also, the storage of funds is not required since money goes straight from one person to another. This reduces costs and risk more generally.

> *Xitique groups use their own savings and **do not depend** on any type of external financing from the public or private sectors. **There aren't any costs** associated with Xitique.* (P4)

People grant reciprocal loans based exclusively on individual reputation for honesty, kinship bonds and networks of trust within small communities. Thus, Xitique bypasses deficient formal institutions such as welfare provision, regulations, legal sanctions, commercial banks and other microfinance providers. Xitique overcomes credit market constraints as it enables more effective ways to

save and to access finance than the ones typically offered to low income households (Armendáriz & Morduch, 2010). Furthermore, groups do not tend to disintegrate due to the deployment of informal community-based enforcement mechanisms and mutual understandings among relatives, friends and acquaintances based on logics of collective sharing and solidarity, commitment, trust and reciprocity.

> *It needs **trust**, and the **commitment** from people to embrace this initiative that is there to help them. Still... this is **informal** and not structured […] when there is no trustworthiness [good repute] it may get distorted.* (GOV2)

Table 7 describes Xitique, highlighting its main features, purpose/s, triggers, and code of conduct. It is a compilation based on secondary data and empirical confirmation from this study.

**Table 7: Description of Xitique**

| **ROSCA - Xitique** (tsonga word meaning 'saving') | |
|---|---|
| **Features** | Informal, collective self-sustaining model based on self-funding; challenges microfinance products as people lack confidence in the banking system (Trindade, 2011) and prefer to borrow from others of the same social class (Vugt, 1992); collateral is not needed nor interest charged (low-risk); mostly, but not exclusively, practiced by women (Dava et al., 1998); satisfies consumption and production needs (Bouman, 1995); relatively flexible (matches people's financial circumstances, the predefined rotation order of the borrowings can be changed in case of 'misfortune', by consensual agreement - Cruz e Silva, 2005); inclusive, transparent; simple; widespread across the developing world (Bouman, 1977); adapted to the local reality but limited in terms of size and impact (Armendáriz & Morduch, 2010) |
| **Purpose/s** | To increase self-control on spending (UN, 2006); to provide liquidity to invest on a busines, improve peoples' houses, buy land etc.; to reinforce solidarity between friends, neighbours, co-workers, and family members (Gomes, 2008); to facilitate social interaction. It signifies "assistance for some and social prestige for others" (Lundin, 1999) |
| **Triggers** | Resource constraints and institutional voids, e.g. absence of well-functioning markets, state deficiencies, limited access to credit (FAO, 2003; Elson, 1997); lack of confidence in the banking system (Geertz, 1962); gender inequalities and conflictual interactions within the household (Casimiro, 2011; Anderson & Baland, 2002) |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Code of conduct** | The practice relies on a kinship based social structure which implies adherence to strict social norms, providing the foundations for peer monitoring and social pressure. Xitique ethics include: solidarity, mutual-trust, reciprocity, commitment, and group cohesion; these lead to forced saving, increased personal reputation within the group (members' history of past savings and repayment records), and relational capital building (Nhambi & Grest, 2007) |

Xitique group members share a common bond; either they live in the same neighbourhood, belong to the same extended family, or work in the same place. The explanations advanced by informants for ROSCAs' endemic presence in Mozambique included: institutional voids related to local financial restrictions e.g. reduced access to credit, high interest rates, limited microfinance provision across the country; but also community preference for informal saving practices as cheaper and safer options.

> *Traditional banks require **certain access**. As we say: banks only lend money to people who already have money [laughs]… it's true!* (A1)

> *People can turn to the bank for a loan but Xitique can be maintained, because it has **social value** […] Xitique isn't just sent. And these are qualities that banks will never have. They're more **coercive** and **expensive**.* (LNGO2)

According to DFID's Private Sector Development Advisor, other contextual aspects such as relative lower internal rates of migration and mobility should be accounted for:

> *Another aspect to consider is that you don't have the same levels of **mobility** in Mozambique that you have in other African countries. So, if you're a trader based in a specific town you can rely on a **local system** without needing to resort to a bank.* (DFID3)

Figure 13 captures the two main types of Xitique identified during this study: family Xitique, among relatives, and workplace Xitique, among work colleagues or informal traders. Xitique members described these two types as having slightly different objectives:

*We do Xitique; not only family Xitique but also a daily Xitique together with other neighbour stall owners. This one rounds 20 Mts/day. The money is used to* ***help your busines****. You take the amounts to* ***finance your regular consumption****,* ***improve your house****… or you can fill in your stall and use it to* ***buy the products you're selling****.* (INGO9)

**Figure 13: Xitique within Families (left) and Among Traders (right)**

Family Xitique tends to be done monthly and offers an opportunity for people to socialise, visit their relatives and stay in touch with their family. This is especially important as families and communities are splitting apart when moving to urban areas.

*People don't know their neighbours anymore. We're* ***turning into Europeans****.* (LNGO2)

*Our society is* ***shifting to the West*** *- a general tendency that happens with all societies. And in the West people don't see each other. Many families use Xitique as* ***an excuse to get together****.* (GOV2)

Xitique is also becoming popular between co-workers in cities who receive their salary on the same day of the month. It was found to be paramount for starting or running informal businesses. Stall owners in the markets make use of high frequency Xitiques on a daily or weekly basis in order to increase their turnover and buy stock. The following quotes from a Mozambican social venture employee and a Mozambican academic geographer show how Xitique has been changing and adapting over time, and its impact across the Mozambican history.

> *Our parents used to do it but in a different way. It used to be more like* ***work Xitique*** *and it wasn't the same way as now. Work Xitique* ***evolved*** *into cash Xitique which is practiced today.* (Se5emp)

> *The city of Maputo was isolated and survived during the [civil] war because of the muckeristas [mostly women involved in informal cross-border trade]. They are the true heroines bringing vital supplies.* ***Xitique has adapted****, it has changed. Initially it was* ***done by women****, now there are men too… There is family Xitique to* ***keep families together*** *but also other types that function through a* ***network of people*** *who have the same professional activity, like* ***market vendors****.* (A1)

Xitique practices seem to be dominated by women despite men's increasing participation (see Vignette 5 below). The following quotation suggests that gradual social change is taking place. Men were frequently described as more actively engaged in Xitique practices, both within families and in the workplace.

> *Men do participate now* ***through their wives****. I've introduced it to my husband and my daughter did the same. They could* ***see the results****.* (CSO5)

However, the practice is believed to have emerged from gender inequalities, as a means for women to escape exploitation in their households. Women's participation in ROSCAs is sometimes a strategy to protect their savings against their husband's immediate consumption (Anderson & Baland, 2002).

> *In reality, husbands tend to get out of the house without leaving any money […] so* ***women mobilise themselves and organise these practices.*** (CSO7)

> *Some* ***women can't show how much they earn****… So people don't know if they do Xitique or not… Now that my husband died I do whatever I can with the money from Xitique.* (Xf1)

Surprisingly, Xitique remains invisible to some foreign actors despite its pervasiveness in the country. Various informants seem oblivious to its existence or

view it as something quite different from what it is acknowledged to be by the majority or in relevant literature. For example, an expatriate social entrepreneur stated that she never heard about Xitique but later affirmed:

> *Oh, I **didn't know** it was called that. But that's a very **middle/upper class** concept. I never heard of it happening **outside Maputo**. It's an effective way to put money aside that's all. It's like **'forgotten' money**… and suddenly boom, you get that bonus! Whoever **wins** not only gets the money but **throws a party** for everyone.* (Se1)

Although Xitique is currently expanding to the middle classes, such comments illustrate misconceptions and the decontextualised interpretations of a disembedded actor. Similarly, a local representative of *UN Women* was unaware of Xitique. Some days before the formal interview, at a dinner party, I asked her about Xitique. She neither knew about the practice nor was she aware of its impactful role on women's emancipation. Their mandate is precisely to empower women and to raise global awareness for gender inequalities.

> *This office has been actively supporting the drafting of the 2009 **law on violence** and then the **institutional steps** that were taken in order to have **integrated support mechanisms for women**.* (UN1)

This was a surprising discovery. How could a *UN Women* representative, living in Mozambique for two years, not be familiar with such a prevalent practice around the developing world? A practice that I found out about before actually starting ethnographic data collection. This episode suggests how the lack of knowledge of the local reality may lead to disembedded, standardised interventions which tend to ignore institutional voids and do not account for informal institutional arrangements. At the time of the semi-structured interview, she made pertinent remarks and conveyed some knowledge in the area… she did her homework.

Vignette 5 below describes in detail a family Xitique ceremony attended on a Saturday. The notes and photographs were collected through participant observation.

**Vignette 5: Family Xitique**

In the afternoon, I went with Matilde [Tete's mistress] to Tete's family Xitique. We went by car. Matilde brought a capulana on purpose [a Mozambican sarong] and put it on when exiting the car as a wrap-around skirt. "But I don't have one on me", I said. "Don't worry, I am wearing shorts you see; you're fine with that dress." Tete's daughter was waiting for us to lead us to the house. We walked up dirt alleys to get there, observed by people passing by. They seemed curious, not wary. How odd would it be to find three women walking together in their neighbourhood? One black and two white, two wearing capulanas and me a sundress? I felt safe with them.

Tete was waiting for us. She introduced us to vovó [a traditional way to address an elderly woman] - her mother in law who had been living with her since her husband died (Figure 14). There were also many children. One of Tete's grandchildren was this little girl whose parents were living abroad in South Africa. Matilde explained to me, whispering, the consequences of growing up with an elder grandma, alone all day and lacking cognitive stimuli: "then we start considering them less smart or developed than we are."

Tete was restless making sure we were comfortable. Having been Matilde's house maid for many years, I could witness her high regard for her. Matilde was totally at ease, chatting around using the local accent and showing them pictures of her children on her smart phone (Figure 15). Surely, her previous experience in the missions contributed to that. In turn, I was feeling like an ethnographer of olden times despite my modern camera… asking many questions while attempting to fit in and act naturally.

Tete is a widow who owns a brick house with a patio confined by zinc panels; an outcome of many Xitiques. There were cashew seeds to dry in the sun, a big mat to sit on, ducks and cats wandering around and a nicely set table with a cloth, glasses and china. Coca-Cola bottles were displayed evenly with a big plate of roasted chicken and other dishes in the center (Figure 16). We had to wait for Tete's sister's family living further away. "They are caught in the traffic", she explicated. I was surprised… some have cars and all communicate via mobile phones!

All of a sudden the patio was filled with people: family members of all ages, women carrying babies. Only the youngsters were wearing trousers, shorts or skirts. Women took the lead whereas men engaged more discreetly in the background. A large plastic bowl was carried around with a jar of hot water and a towel on the side so that we could wash our hands. They started dancing and singing in Changana dialect whilst greeting each other with handclaps. Then, as Tete's daughter was calling their names and doing the record keeping, they began handing in the money in turn (Figure 17). I asked Tete what she was going to do with the money she was about to receive. She replied: "Ma'am, there is some work to be done in my machamba [small agriculture plot] and I am in need of bricks".

When they finished the money collection, Tete called me saying she has chosen me to be the patron (godmother) of the Xitique. I was startled since I had no idea what it entailed, so I asked promptly what I should do. She told me I would simply be the one to hand her the full amount. I did it kind of ceremoniously in the midst of laughter and singing. Then I mentioned to her that I had not contributed anything. She clarified amusingly that that was precisely what they were all singing about at the moment! We both laughed and greeted each other. She didn't insinuate I had to give her any money and later on I learned Xitique patrons can either enter the Xitique or not, however they are supposed to donate

some money for kitchenware.
To close, Tete started dancing again, showing off her money. Women were ululating excitedly (Figure 18). Since Matilde was in a hurry we just had a coke and left shortly after. She made sure Tete would explain to her mother in law that we already had lunch and had to leave to pick up the children: "I don't want vovó to be angry at us!"
I am sure they were a bit constrained and refraining from drinking alcohol due to our presence. On my way out I warmly hugged Tete and thanked her for the invitation. I gave her 200 Mts (around £2.5). She quietly crumpled up the notes in her hand, concealing the money in her pocket so to keep it unnoticed by the others…

*Source: Fieldwork diary, video recordings and photographs – 8th February 2014*

**Figure 14: Elderly Woman in a Xitique Ceremony**

**Figure 15: Children Socialising with Xitique Guest**

**Figure 16: Family Xitique Table Setting**

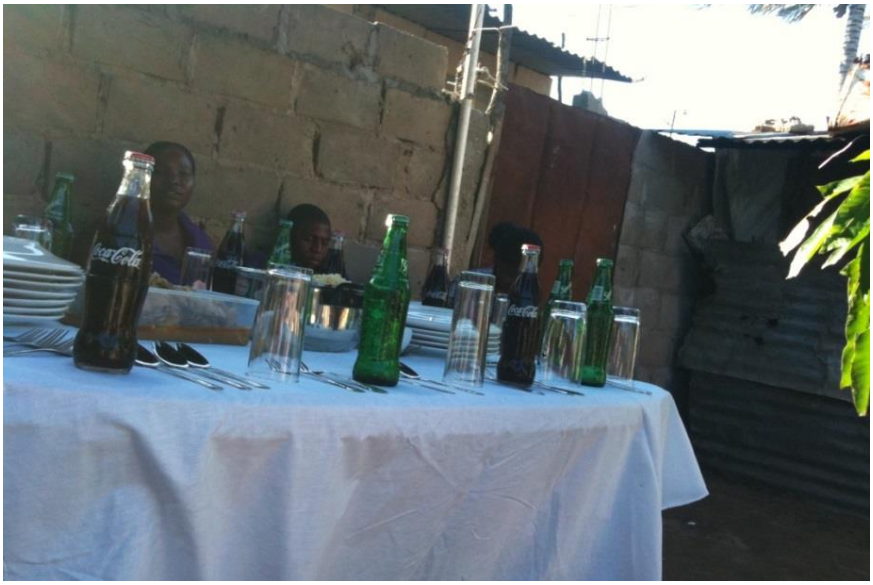


**Figure 17: Xitique Record Keeping**

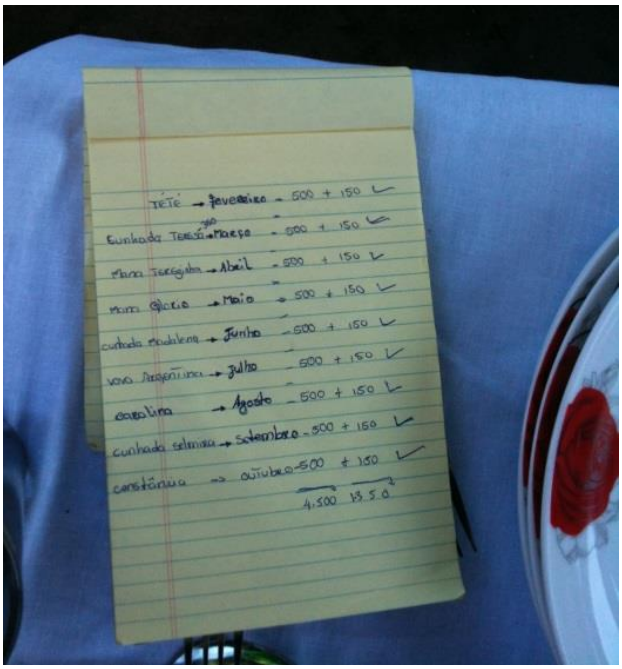


**Figure 18: Family Xitique Dancing and Singing**


The short video available on the link below is a compilation of various clips recorded throughout the ceremony. These were used to cross-verify the accuracy of the description and to be reflexive (Pink, 2001). The video provides an empirical illustration of a local practice unknown to the general public. It also captures a slightly patronising behaviour and the researcher's interference in the research setting - https://youtu.be/tajtWZLAaPI

Vignette 5 describes the social value of family Xitique in spite of individuals' daily needs. In this case, the practice revolves around preserving kinship bonds, regular socialisation, the incremental well-being of all family members achieved through collective support, and emancipation, especially of women.

In essence, Xitique constitutes an endogenous response to resource constraints and institutional voids. It mobilises the grassroots to tackle poverty together and to improve their quality of life. Xitique was described by informants as a secure and supportive device to foster discipline and to encourage collective saving commitment, putting locally held money in good use due to self-reinforcing peer pressure.

> *Xitique is even* ***more important than the bank****. I can deposit my money in the bank, mam, but if I'm in need of something before the end of the month, I run and withdraw it! With Xitique I can't do that unless it's my turn.* (Xw2)

It enables the acquisition of an indivisible product earlier than if individuals had to save on their own (Armendáriz & Morduch, 2010). Regardless of Xitique's advantages and its adequacy to the local reality, the practice has its drawbacks. The group's influence on participants' selection reduces screening costs but may also entail social sanctions to be imposed on those who do not comply with the rules (e.g. loss of social prestige, ostracising or banning from other Xitique groups). Xitique provides a workable way to borrow from friends, family and neighbours, evading dependency from external providers. However, confinement to local resources bounds Xitique's potential to grow and to become more impactful. ROSCAs do not mobilise funds from outside a community. Their simpler structure is less challenging to run and more accessible to those with low educational and income levels. On the other hand, ROSCAs offer less flexibility compared to other finance services and products. Contributions are limited to specific amounts and to specific days within the life of a full cycle. As such, accessing money is not available at all times. In addition, Xitique does not offer the legitimacy necessary to borough from certified financial organisations, perpetuating the cycle of informality. It is supposed to decline as a practice and to become less competitive as formal credit markets develop (Brink & Chavas, 1997).

Regardless of its inability to mobilise funds from outside poor communities, Xitique was acknowledged by informants as a crucial alternative source of finance through which ubiquitous resource constraints and institutional voids are circumvented by the grassroots. Therefore, it illustrates the 'everydayness' (Steyaert & Katz, 2004) of necessity-driven entrepreneuring that takes place at the margins of society (Imas et al., 2012).

> *80% of the people don't have a bank account, but if you go you'll see that there is Xitique. They are using these* ***informal financing systems*** *[…] It is kind of* ***a solution for poor people*** *to save and get* ***funding****!* (DFID2)

> *Existing* ***microfinance institutions do not meet the needs****. There is* ***too much demand*** *out there!* (R3)

ROSCAs come in a number of variations which have implications for what can be offered. Xitique has been adapting across time and becoming more flexible in order to suit specific needs. Necessarily, this happens within reasonable boundaries.

> *Xitique may **involve higher amounts** when done by business people. There are very big informal businesses and if people do a $1000 Xitique it's because they have it!* (GOV2)

> *Xitique works! Everyone receives. Some people **apply money from one Xitique on another**, thus the money stays safe. You end up with a significant amount that you can use to **pay off loans, make deposits** or invest.* (CSO3)

> *Xitique is **to help my husband**. Since I don't work, my husband gives me money and I do it. Then we think of what **we** are in most need of.* (INGO6)

> *It was originally a rural practice but **it spread to urban places** because people realised it would benefit them. **They all do it now**: women, men, the middle class, people with formal jobs...* (R3)

> *I used to do it when I was at the Army. I did **one there** with military **and another** with my sister and her friends.* (INGO8)

> *Xitique became more widespread recently. Muckeristas do it **monthly**, **weekly** or even **daily**!* (CSO6)

> *It started as a way of **filling a void**, right, because of the non-existence of banks. But these days Xitique is practiced **in places that have banks**.* (C3)

> *Nowadays there are really **complex models** of Xitique, with interest rates etc.* (DC2)

> *Some families get together and contribute to a **family fund**. It's Xitique money that you won't resort to unless there's an **emergency** such as a funeral. This fund can even remain **in the bank** for future*

*generations. If there is conflict within the family, they divide the amount.* (Xw2)

*If something unexpected happens to someone, Xitique's* ***distribution is rearranged****.* (GOV3)

*Xitique amounts are* ***dependent on each person's financial capacity****. Xitique is adapted to each person's level. Some do several Xitiques of different* amounts. Others give what they can and then, when collecting, **they only get what they put in**. (CSO6)

These quotations suggest that Xitique has a range of possible applications and there are cases in which it goes beyond addressing subsistence needs. Xitique is adapted to the local reality (Armendáriz & Morduch, 2010) and have changed over time. This involves some degree of incremental innovation which is still dependent on contextual circumstances.

Xitique's value has triggered responses from several actors. Table 8 summarises the implications of the practice across sectors, namely for the government, non-profit organisations, for-profit organisations, and SE promoters. It is a compilation based on secondary data and empirical confirmation from this study.

**Table 8: Responses to Xitique Across Sectors**

| **Xitique Responses** | |
|---|---|
| **From the government** | Xitique is believed to enable opportunities for small scale economic development. Government officials share the view that Xitique has an overall positive impact in society. However, informal practices are not considered competitive and are expected to become less relevant as formal credit services improve. Direct government involvement in the provision of credit through ROSCAs would probably increase default rates; thus, the role of government could lie in providing a legal framework for ROSCAs (Brink & Chavas, 1997) in the future. |
| **From non-profits** | NGOs are acting as intermediaries between Xitique groups and international development aid agencies, government entities, and the formal financing system, in an attempt to further empower deprived communities and reduce poverty (INDER Report, 1999). |

| | |
|---|---|
| **From for-profits** | Financial services are trying to capitalise on existing groups' cooperative bonds since Xitique reduces risk due to lower transaction costs and default rates. Also, establishing links with the ROSCA system might be beneficial for commercial banks working in microfinance, given ROSCAs' ability to mobilise savings (Brink & Chavas, 1997). |
| **From SE promoters** | Xitique is viewed as a financial resource to promote entrepreneurial activities and self-employment, or to be included in SE business models (where beneficiaries use Xitique to pay for the services being provided). |

Whilst the government does not disregard Xitique's local importance, it adopts a more detached position. Conversely, actors from the private sector go a step further, trying to co-opt the practice in order to derive benefit (Deutsche Bank, 2007). Interestingly, some SE promoters view it as an extra source of income for hybrid social ventures.

> *Xitique is sometimes promoted by humanitarian organisations. The Government is not at all against it. The financial market has not yet reacted negatively to it, because* ***they've seen they can also benefit****. The cycle always finishes at the bank!* (LNGO2)

> *But I do recommend people should use it as a* ***means to promote entrepreneurship****! It can be seen as* ***a tool****.* (CSO5)

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse and contrast the advantages and limitations of ROSCAs vs. formalised microfinance. What is not is the apparent contradiction of assuming that micro-credit is an example of SE whilst Xitique is not. Xitique was described by members of Xitique groups and indigenous actors more broadly as: "a practice of special value that brings people together"; "with a snowball effect"; "some sort of yeast causing money to increase!" It is self-sustainable and helps credit-constrained individuals living in poverty to save and invest through a simple sharing arrangement (Armendáriz & Morduch, 2010). As such, it is arguably a viable form of situated SE, context-specific and embedded in the local culture. It appears to be a way of acting based on practical reasoning (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). Xitique challenges SE hegemonic approaches which specify *a priori* the resources that should be used, the logics that should be mobilised and the role of each stakeholder. All these aspects are consistent with the concept of

bricolage, in which making and using cannot be dissociated (Duymedjian & Rüling, 2010), and explain why members of Xitique act simultaneously as social entrepreneurs and beneficiaries:

> *M**utual-help and support** has to do with Xitique. When one of us struggles with something we, Xitique members, **help each other**.* (Xw1)

### 6.3.1. *Xitique and Bricolage*

Xitique provides access to needed resources in unique ways as it circumvents local institutional voids. This informal practice, deeply adapted to the local conditions, counteracts the deficient support from the state, the absence of well-functioning markets, limited access to formal financial services and lack of confidence in the banking system. This is done by replacing typical logics of state, like wealth redistribution, market, for example revenue generation through trading, and corporation, for example bureaucracy, with alternative cultural logical frameworks revolving around family and community ties. Xitique is, therefore, a manifestation of bricolage. It implies a thorough awareness of contextual constraints, existing social practices, beliefs, values and norms (Cleaver, 2002), and the capacity to realistically resort to what is accessible to create something from 'nothing' (Baker & Nelson, 2005), i.e. from resources and logics that govern their conditions and are likely to be ignored or considered worthless by other less embedded actors.

SE entails bricolage when resource constraints and institutional voids are minimised via mobilising and reconfiguring resources at hand (Desa, 2012; Di Domenico et al., 2010; Mair & Martí, 2009), including existing repertoires of logics. Xitique deploys scarce tangible and intangible resources available to the poor, who refuse to succumb to contextual adversity in order to maintain their livelihoods. It is an example of bricolage for allowing its members to make do within their means; directly tackling their own (poverty-related) needs.

> *Women always seek **from what they have and what they do not have** to put food on the table. **They have to make do**. Female entrepreneurship is something women **create every day**.* (CSO7)

In the SE literature, bricolage has been described as a means for social enterprises to acquire resources in resource-constrained environments (Di Domenico et al., 2010; Desa, 2012; Kickul et al., 2012), or for enabling social enterprises to strategically reach and engage the poor in their activities (Mair & Martí, 2009). These studies arguably position organisations and beneficiaries as two separate entities, playing different roles in slightly different contexts, one serving the other. They also consider that bricolage is a tool for social entrepreneurs and hybrid organisations to exert their agency in adverse environments. To a certain extent, the agent is demarcated from the context in which it acts and, similarly, value creation is demarcated from value capture. This happens because, although social entrepreneurs are acknowledged to purposefully operate in resource-scarce environments, in both developing and developed countries, they are assumed to have some scope to negotiate and to mobilise outside resources, which are at the end of the day accessible to them.

Bricolage is supposed to involve an embedded type of collective agency (Garud & Karnøe, 2003) rather than the heroic intervention of individual actors (Baker & Nelson, 2005). According to Lévi-Strauss' (1966) original construct and its subsequent application to SE by Zahra et al. (2009), bricolage involves an intimate knowledge of local environmental conditions and locally available repertoires of resources. 'Social bricoleurs' tacit knowledge and mastery over the environment put them in a unique position to identify local social needs and to act in feasible ways. However, their localised small-scale contributions tend to go unnoticed by researchers and international SE promoters emphasising scalability (Zahra et al., 2009). Indeed, embedded agency and bricolage are interrelated (Garud & Karnøe, 2003; Cleaver, 2002). Bricolage operates by rearranging the environment, not aiming to transform it. Such approach tends to be perceived as illegitimate (Baker, 2007) for its less transformative, mundane role (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Nevertheless, it goes beyond the apparent limitations of the environment sometimes leading to "brilliant unforeseen results" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 17). Bricoleurs' intimate knowledge of the local context is accumulated over time and not easily transmittable to outsiders (Duymedjian & Rüling, 2010). This is particularly true in the case of Xitique where indigenous actors, bounded by a limited set of resources, attempt to address the poverty that they are experiencing

first-hand. After all, bricolage is the use of "whatever resources and repertoires one has to perform whatever tasks one faces" (Weick, 1993, p. 352). This means that many resort to bricolage out of necessity (Desa & Basu, 2013).

> *It's not exactly entrepreneurship, it is a* ***making do posture*** *based on the present day and no planning… but they have* ***no other means****!* (Se7)

Considering that Xitique is an example of bricolage employed by the grassroots in contexts of informality, it is important to acknowledge the key role of socially embedded institutions like social capital and informal social networks for accessing material resources (Holt & Littlewood, 2016); in other words, the relational nature of reflexive collective action triggered by adversity (Johannisson & Olaison, 2007). It is also important to acknowledge that culture and social structure provide an institutional resource pool from which informal arrangements, e.g. relations of mutual trust and reciprocity, can be drawn to sustain collaborative resource deployment (Cleaver, 2002; Cleaver, 2012). Figure 19 depicts the relationships between the various elements mobilised in Xitique practices of bricolage. The thicker arrows in blue represent ongoing relationships.

Based on the findings of this study, Part A of the figure below illustrates how intangible and tangible resources, accessible to the poor, relate in order to navigate local resource constraints. This non-optimal and extremely restricted pool of resources allows viable control over the environment and workable, yet limited, results to be accomplished (Baker, 2007). The existence of informal social networks deriving from community and family bonds enables internal financial resources to be mobilised. The capacity to consistently assemble and distribute borrowings over time leads, in turn, to the increased credibility of Xitique practices, and the recognition of individuals as reliable and competent Xitique members. This reinforces, and potentially expands, networks of trust that are available to Xitique groups and practitioners.

> *As long as people are* ***honest*** *Xitique is very good because* ***we*** *end up* ***saving money*** *and that* ***goes on and on****.* (Xw1)

> *There's the **social status** you achieve within your group. The more I do with the money I got, which was the same you got, the more I'll get **recognition**. My self-esteem will raise and money ends up being spent well.* (R2)

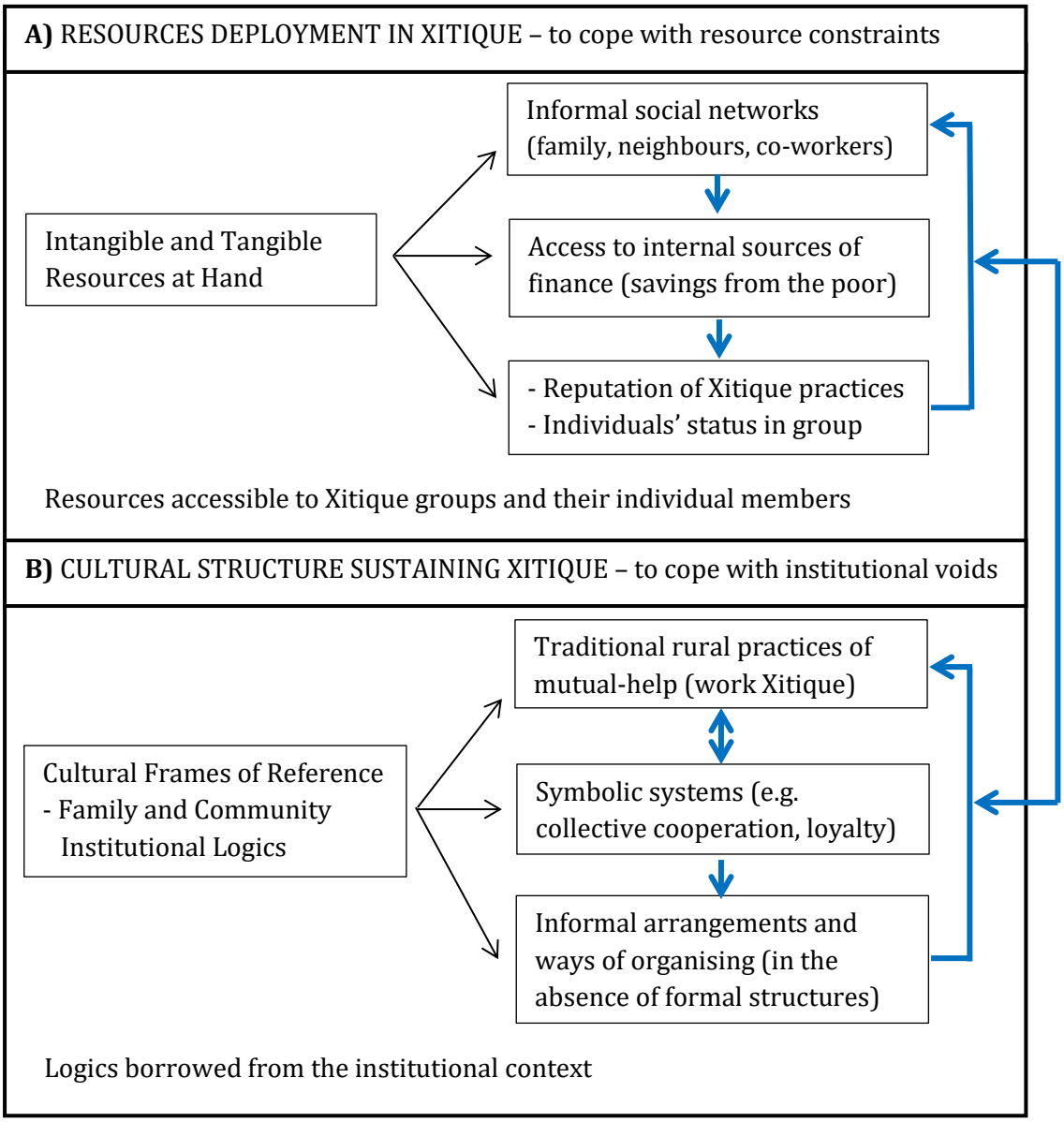
The use or reuse of resources at hand in ways other than those for which they were intended is characteristic of bricolage and imply the application of already held resources to new purposes (Phillips & Tracey, 2007). This is especially useful for those living in poverty. Micro-credit has been considered ground-breaking for having successfully given loans to the poor. ROSCAs go a step further by acknowledging that the poor can afford to not only borrow but also lend to each other.

Part B of the figure illustrates how ILs of family and community underpin informal arrangements capable to circumvent institutional voids related to market and state deficiencies. This flexible and highly adaptable institutional input (Baker & Nelson, 2005) enhances the repertoire of locally available resources (Mair & Martí, 2009) required to sustain Xitique. Traditional practices of mutual assistance and redistribution were described by informants and in relevant literature as antecedents of monetary ROSCAs (Geertz, 1962). 'Work Xitique' is a rotating work system in which subsistence farmers in rural communities provide free labour to each other on the principle that it will be reciprocated (FAO, 2003). Deeply embedded cultural scripts, values, beliefs and principles, such as mutual trust and reciprocity, suggest the dominance of family and community logics in everyday life.

> *There are certain **values** and **norms** that facilitate certain practices, especially if we consider that there are small **communities**, large **families**, **scarce resources**, and an **absent state**…* (DFID1)

> *The **extended family** is where we see our salvation in this 'wild jungle' that is urbanisation… We're able to jump that and **maintain those ties**, and to a certain extent preserve those **values**.* (GOV3)

**Figure 19: Bricolage within Xitique**




Symbolic meanings and material practices lead to informal arrangements which are essential for Xitique groups to remain cohesive and to endure despite contextual adversity. Xitique's informality is compensated with a socially accepted code of conduct that self-regulates and sustains the practice, preventing its rotational cycle to be broken. Hence, Xitique practices conform to institutionalised social norms.

> *In Xitique is **social pressure** that works. There isn't even a signed contract. Stronger than the **contract** is a **person's word**.* (GOV3)

> *The person who stops paying **losses credibility** in the community.* (R3)

Xitique's utilisation of family and community logics enables access to resources. Simultaneously, deployed resources strengthen the reproduction of such logics via trust and reciprocity. Xitique is a social practice leading to material outcomes that sustain and are sustained by family and community ILs. Resources deployment and the cultural framework in which it happens are, therefore, co-dependent. The practice provides a basis for continued and meaningful engagement between members, as well as resilience against institutional voids.

Bricolage in contexts of subsistence may go beyond recycling unwanted materials (Holt & Littlewood, 2016) whenever communities at the grassroots consciously or unconsciously resort to and rearrange ILs, underpinning customary practices and beliefs, suitable to address their current challenges. In this process, the resulting new arrangements are still linked to locally acceptable ways of doing things (De Koning & Cleaver, 2012) which may defy what is taken-for-granted elsewhere, i.e. SE models and logics institutionalised in developed economies. The concept of bricolage articulates the dynamic relationship between social structure and agency (De Koning & Cleaver, 2012). Thus, it is essential to acknowledge the social and cultural contexts of entrepreneurial action (Welter & Smallbone, 2011; Phillips and Tracey, 2007; Urban, 2012).

Figure 19 suggests that informal social networks, drawing upon family and community ILs, enable culturally embedded collective practices of cooperation, like Xitique, to emerge in order to facilitate access to internal sources of finance and counteract local institutional voids. This necessity-driven form of SE mobilises and recombines endogenous resources, local cultural logical frameworks, and the principles behind older indigenous practices, to alleviate poverty independently from external input. It challenges SE hegemonic assumptions that: separate those serving the community from those being served; pre-plan the acquisition of specific resources for specific purposes; and delimit the logics of action capable to ensure SE self-sufficiency, such as profit generating activities and getting grants or donations as additional sources of finance.

The following section theorises the emerging concept of necessity-driven SE, its alternative logics and controversial legitimacy.

## 6.4. Necessity-driven Social Entrepreneurship

Recent academic literature on entrepreneurship has challenged the dualistic typology that rigidly demarcates opportunity from necessity motivations, arguing that personal motivations shift over time and that normally it is not just one motive alone which triggers entrepreneurial decisions. This applies not only to formal but also to informal activities (Urban, 2012; Welter et al., 2015). However, the informal sector, acknowledged to be dominant in developing economies, has been associated with a necessity-driven type of entrepreneurship, in which entrepreneurs adopt a survival strategy in the absence of alternative options (Williams, 2008). According to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), entrepreneurship in Africa is heavily skewed towards necessity-driven activities (Urban, 2012). Informal activities have lately been recognised as an important part of the study of mainstream entrepreneurship (Welter et al., 2015). Their underlying motives may be monetary gain but also moral reasons, mutual support (Xheneti et al., 2012) and indigenous control of community development (Peredo et al., 2004). Thus, it seems reasonable to inquire whether some informal necessity-driven practices can be framed or not as legitimate forms of SE.

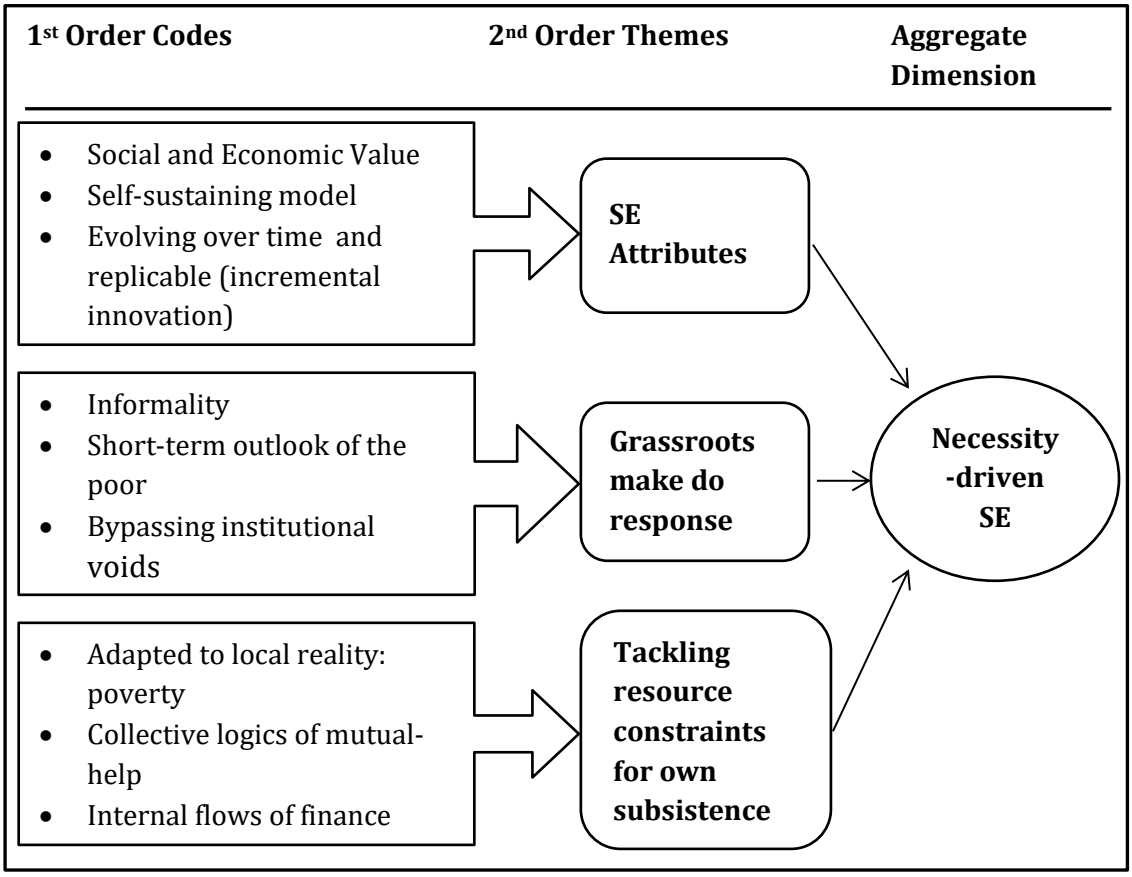
This study theorises ROSCAs as necessity-driven SE, emerging from contexts of deprivation where informality prevails due to institutional voids. Being mainly necessity-driven, Xitique questions orthodox understandings and models of SE that assume amenable contexts are a requisite for SE to occur (Bornstein, 2007). Most academic studies recognise, explicitly or implicitly, that SE entails opportunity recognition and exploitation (for a review, see Lehner & Kansikas, 2012). This raises the question whether SE must always be opportunity-driven, i.e. exclusively motivated by a voluntary and conscious choice to create social value, and never necessity-driven, i.e. enforced by subsistence needs (Urban, 2012) that, although restrictive, trigger the creation of individual and collective social value. Xitique members act simultaneously as social entrepreneurs and beneficiaries. As such, they combine what they want to do with what they have to do.

Informants (local and international) were asked about the role of Xitique in Mozambique. A systematic analysis of collected materials (Gioia et al., 2013) suggests that Xitique can be framed as an endogenous form of necessity-driven SE.

Figure 12 summarises the iterative inductive analytical process of coding interviews, observation notes, and documents (Corley & Gioia, 2004), which led to the emergence of the theoretical dimension of necessity-driven SE.

The initial codes are interrelated and some of them overlap theoretical components of the conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 12. Codes were subsequently merged into three second-order themes explained below.

**Figure 20: Data Structure for Necessity-driven Social Entrepreneurship**




*Source: Adapted from Corley & Gioia (2004)*

1) SE Attributes

It was consistently affirmed that Xitique entails positive social and economic outcomes affecting group members and society in general. Social and economic outcomes were acknowledged to permeate each other and to be impossible to separate in poor economies. Interestingly, not all participants recognised that Xitique could be framed as a form of SE for possessing crucial attributes that are deemed to legitimise it: to have a double bottom line; to be financially sustainable and aid-independent; and to involve a certain degree of innovation. Xitique is

considered self-sufficient and reliable insofar as it is self-funded, who contributes gets the money back to invest, and it is reinforced by a culturally-embedded code of conduct. However, this financial sustainability does not involve profit generation. Xitique was also described as inclusive, adapted to local needs, and a practice that evolves over time according to the circumstances. It empowers the poorest and the most vulnerable as a collective to take control of their lives.

2) Grassroots Make Do Response

Xitique was found to be a 'make do' response from the grassroots to face adversity. Expatriates and Mozambicans, depending on their familiarity with the local context, emphasised that Xitique is a highly institutionalised practice, deeply embedded in Mozambique. It demonstrates how the powerless and the less resourceful manage to exert their agency; an agency that is feasible because it is rooted in informal arrangements and practices. Such arrangements enable the poor to save more efficiently than any formal organisation. Some foreign informants criticised the short-term outlook of the poor. In their controversial views, there is a Mozambican 'culture', a "native inherent problem" that favours "living the present". Conversely, local participants, Mozambicans and others who were familiar with the local context, explained that saving struggles arise from poverty, and highlighted how Xitique plays a role in promoting saving habits. Xitique is mostly driven by necessity because it offers an alternative to the underprivileged to evade poor governance, corruption, bureaucracy, gender inequalities, shortage of banks, limited access to credit and other institutional voids which bound people's ability to act.

3) Tackling Resource Constraints for Own Subsistence

Participants mentioned that Xitique enables access to resources which are indispensable for subsistence. This suggests that the practice provides a realistic means to address critical shortages via bricolage: it is adapted to a local reality of poverty by catering directly to people's basic human needs with what is at hand. Collective logics of mutual-help, rooted in family and community, were identified. These logics function as additional types of resources that help sustain and strengthen Xitique groups. By joining together and contributing with what they have, supported by a culturally embedded 'glue' of moral principles, the poor

become more resilient and risk less. Internal flows of finance (owned by the poor themselves) constitute key material resources for Xitique. Funds are raised from within the community through informal networks. They are limited and non-optimal but offer viable ways to tackle daily needs.

Table 9 provides some demonstrative quotes supporting the codes described above which lead to *Necessity-driven SE* as a theoretical dimension. It contrasts foreign actors and indigenous actors' understandings (independently of the organisation they work for). A thorough collection of illustrative quotes is available upon request but not included in the thesis due to word limit constraints.

**Table 9: Demonstrative Quotes Breakdown for Necessity-driven SE**

| **2nd Order Theme 1) SE Attributes** |
|---|
| **1st Order Code - Social and Economic Value** |
| Foreign:<br>*I think that Xitique clearly shows that all societies will develop mechanisms… It allows people to improve their lives, right? It's legitimate.* (UN1)<br>*Even at community level, people create projects that benefit the community. If they want to build a school, communities get together to do it. I've came across some cases like that.* (Se2)<br>*The money is always rotating. It helps you to buy something you wouldn't be able to buy within a short space of time.* (CSO4)<br>Indigenous:<br>*It is a very interesting practice, of special value, and it brings people together.* (LNGO2)<br>*Xitique brings a fundamental component, namely creating saving habits and spirit of solidarity among people. This value alone is greater than if we were to try going around now charging tax for Xitique.* (GOV3)<br>*Many businesses sprang from Xitique! But it's not only about money. It also comprises another aspect now: a social aspect which has to do with gathering families together.* (R3) |
| **1st Order Code - Sustainable model** |
| Foreign:<br>*Xitique is a sustainable form of substituting microfinance*. (UN1)<br>*Xitique is a form of micro-credit, a saving system. There isn't a social mission but it has social impact.* (Se2)<br>*Xitique groups use their own savings and do not depend on any type of external financing.* (P3)<br>Indigenous:<br>*It's a good practice, economically speaking, as it's a cycle.* (CSO4)<br>*It has a positive impact in the sense that we will help someone based on collaboration, mutual-help.* (Se4)<br>*Xitique's essence is always self-finance and not all people have recognised its potential.* (CSO5) |

*The idea behind Xitique is to invest! People have objectives… With Xitique there are no losses. It's about circulation of capital.* (Se7)

**1st Order Code - Evolving over time & replicable (incremental innovation)**

Foreign:

*The rate of maintenance and reproduction of Xitique groups is enormous.* (A3)

*Xitique is widespread. I do Xitique with friends… Crowdfunding is an electronic Xitique!* (Se2)

*Xitique takes place among the poor and the middle classes. It is surely innovative and it does help.* (C1)

*It is interesting to look at Xitique, definitely… because it is an innovative response and not an individualised one as normally entrepreneurship is depicted.* (A3)

Indigenous:

*Xitique is becoming very common in cities too. Here people have their jobs, they organise Xitiques in the family, at the work place... and people can raise amounts large enough to start a busines!* (LNGO2)

*It's more common among women but now is generalised. Lots of men are doing it. It's for everything! It depends on the amount.* (CSO3)

*It has many applications because within Xitique there are several different models…* (CSO4)

*Now Xitique is no longer just a practice used in places that don't have banks. … I have colleagues at work who do Xitique, you see! It can be used to pay for a bank loan.* (C3)

*Xitique has been changing. It involves the integration of people.* (Xs1)

**2nd Order Theme 2) Grassroots' make do response**

**1st Order Code - Informality**

Foreign:

*Xitique are informal saving systems.* (INGO4)

*There's an obligation, and on the social level in a group you can't let them down.* (C1)

*Xitique is a widespread activity that became institutionalised by the civil society without the need for institutions like NGOs or whatever. It's not an informal institution, it is absolutely formalised; it is informal for OUR standards! The State legitimises and integrates it as part of local cultural practices that have emerged.* (A3)

Indigenous:

*Xitique is very informal… and the only pressure you have is because of social relationships between the parties involved.* (DFID2)

*Xitique doesn't provide a formal structure even though it might lead to profitable businesses. It's clandestine, non-official. Traders do it to build up their stock. That exists and it's fundamental but it's informal.* (GOV2)

*Xitique works based on 'word of honour'. They can't fail! Normally they reach an agreement first so that failing with payments doesn't occur. It's based on trust. When people fail they always find a way to sort things out.* (R7)

*People prefer the security of a rotating informal banking system instead of using a savings account.* (Se4)

**1st Order Code - Short-term outlook of the poor**

Foreign:

*They live day to day, no planning ahead… The present is important here! Also, they find it*

*hard to say 'no' to their relatives… they should be capable to manage [organise] their own lives but they can't save.* (R4)
*At this stage, because of decades of civil war, decades of poverty, there's still a very short-term outlook. It's very difficult for them to save money for example.* (Se1)
Indigenous:
*The truth is you manage to gather the amount you need without realising.* (INGO7)
*Xitique is very important and makes it possible to save money for when the time comes.* (INGO8)
*That's the only way for them to pay their debts… That's the problem; they can't hold to their money and spend it all. So the only way for them to buy a bed is to do Xitique. They can't afford it with their salary.* (R7)
*We need to look at what it was like in the past and what it's like today. If people aren't saving, is not because they don't want to save, they can't save! Families are still large… and generally the people involved in these sidewalk businesses are women, right? Yes, and they deal with the daily expenses.* (A1)
*When we get our salary we have to do Xitique straight away otherwise the money evaporates!* (Xw3)

**1st Order Code - Bypassing institutional voids**

Foreign:
*Xitique is a form to replace access to credit in a system where that doesn't exist. Access to everything here is conditioned by the party… so Xitique is a way for someone to do something outside the system.* (UN1)
*Women in particular, if they have money at home their husbands will take it and do what they like.* (DC4)
*I believe what triggered it must have been scarcity and periods when it was difficult to access goods and money.* (A3)
Indigenous:
*I am not scared of doing Xitique, but a loan… maybe it's because it's in a bank. This word: 'bank', scares me a bit because in the bank there's no family.* (INGO6)
*Informal businesses are a result of the non-existence of financial resources. Also, interest rates are very high. People do not want to be indebted.* (GOV2)
*It's a means to save. People can't comply with the banks' requisites and livelihood is very expensive. At the end of a day's work women get together to do it. Banks are closed and it's safer not to bring it home.* (CSO6)
*It is a form of SE because banks do not give short term credit.* (Se7)

**2nd Order Theme 3) Tackling resource constraints for own subsistence**

**1st Order Code - Adapted to local reality: poverty**

Foreign:
*It is kind of a solution for poor people to find ways to get funding! Yes, if you see the traders, they use daily Xitiques because they need the cash to invest…* (DFID2)
*Xitique responds to an immediate need… because if you look closer it rotates… it provides them with liquidity they don't normally have.* (DC1)
Indigenous:
*People will always find mechanisms to remedy their problems. Doing Xitique is one of them.* (GOV2)

*It's a means to help people meet their needs, needs they wouldn't be able to meet on their own.* (R3)
*People think 'how am I going to get out of this?' SE in a poor country is about people solving their own problems.* (Se5)
*It depends on individual means to ensure repayments are met. When you don't have a fixed income you can participate but will probably be the last to collect the full amount.* (Se7)
*In regards to Xitique, people sit down, they talk and agree. They only agree to give what they know they'll be able to save. I can't have more than what I have.* (Xw3)

**1st Order Code - Collective logics of mutual-help**

Foreign:
*People have more solidarity with their family, their Xitique groups, friendship saving groups, and empathise with their neighbours' difficulties. They really take that question of contributions seriously.* (INGO4)
*Fair exchanges are promoted and that is much more beneficial as, in order to earn, something should be given in return for the benefit of the other person.* (R2)
*For safety reasons they have to support and rely on each other.* (R6)
*It has a positive impact in the sense that we will help someone and be helped based on mutual-help.* (Se4)
Indigenous:
*We have a sort of African socialism, which is one of permanent mutual-assistance, mutual-help in the family, in the community, and in society. In Xitique is social pressure that works.* (GOV3)
*People arrange ways to facilitate payments. When people are united that is what happens.* (CSO6)
*What I mean by associativism is that being together helps us to solve our own problems better than when we are alone. With Xitique people found a way to solve each one's problems in turn, together. Self-help, mutual-help is what triggered this practice.* (Se5)
*In socialism it's about collective initiative, togetherness, social cohesion. Xitique is community-based.* (C3)
*I think the vision of solidarity is brilliant. Why should I pile it up at home if I can chip in and help someone else from the group?* (DC2)

**1st Order Code - Internal flows of finance**

Foreign:
*Xitique is about self-subsistence. The money rotates… it provides people with liquidity they don't have.* (DC1)
*Xitique is similar to micro-credit but based on auto-financing. Xitique groups use their own savings and do not depend on external finance from the public or private sectors.* (P4)
Indigenous:
*It's a form of rotational credit. There are cases where people actually see Xitique as a source of funding to start a busines.* (LNGO2)
*People think: 'with my money, I can give it to someone else for him to use, and next time round he'll give his money to me to use, without interest or anything!'* (GOV3)
*What's important is to give your share. Xitique is clearly better than banks because the money comes and it's yours…* (R3)
*Xitique's essence is always self-finance. It can be seen as a tool for entrepreneurship.* (CSO5)

These statements illustrate a tendency common among foreign and indigenous participants; it is suggested, explicitly or implicitly, that collective SE can also be triggered by necessity (Johannisson & Olaison, 2007). ROSCAs share key attributes with SE; however, these practices emerge out of necessity from the poor themselves, to address subsistence needs affecting them and their communities.

The new concept of necessity-driven SE problematises existing theoretical underpinnings focusing exclusively on typical western-born social enterprise models; formalised as hybrid organisations trading to tackle social problems (Chell, 2007). It also challenges widespread SE prescriptive definitions that emphasise some logics of action (being market-based and motivated by opportunity) and attributes (being mission-oriented and highly impactful) over others (Bull, 2008). How can SE be necessity-driven, originated from grassroot collectives, the dispossessed and the marginalised themselves? Indeed, this signposts the need to acknowledge the extent to which SE is context-specific and expresses itself in less conventional ways depending on different 'realities' and dominat local logics.

### 6.4.1. *The Logics of Endogenous Social Entrepreneurship*

This subsection directly unpacks the research question. It explores the logics underpinning endogenous SE; in other words, the taken-for-granted social prescriptions (Battilana & Dorado, 2010) that are mobilised to assign meaning to alternative forms of SE derived from within the research setting. These under-researched forms appear to be rooted in ILs traditionally associated with non-western societies (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Friedland & Alford, 1991), namely family and community.

All participants were asked about Xitique and its role in Mozambique - features, purpose, triggers, outcomes, advantages, limitations, and underlying reasoning - which may challenge or reinforce globalised logics of SE. Their understandings were examined together with Xitique practices, through participant observation. Specific ILs, highly embedded in everyday life, were found to shape local actors motivations, expectations, and goals (Thornton, 2004), and to influence the indigenous enactment of SE at the grassroots; where local knowledge is combined

with embedded praxis (Seremani & Clegg, 2015). This subsection bridges the logics behind endogenous repertoires of action with collective social entrepreneurial practices and their legitimacy. It then provides a reflexive critique of SE hegemonic assumptions and discourses which are challenged by informal models of bricolage aiming to alleviate poverty.

In Mozambique, informal practices are so widespread that they became norm, "an almost parallel economy with its own traditions and values" (Fadahunsi & Rosa, 2002, p. 397). On the one hand, Xitique is highly institutionalised in the local setting as an informal saving practice. On the other hand, it has not been recognised as legitimate in the field of SE since it is rooted in an unconventional combination of interrelated logical meanings and practices (Friedland & Alford, 1991) that still enable the partial autonomy of actors from social structures in extremely adverse conditions.

Ubuntu is a Southern African philosophy; a culturally embedded worldview and attitude rooted in humaneness, people's interdependence and reciprocity. It is believed to be a contextual element which influences endogenous forms of SE in sub-Saharan Africa by making them more inclusive and collectively-led (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015; Urban, 2008). Ubuntu is also associated with economic, social and environmental sustainability (Jackson, 2010). It entails a communitarian ethic that is often contrasted with western business practices and scholarly traditions grounded on utility-maximisation, transaction-orientation, self-interest and individualism (Mangaliso, 2001; West, 2014). It is equated with qualities of empathy, social justice, sharing and solidarity, depicted in the well-known motto "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1989, p. 106). In Ubuntu, the individual cannot exist separately from the community to which he/she belongs (Kamoche, 2001). This leads to a more communal understanding of society and explains how collective agency is informed by local logics, i.e. the values of those on whom things act (Seremani & Clegg, 2015). According to Bähre (2007b), Ubuntu has to be approached carefully due to its romanticised and idealistic vision that can easily become fashionable in politics and busines. However, the author also acknowledges how this "ideology of humanity" is related with financial self-help groups precisely because it substantiates African

communities' inclusive, compassionate and respectful behaviour (Bähre, 2007a). Indeed, some informants highlighted the connection between Ubuntu logics and Xitique.

> *But this **community spirit** is an African thing; it's from here!* (R3)

> *We have a sort of **African socialism**, which is one of permanent **mutual-assistance** in the **family,** in the **community,** and in **society**… in Xitique is **social pressure** that works.* (GOV3)

> I think Xitique's vision of **solidarity** is brilliant. Why should I pile it up at home, if I can chip in and help someone else from the group? (DC2)

Although Ubuntu lies at the basis of social solidarity and mutual-assistance within families and communities more broadly, it is also described as a source of social coercion which refrains individual growth in favour of togetherness and indebtedness to one's kinship network (Lux et al., 2016).

> *They [Mozambicans] progress through **consensus**. It's a way of being that is reluctant to see anyone distinguishing themselves. There's a **social protection mechanism** which exists in society for better and for worse. For them, it's about **their needs together with their neighbours'**. They need the conditions to actually **be a community**.* (INGO4)

> *Individuals are scared of **getting ahead alone** in the community because they think they might become victims of witchcraft, envy, and perceived as **greedy**; unless there's some externality - your cup may be filling up, but **there's spill over to the others**. At the end of the day, part of what people earn always ends up being **distributed**…* (C3)

A Mozambican cabinet minister contrasted non-western and western rationalities. According to him, there is an intrinsic Mozambican 'socialism' and an African business 'morality' in which self-interest cannot go as far as harming others. Other indigenous interviewees explained the difference between ambition and

greediness; each concept being consistent with unselfishness and selfishness respectively:

> *Someone **ambitious** is someone who wants something good and goes after it. Being **greedy** is being egocentric; someone who wants everything for him or herself and thinks that **the ends justify the means**…. Being greedy isn't good.* (CSO4)

Ubuntu favours associativism over individualism and this logic underpins the socially accepted code of conduct that enables Xitique to work and group members not to default. Logics such as trust and reciprocity were emphasised and acknowledged to play an important role in either complementing or substituting the formal institutional framework (Welter & Smallbone, 2011). They revolve around institutions of family and community, found to govern Xitique practices.

> *There is a **social conscience** here! People want to contribute to the **community** and the **family** and the issue of **trust** is important.* (DC1)

> *The West tends to mistake **reciprocity** with **nepotism**. The West doesn't understand that when we come from a **big family** people expect us to **support them**. Because they are members of **our** family, you get it?* (A1)

It is clear that the concepts of family and community overlap.

> *Our definition of **community** can't be the academic one as an academic definition wouldn't cover all that really happens. It goes from an ethnic group, to a tribe, or family, **including relatives or childhood neighbours**. This is quite valued here.* (INGO1)

> *Mozambican **communities are all about family**, sometimes too much. The **Mozambican family is quite extended**, it includes the grandfather who's not exactly grandfather, the ex-wife, the uncle, the brother who's not a brother. I lived in Europe where there's just the wife and the children.* (Se7)

> *Here responsibility doesn't end with the family… it's the community! All the neighbours come and help. There's a* ***network*** *of an* ***'extended family'****.* (A1)

These accounts suggest that a similar set of logics is being utilised endogenously, reconciling local values and beliefs with indigenous SE practices. ILs, as macro-level belief systems, affect the cognition and behaviour of organisations and individuals (Thornton, 2004) within a certain domain. In this case, logics of family and community legitimise Xitique and Xitique participants' agency before other community members, not before international SE promoters. Table 10 frames the logics of endogenous SE within the 'interinstitutional system ideal types' (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73). The identified logics underpinning local actors' accounts and their enacted practices are positioned in a societal context which does not conform to the normative institutional expectations of exogenous legitimacy-granting authorities. The table zooms in on the two dominant institutional orders that are mobilised in endogenous practices of SE: family and community. The adaptation of the Interinstitutional System Ideal Types, as an analytical tool, for framing endogenous SE revealed to be much more difficult compared to its adaptation to exogenous SE. Contrary to the idea that the ILP represents "a general model of cultural heterogeneity un-biased toward the Western world" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 18), this framework may be limited to examine non-western contexts. It is clear that more substantial adjustments had to be made since there was not a direct fit, especially in regards to the underpinning economic systems of family and community institutional orders.

The solid-lined cells indicate pre-existing, or adjusted categorical elements that were incorporated in the interinstitutional system ideal types' model. The dashed-lined cells indicate categories that were inverted. Underlined words between solid brackets indicate additions to existing categorical elements. The term *Extended Family* is included in the table to depict the notion of atomistic family, integrating connected households (sometimes geographically dispersed), which was conveyed by indigenous informants.

**Table 10: Interinstitutional System Ideal Types for Endogenous SE**

| Endogenous SE | Institutional Orders | |
|---|---|---|
| **Categories** | **Family** | **Community** |
| **Root Metaphor** | Family as firm ↓ Family as resource | Common boundary ↓ Community as resource |
| **Sources of Legitimacy** | Unconditional loyalty | Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity |
| **Sources of Authority** | Patriarchal domination ↓ Matriarchal domination | Commitment to community values & ideology [Ubuntu] |
| **Sources of Identity** | Family reputation ↓ Extended-family reputation | Emotional connection Ego [& collective] - satisfaction & reputation |
| **Basis of Norms** | Membership in household ↓ Membership in extended-family | Group membership |
| **Basis of Attention** | Status in household ↓ Status in extended-family | Personal investment in group ↓ Group investment in people |
| **Basis of Strategy** | Increase family honour ↓ Maintain family ties | Increase status & honour of members & practices ↓ Status of members & subsistence practices |
| **Informal Control Mechanisms** | Family politics | Visibility of actions |
| **Economic System** | **'Extended'** Family Reciprocity | **'Necessity'** Cooperation |

*Source: Adapted from Thornton et al. (2012, p. 73)*

It is interesting to note that community and family logics alone enable endogenous SE to reach self-sufficiency through unique informal arrangements co-evolving alongside exogenous support and market-orientation, and capable of evading them. In that, Xitique involves economic activity devoid of business transaction

(Dana, 2015) and hierarchy. It also privileges group investment in people (as illustrated in the table) as opposed to personal motivations to invest in a group; a principle rooted in western practices of SE being exported to poor countries.

> *Fair exchanges are promoted and that is much more beneficial as,* ***in order to earn, something should be given in return for the benefit of the other*** *person.* (R2)

> *Xitique is* ***born in a group****, in a community, and* ***for an individual****.* (DC2)

ROSCAs are not only expressions of community and family logics but also reinforce their valorisation in the local context (Friedland & Alford, 1991).

> *When women start a Xitique group they are* ***establishing links*** *between them, and they observe how the other members are applying their money, how they are growing. Xitique entails this issue of* ***community*** *and* ***self-promotion****! Links become really strong.* (R2)

Table 10 shows that endogenous SE integrates community logics with extended-family logics. Indeed, from an 'African' perspective, the concept of family goes beyond family ties strictly based on kinship, including multiple connected households. Thus, this thesis contends that the economic system underpinning family logics is 'Extended Family' Reciprocity rather than Family Capitalism. It entails an extended web of relationships and mutual obligations (Kamoche, 2011; George, 2015). Crucially, the economic system underpinning community logics was narrowed to a 'Necessity' type of Cooperation as a result of poverty rather than Cooperative Capitalism. Endogenous SE replaces typically western logics such as market, state and corporation (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Friedland & Alford, 1991) with local community and family logics for subsistence reasons. It also contests Thornton's et al. (2012) framing of family, which is rooted in family firms and typically a less collective institution, and of community as a cooperative form of capitalism.

### 6.4.2. *The Controversial Legitimacy of an Institutionalised Practice*

As mentioned above, Xitique is institutionalised in Mozambique as a necessity-driven practice but not as an endogenous form of SE. There are no formal incentives to promote it, from the government for example, as there are for promoting SE in developing economies. Many interviewees resisted the idea that SE could emerge out of need. In Chapter Three, legitimacy was defined as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). When considering Xitique, additional challenges have to be taken into account if one chooses to frame it as a form of SE. Not only SE is a field of practice still in a pre-paradigmatic state, lacking consensus and a clear epistemology (Nicholls, 2010), but also Xitique, being already institutionalised within a different context, is likely to face steady barriers to gain legitimacy in a distinctive arena.

> *It's cultural, it's part of the character here, and it has been* ***institutionalised****. Everyone knows it exists.* (C1)

In addition, most Xitique practitioners do not even know what SE means. Therefore, there are no legitimising efforts on their part for Xitique to be recognised as SE by international authorities in the field. This thesis argues that Xitique can be framed as a situated, truly embedded form of SE, which emerges from context-specific struggles. Impoverished, marginalised members of society implemented a structured, low risk, creative collective saving system to overcome the lack of access to 'cheap' credit, poverty and gender inequalities. Xitique provides access to resources in unique ways that are consistent with the concept of bricolage, in which extreme scarcity and institutional voids are minimised via reconfiguring resources at hand. Interestingly, not all agreed with this perspective. Participants in this study expressed disparate understandings in what regards Xitique's legitimacy as SE. Table 11 categorises and contrasts the non-consensual opinions of interviewees when confronted with a simple question: Do you think Xitique can be seen as a local form of SE?

**Table 11: Heterogeneous Opinions on the Overlap between Xitique and SE**

| **Delegitimising Quotes** |
|---|
| **From research participants informed about SE, e.g. expatriates or Mozambicans highly exposed to normative western SE discourses and models** |
| *"Xitique is not a form of SE it is simply a subsistence practice, a strategy for survival."*<br>Source: Manager of Projects at DFID; previously worked at USAID (Black Mozambican) |
| *"I don't think so because there isn't a social mission. It has social impact but what's within its genesis is individual good. To say that it is a form of SE… I wouldn't go that far. I think it is a traditional saving scheme."*<br>Source: Founder of a social venture in Mozambique; SE short course participant (White Portuguese) |
| *"I wouldn't call it SE because it's not a business that's making money and having a social impact; it's an informal way of encouraging and facilitating savings."*<br>Source: Independent consultant in cross-sector partnerships for development (North-American) |
| *"I don't think so because Xitique's essence is always self-finance and not all people have recognised its potential."*<br>Source: Guest house owner; SE short course participant (Black Mozambican) |
| *"From a financial point of view I don't know whether it has that authority, that impact. It depends on the amounts involved. It definitely has the social value of aggregating people at least once a month. It has a social component and it doesn't involve interest rates, but the fact that I am participating in a savings system does not make me a social entrepreneur! What I am saying is that social entrepreneurs like Muhammad Yunus, and possibly the inventor of Xitique… yes, the inventor of Xitique, they are in fact the ones causing social transformation! Xitique is not sustainable, only for those who have something."*<br>Source: Social entrepreneur in Mozambique; lived and studied abroad for seventeen years (Black Mozambican) |
| *"No. I don't believe it is a form of SE. It's a matter of surviving, a matter of need and not of opportunity or growth. I think that there are advantages in Xitique because it transmits the notion of saving and the idea of sharing… but it's only that!"*<br>Source: Co-founder and general manager of an entrepreneurship incubator (White Mozambican) |
| **Ambiguous Quotes** |
| **From both foreign and indigenous informants acquainted with SE from a development perspective, adopting a more flexible and less prejudiced approach** |
| *"I've never thought of that. Let me think about it a little. I've always looked at it from a solidarity point of view. Now there are really complex models of Xitique nowadays… but it happens spontaneously… Look, I think that's a fantastic question that makes a lot more sense from a development point of view, if you agree that SE is born in a group, in a community, and for an individual. For me it arises to solve a problem: 'this is the problem, so let's go'. I think there you can find, in that answer, a big cultural part, that concept of Ubuntu…"* |

Source: SME founder - a consultancy company in the areas of social responsibility and sustainability (White Mozambican)

*"I don't know whether it goes that far… Why not? Someone had to have had this idea, right? It's born out of need, and it's surely innovative. Well in fact, given the characteristics of what SE is supposed to be… Yes, it probably is after all! I must admit I'd never actually thought about that precisely because it falls outside the classic definition a little bit."*
Source: Head of CRS at a multinational bank; living in Maputo for twenty years (White Portuguese)

*"Well, it is SE but not financial. This means that what are produced are social values and ethical values…"*
Source: Accountant at a local NGO - civil society organisation (Black Mozambican)

*"If the members of the Xitique are operating autonomously amongst themselves… oh well… yeah we probably could call it that… It's… yes, an intracommunal social enterprise! They can do it for busines. Actually, even when you're using it to pay for a funeral or whatever that could be viewed as social value too."*
Source: Private Sector advisor at DFID; lived in other Sub-Saharan African countries (Scottish)

**Legitimising Quotes**

**From indigenous actors, locally embedded and aware of contextual factors**

*"Yes, I do think it can be framed as a form of SE.* ***It's implicit because it helps****, it's implicit because it* ***promotes collaboration, common thinking****. People found a way to* ***solve each one's problems in turn, together****."*
Source: Serial entrepreneur and founding-partner of 'Women Savings Bank' - a financial institution aiming at serving women working in the informal sector (Black Mozambican)

*"Well, I think it can be viewed as a form of SE insofar as it can contribute and help people to create savings and, as a consequence, generate income."*
Source: Social activist and lecturer in entrepreneurship at a private university (Black Mozambican)

*"Yes because initially Xitique was… Actually it has been adapted, it has changed. Initially women did Xitique, now there are men too since they are seeing that it works."*
Source: Associate Professor at Eduardo Mondlane University (Black Mozambican)

*"It fits in very, very well. With Xitique people buy a fridge which they couldn't afford otherwise, with Xitique I have the possibility of planning when to carry out home improvements. And I know things will have their time, their right pace. There are people who receive Xitique money, go across the border to South Africa to buy clothes, come back here and sell them, they are producing big money and seeing results."*
Source: Cabinet Minister (Black Mozambican)

*"Of course it is! It is SE from the grassroots! It does challenge the microfinance sector because there aren't interest rates!"*
Source: International Foundation liaison officer; studied in Europe (Portuguese of Indian ethnicity - son of Mozambicans)

*"It is a form of SE from here! Definitely it is an initiative of SE and you have to explain that in*

*your thesis: why Xitique is a form of SE."*
Source: Community Relations and Social Performance general manager at a multinational company (Black Mozambican)

These diverse perspectives suggest that subject opinions about Xitique are influenced by the ILs that inform their own practices, their degree of embeddedness and understanding of the local context, and previous exposure to developed countries' discourses of SE. All these factors play a role in determining which organisational forms serve as models and how institutional expectations are conveyed (Greenwood et al., 2008). The meanings assigned to Xitique and SE are inconsistent among informants and often biased towards ideal type social enterprises and their logics. They illustrate normative assumptions of what SE is or should be, sometimes disregarding context. This elucidates clashes between conflicting logics. Xitique challenges taken-for-granted assumptions of which logics are to be mobilised to undertake SE. It defies state logics, the role of formalisation in welfare, market logics, profit-generation as the only route to self-sufficiency, and corporation logics, rooted in bureaucracy and hierarchy.

Locally pooled peer funding mechanisms, like Xitique, encourage social monitoring in ways that push individuals to work more effectively within their communities; thus, acting as an incentive for entrepreneurship and microenterprises to thrive in contexts of subsistence (George, 2015). However, as illustrated in Table 11, Xitique questions global SE legitimising discourses. It was clearly pointed out that: Xitique is not profit-oriented in itself since there is no market involvement, nor business transactions underpinning its sustainability; It is necessity-driven, an unconventional model in which people act as beneficiaries of themselves; It lacks some SE attributes, such as considerable impact and scalability potential despite being widespread; Xitique is a cultural practice, thus regarded by some as traditional and possibly not sufficiently innovative; It is informal, lacking the legitimacy of a formal organisation; Lastly, the figure of the heroic social entrepreneur is absent - there is no SE protagonist.

In Chapter Five it was established that western-centric binary discourses of SE are utilised to legitimise existing social enterprises, namely busines-like models based on the figure of hero-entrepreneurs and social change models based on

community action (Nicholls, 2010). Xitique is more aligned with the latter for being community-led. However, it typically has small scale social and economic effects that tend to remain unnoticed and are not exactly considered to be transformational. Furthermore, there is no awareness at the grassroots of what SE is. Hence, Xitique groups are unable to undertake any efforts by themselves to gain legitimacy in the field of SE. For already being institutionalised, Xitique's legitimising efforts are local; aiming exclusively to maintain a reasonable level of participation and to urge people to remain compliant with their financial contributions. Table 12 illustrates how local logics of community and extended-family contribute to the legitimisation of Xitique and its members in order to guarantee the continuity of the practice and the social status of participants. Individual Xitique members strive to build and maintain their reputation as credible and reliable contributors. This ensures future entitlement to participation, and possibly the expansion of personal social networks. The table also explains how the internal legitimisation of Xitique interplays with established legitimising discourses from developed countries. It depicts the frames of reference influencing endogenous SE reasoning and practice, and reinforcing its collective identity.

**Table 12: Endogenous SE Legitimisation**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Xitique's legitimising mechanism:**<br><br>**Community logics** | **GROUP** | UBUNTU PRINCIPLES - aligned with globalised SE discourses of collective action and collaboration:<br><br>Shared responsibility<br>Social cohesion ⟶ **Collective Ownership**<br><br>Solidarity<br>Holism ⟶ **Inclusivenes**<br><br>**[Necessity Cooperation]** |
| **Xitique's (de)legitimising mechanism:**<br><br>**Extended-family logics** | **MEMBERS** | UBUNTU PRINCIPLES - non-aligned with globalised SE discourses for being necessity-driven & non-altruistic:<br><br>Honesty<br>Trust ⟶ **Social reputation**<br><br>Commitment<br>Reciprocity ⟶ **Personal gain**<br><br>**[Extended Family Reciprocity]** |
| **Frames of Reference** | | Collaboration; common thinking; mutual-help; trust and reciprocity; views predicated on collective over individual action; community bonds; extended-family |

| | |
|---|---|
| | cohesion |
| **Dominant Institutional Logics** | Community and Family |
| **Metaphor** | 'All for one' |

Nicholls (2010) analysis of SE paradigm-building discourses reveals how specific logics determine the legitimisation of ideal type models of SE before global authorities in the field. Table 12 illustrates how compatible logics of community and conflicting logics of extended-family, respectively, legitimise and delegitimise Xitique as a form of SE. On the one hand, ROSCAs conform to existing discourses of SE rooted in collective action and community-based collaboration. On the other hand, Xitique practitioners are also family members. They provide assistance to an extended-family so they do not comply with the image construed around social entrepreneurs as heroic individuals, simultaneously altruistic and efficient economic agents driven by opportunity. Xitique members possess paradoxical qualities of empathy and self-interest. Their agency is collective and voluntary but also coerced by social obligations and cultural pressures, leading to increased personal status that also benefits them due to necessity. It is the 'all for one' principle.

According to globalised logics of SE, social entrepreneurs may work collectively for the common good but the social value they create is not expected to affect them directly. Xitique agents are anonymous actors, independent from external support, and self-sufficient as a group which does not resort to profit-generation. However, the impact they generate is not considered significant. Most importantly, they are not fully altruistic heroes because they are part of the problem to be addressed. Altruism entails concern for the welfare of others, usually benefiting another at one's own expense (Andreoni, 1989). It implies a separation between the other and the self which negates the relational holism of Ubuntu (Tutu, 2000) in the first place. Ubuntu is associated with togetherness and embedded in an African solidarity that dismisses altruism and individualism since subjects are not supposed to be separate from one another.

> *Ubuntu has to do with* ***social solidarity****.* (A3)
>
> *It's about* ***collective initiative****,* ***togetherness****, and* ***social cohesion****.* (C3)

Legitimacy is often achieved through analogy (Cleaver, 2012). In the case of Xitique, the actors involved draw on analogous traditional practices, and their response to new circumstances is shaped with reference to accepted or past arrangements. As SE agents who are SE 'illiterate', they do not intend to comply with normative discourses and practices of SE. They are *social bricoleurs* (Zahra et al., 2009) constrained by available resources and their own capabilities; achieving optimal results considering their actual circumstances. Xitique's legitimacy as SE is obscured by its invisibility but, most importantly, by the lack of consideration of distinctive contexts. A more contextualised view of SE would contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon worldwide (Welter, 2011). In a context of deprivation and precariousness, community and family bonds enable the enactment of a SE that deviates from conventional forms. Xitique is deeply-embedded in the local culture; an endogenous practice rooted in tacit knowledge. It challenges prescriptive conceptualisations of SE whilst enabling sometimes limited yet effective solutions to everyday struggles.

## 6.5. Explanatory Summary

> *… and since you are here to study issues of SE, let me tell you there's a lot that have already been studied, already been written about, which has to do with endogenous processes and female initiatives: Xitique, groups of rotating savings and credit association, is growing and now is facing new challenges that arise as a result of that. Women mobilise themselves and organise these practices and then they reach a level of growth that makes capital and capitalism take over.*
>
> Statement from a Black Mozambican activist at a public debate on 'Gender and Politics'

This is a literal extract of a Mozambican CSO executive director's response to the question I posed to the panel at this debate during Q&A, after introducing myself as a researcher: What do you consider to be the real impact of women on entrepreneurship in Mozambique, and which are the main barriers they face? It is interesting to note how she raised Xitique spontaneously and related it to SE (without me mentioning anything about it) emphasising recent efforts from international actors to co-opt the practice.

Endogenous SE raises the issue as to whether contextual aspects such as acute poverty, endemic institutional voids, and cultural embeddedness, may shape the

enactment of SE from and for the grassroots in developing economies, through tacit knowledge and deeply embedded practices. This form of 'barefoot' SE, undertaken by the marginalised and the dispossessed, in necessity-driven and appears to be grounded on ILs which revolve around family and community. In fact, it is a case in which communities operate as threatening alternatives to organisations (O'Mahony & Lakhani, 2011). The legitimacy of Xitique as SE is controversial as it challenges normative assumptions of what SE is or should be. This thesis does not intend to redefine SE. Conversely, it argues that decontextualised understandings and disembedded agency may undermine informal arrangements or less conventional practices of SE attempting to circumvent institutional and resource constraints. This has implications for theory development since it problematises (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013) dominant legitimising discourses that offer a narrower perspective on the SE phenomenon by emphasising some if its logics over others (Bull, 2008).

Looking back to the endogenous SE conceptual model introduced at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 12), significant implications can be drawn. The diagram illustrates a feedback loop that reproduces informality. In this case, SE emerges from the grassroots to mitigate poverty. However, endogenous practices of SE, like Xitique, operate within closed social cycles; making use of a limited web of community and family relationships that confines available resources to people's own savings. This allows the poor to make do within their means and without external support, rearranging but not exactly transforming the environment.

Referring back to the research question, this chapter contains empirical evidence showing that endogenous SE in Mozambique is not shaped by globalised prescriptive logics of action. The theoretical contribution of this chapter is therefore twofold. First, Xitique is introduced and theorised as an endogenous practice of SE providing feasible yet limited solutions to social and economic problems via bricolage. Second, community and family logics underpinning Xitique are explained and linked to its non-consensual legitimacy as SE. Xitique self-sustains itself through local logics that dispense market-orientation. It implies a collective investment on each individual that turns SE agents into beneficiaries. This is consistent with Ubuntu's worldview but challenges established SE logics

that acknowledge social entrepreneurs as efficient economic agents driven by opportunity yet separate from the ones they serve. A Portuguese anthropologist living in Mozambique for many years and not specifically acquainted with the concept of SE explained:

> *The origin of Xitique, who started it, doesn't matter. It is interesting because it is an innovative response, and* ***not an individualised one*** *as normally entrepreneurship is depicted. Entrepreneurship within Xitique has this funny dimension of* ***allowing individual initiative to occur*** *which is nonetheless* ***grounded on communitarian relations****. It* ***articulates collective means and individual ends****.* (A3)

SE in a context of subsistence is necessity-driven. Paradigm-building discourses of resource-rich actors (Nicholls, 2010) reinforce the invisibility of necessity-driven SE. This chapter responds to calls for more contextualised research on SE. Conveying legitimacy to less resourceful, marginalised actors will open up opportunities for more inclusive approaches to poverty alleviation and grounded debate on the real potential, boundaries and benefits of legitimate SE across the world (Nicholls & Young, 2008). This is perhaps a more contextualised definition of SE from a black Mozambican working for a CSO:

> *SE is* ***recycling people*** *and reintroducing them in the economic circuit so that they can* ***support each other*** *and, through that,* ***empower themselves*** *improving their lives* (CS01)*.*

The next chapter yields insights into the value of reconciling discourses around SE. It discusses trans-cultural SE, suggested to be another form of SE which combines and translates local and globalised logics and practices.

# CHAPTER SEVEN:
# TRANS-CULTURAL SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION

> There still remains a fifth phase [of Transculturation] that we must reach some day - the phase of integration. Only a small minority has reached it thus far. This is tomorrow's phase, the last phase, where cultures fuse and conflict ceases, giving way to a tertium quid, a third entity and culture and to a new society culturally integrated, where mere racial factors have lost their dissociating power.
>
> Fernando Ortíz, *Phases of Transculturation* speech (1942)

## 7.1. Introduction

During this ethnographic study, some Mozambican CSOs and (trans)institutionally embedded actors were found to leverage a dual social capital model, local and international, and a mixed pool of logics to tackle resource constraints and institutional voids more effectively. Somewhere in between exogenous and endogenous SE lie trans-cultural forms of SE. Such forms are situated along the continuum stretching from social endeavours based on models generated outside, and then transplanted into the local context, to purely indigenous grassroots practices of SE. This is an especially important finding that suggests the emergence of trans-culturally embedded agents, who mobilise both local and globalised ILs. Trans-cultural SE is a compound of endogenous and exogenous understandings and practices of SE, mostly enacted by well-positioned Mozambican CSOs and associations.

The institutional environment in Mozambique comprises two sets of institutions and their multiple logics; the local and the global. This institutional complexity requires balancing the needs, interests and agendas of several stakeholders (Peredo & McLean, 2006) across sectors and countries, and coping with diverse and sometimes contradictory demands (Greenwood et al., 2011) so as to access all possible resources. Maputo's institutional context is complex and, therefore, theorised in this thesis as a single hybrid context, comprising local and international institutional influences; rather than two or more parallel contexts coexisting in the same space and time (Fletcher & Selden, 2016), which would

imply that there would never be any interaction between them. The local government was found to respond to government interests of multilateral and bilateral donors; the third sector comprises local organisations together with foreign charities and international NGOs; and the private sector ranges from international corporations to local companies that may collaborate.

The notion of 'mixed embeddedness', advanced by Kloosterman (2010), links macro and meso-level structures with micro-level agency from individual entrepreneurs. In turn, trans-cultural embeddedness concerns the field level position of some actors that enables them to navigate both local and international institutional arenas, drawing on relevant social networks and expanded cultural repertoires of action in order to gain access to resources from outside and inside the country. This is done in such a way that local identity is maintained, allowing trans-culturally embedded practices of SE to be considered legitimate by both international agents and local communities. The identified institutional hybridity of the local context comprising local and international institutions led to the concept of 'hybrid context' (see Figure 4 in Chapter Three), which should not be mistaken with other types of hybridity described in the SE literature such as hybrid fields and hybrid organisations (Pache & Santos, 2015) or hybrid logics (Tracey et al, 2011).

This chapter demonstrates that trans-cultural SE is another practice of SE unfolding in Mozambique, shaped by exogenous and endogenous cultural logical frameworks and responsive to contextual adversity. Trans-cultural SE manifests itself through the understandings, experiences and actions of local actors, who are well-connected and opportunity-driven but nonetheless, still attached to the communities being supported. In this case, the mobilisation of external sources of finance and market logics, combined with an intimate knowledge of the local context and culturally embedded community logics and practices, tends to lead to more effective outcomes and even institutional transformation (Desa, 2012).

This chapter empirically examines the mechanism underpinning the emergence of trans-cultural SE. Figure 21 provides a schematic representation of the conceptual framework developed to explain trans-cultural SE. The darker arrows represent ongoing relationships. The lighter arrows represent areas of influence. This

chapter makes two contributions to theory. First, it theorises how trans-cultural SE blends endogenous and exogenous understandings and practices of SE through the combination of logics of action traditionally associated with non-western societies and logics traditionally associated with western societies (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Friedland & Alford, 1991). Table 14, in Section 7.3., frames these logics within the interinstitutional system ideal types' model (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73). Second, it explains how trans-culturally embedded actors draw on multiple logics to access valuable resources, complying with western legitimising discourses of SE without compromising its local legitimacy. Table 15 in Section 7.4. depicts how a dual legitimacy is construed by combining bricolage and scientific modes of action (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). This approach has the potential to generate institutional transformation.

**Figure 21: Trans-cultural SE Conceptual Framework**

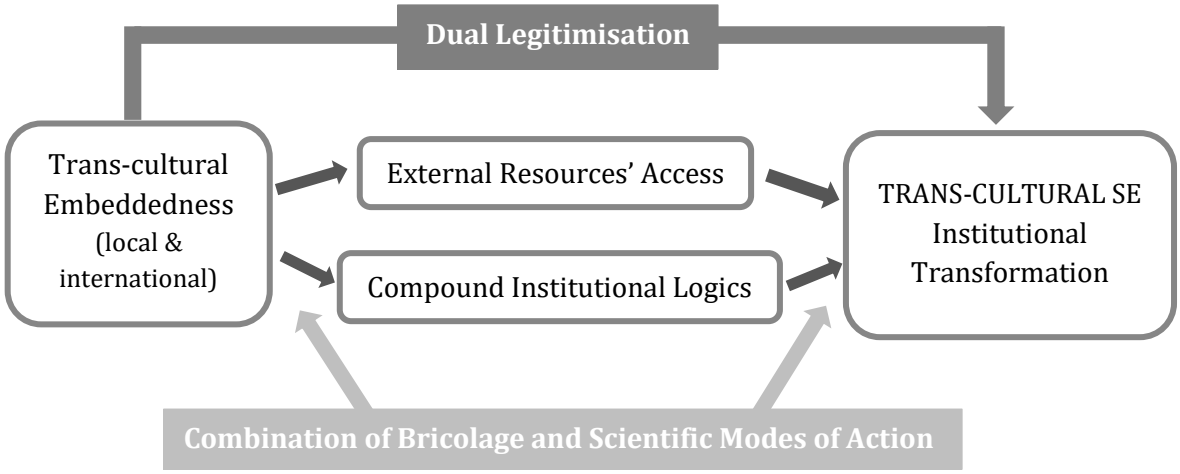



Figure 21 connects established concepts from theory with the new concept that emerged from the research data, namely *trans-cultural embeddedness*. This concept depicts the interplay between logics and legitimacy in a hybrid institutional environment characterised by two sets of institutions and their multiple logics. Table 13 maps the concepts used in this chapter.

**Table 13: Chapter Seven Mapping of Theoretical Concepts utilised in the Trans-cultural SE Framework**

| Theoretical Concepts (Figure 21) | Chapter-Section | Chapter Tables and Figures |
|---|---|---|
| Trans-cultural Embeddedness | 7.2. | |
| Bricolage vs. Scientific Modes of Action | 7.2.1. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Accessing External Resources | 7.3. | |
| Compound Institutional Logics | 7.4. | Table 14 |
| Dual legitimisation | 7.5. | Table 15 |
| Institutional Transformation | 7.5.1. | |

Drawing on the above conceptual framework, this chapter is structured as follows: First, the emerging concept of trans-cultural embeddedness is theorised through a description of well-positioned trans-culturally embedded agents and organisations, found to be immersed in both endogenous and exogenous cultural logical frameworks (Section 7.2.). Such actors are able to access valuable resources (Section 7.3.) and to leverage on the productive friction of multiple logics to overcome institutional voids (Section 7.4.). Second, the dual legitimisation of trans-cultural SE, local and international, is explained (Section 7.5.). The section concludes with a brief discussion of how trans-cultural practices of SE entail the potential to generate institutional transformation via a combination of bricolage and scientific modes of action (Subsection 7.5.1. and Section 7.6.).

## 7.2. Trans-cultural Embeddedness

Cultures are interpretive frameworks, cultivated in ways that resonate with broader societal beliefs (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001). The concept of *cultural embeddedness*, defined as "the culture of social groups, of which individuals are members, providing individuals with symbolic structures to understand and construct their environments" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 79), explains why specific ILs supersede others at the micro-level. However, the Mozambican culture is marked by a colonial past and miscegenation. The country gained independence from Portugal only in 1975 and, after experiencing a civil war that lasted for sixteen years (1976-1992), became the target of constant international development intervention. Maputo, in particular, holds a large international community. Several social groups from all over the world cohabit in this multicultural site over-reliant on foreign investment and donor funding (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007), and directly influenced by aid policies from outside countries and agencies. The recognition of context heterogeneity (Zahra & Wright, 2011), and the empirical observation of context hybridity as a result of two sets of

institutions operating simultaneously in the research setting led to unexpected findings.

Few studies bridge plural contexts (Welter, 2011) and explore how trans-cultural ventures reproduce or disrupt what may be considered a multiple or, at least, dualistic interinstitutional system representing different ideal-type logics. Indeed, when researching SE in a developing economy, fields of practice (national and international) and actor positions within such fields (Powell & Colyvas, 2008) become blurred. The actors under analysis and the cultural frameworks that affect their identities, interpretations and practices need to be carefully defined. It is essential to establish 'who is embedded in what' in order to understand how and why some actors become empowered (Hwang & Powell, 2005) to bring about change, whilst others remain disenfranchised and excluded. After a thorough analysis of the plurality of local actors encountered in the ground and the hybrid context in which some of them are embedded (exposing them to compound ILs), this thesis develops the concept of trans-cultural embeddedness which builds upon the previously mentioned concept of cultural embeddedness. *Trans-cultural embeddedness* is defined in this thesis as the immersion of individuals or social groups in a hybrid culture in which exogenous and endogenous ILs co-exist. It may result in transculturation.

The term 'transculturation' was developed by Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in 1947, who describes the phenomenon of cultural merging and converging (Ortíz, 1995) until it reaches a stage of integration. It is not synonymous with acculturation (i.e. transition from one culture to another). Rather, it implies bringing societies together through the emergence of new hybrid cultures which connect or combine logics of more than one culture. It also goes beyond the idea of multiculturalism as it breaks down boundaries by "seeing oneself in the other" (Cuccioletta, 2002, p. 1). Issues of transculturation become increasingly relevant considering the current process of globalisation and how it has permeated SE.

More recently, the emergence of hybridity, affecting developing country organisations operating in the field of development, has been noticed. According to Calvo & Morales (2015, p. 4), "hybridity captures the integration (or mingling) of cultural signs and practices from the coloniser and the colonised cultures" leaving

room for the creative reproduction and transformation of institutions, as individuals and enterprises "incorporate the 'busines-like' managerialist discourse of the SE model within their traditional ethos". In this work, Calvo & Morales specifically draw attention to western impositions on non-profit organisations, coercing them to become more market oriented.

A Mozambican lecturer in entrepreneurship, who is actively involved in a variety of CSO movements, described himself as a social entrepreneur and an institutional entrepreneur. This illustrates trans-cultural SE, which is opportunity-driven and based on empowerment, and its relation with institutional work.

> *I am also a **social activist**. I teach, but I work with NGOs and with the civil society. We seek **financial sustainability**. We **help** but also **influence** people. We do a work of a **social nature**. I think this is a form of SE, because then we end up influencing people so that they can achieve a better quality of life and become **self-sufficient**. There's an **opportunity for SE**; people who can do **advocacy work on behalf of these others who don't have links to the circles of power**. Activism has greater potential when it comes to **reforming institutions**. And here we have some examples of **this kind of SE**: organisations with social aims which also create an impact by **changing how we behave** in society.* (A2)

The paradox of embedded agency (Holm, 1995) raises the question as to how actors who are embedded in existing institutional arrangements are capable of championing institutional transformation (Maguire, 2007; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Mair & Martí, 2006; Martí & Mair, 2009). Trans-cultural embeddedness is therefore, a concept that addresses such a paradox, precisely because it acknowledges the existence of hybrid institutional contexts in which some agents may be immersed in the first place, i.e. their cultural embeddedness is trans-cultural in nature. Actor trans-cultural embeddedness puts them in a position where they can understand what they know and play around with how they may recombine their multifaceted knowledge; deliberately ignoring or leveraging on a mixed pool of logics for accessing resources. This enables them to contextualise and legitimise their endeavours locally and globally. The following

quote shows how indigenous actors acknowledge trans-culturality as an important factor driving local SE.

> *In my view, SE is more frequent where there is more **know-how** and people with different natures, origins… different **cultures converging**.* (CSO1)

As mentioned in Chapter Five, there is not a legal form for social enterprises in Mozambique. This institutional void affects the governance of organisations willing to combine mixed sources of funding (Ebrahim et al., 2015). Local not-for-profit organisations receive donations from the third and private sectors. Having to comply with local institutional requirements and expectations, limits their profit-generating activities. However, CSOs in Mozambique were described by participants as increasingly proactive and engaged in local affairs.

> *There is a **civil society structure** that does exist, it is **relatively active**; there are some weaknesses of course but it is **developing**.* (UN1)

CSOs, locally known as associations, result from the deployment of civil society collectives and are usually representative of social movements. This relationship between SE and a tradition of social activism has also been identified in other African countries such as neighbour South Africa (Littlewood & Holt, 2015; Karanda & Toledano, 2012). A Mozambican member of a local NGO explained:

> *The question we broach when assessing 'market-oriented' entrepreneurship versus SE is very linked to sustainability. **People who are involved in SE, we refer to them here as social activists**.* (LNGO2)

This relationship is an interesting finding that emphasises collective action within SE, and its institutional dimension (Dacin et al., 2011). Although SE as a research field, especially in the context of developed economies, has been demarcated from social movements (Mair et al., 2012), both social movements and SE are concerned with social transformation (Mair & Martí, 2006). Also, critics of international development argue that poverty and powerlessness are related. This implies that

emancipatory social movements and the empowerment of civil society in developing economies play a crucial role in poverty alleviation rather than corporate charity and paternalistic aid programmes (Korten, 1995). Indigenous development alternatives appear to be encouraged by popular social movements (Brohman, 1995) that trigger institutional transformation from within. The importance of well-travelled qualified indigenous actors and community engagement on tackling poverty was highlighted:

> *We,* ***outsiders****,* ***are responsible for ruining the Mozambican culture****. We didn't understand what was going on and created dependency.* ***The way forward****, bearing fruit, is through* ***local people returning to their villages and helping*** *instead of foreigners who might be perceived as people who want something for themselves!* (R2)

In addition to the above mentioned connection between SE, social movements, and the non-profit sector (associations), it was also found that some social ventures in Mozambique conglomerate two types of organisations, for-profit and not-for-profit, in order to navigate regulatory constraints and take full advantage of the system. This 'one in two' model requires expertise and the existence of international networks. It tends to be taken forward by expatriates (see Chapter Five) but some exceptions were detected as the study progressed. Expressions of trans-cultural embeddedness were consistently observed leading for the most part to alternative locally-rooted practices of SE not carried out by the grassroots but by respectable actors instead, who are better positioned to access external funding and gain legitimacy. These ranged from indigenous actors exposed to western influences to, more rarely, foreign actors strongly embedded in the local culture.

> *We think that it is important to be* ***in tune with reality****,* ***understand the people, the local culture****. It might seem that there is* ***resistance*** *from us, but it isn't really resistance, it's* ***just the way we organise****.* (A1)

> *If people have* ***contacts and a social network*** *there is openness here.* (DC2)

Some well-positioned agents and organisations were found to combine local and globalised ILs. Trans-cultural organisations with a primary social mission tend to be local CSOs or for-profit/non-profit conglomerates. This signals the local importance of associativism and translating practices:

> *Many projects currently in existence have come about through* ***associativism****… the life of associations. Of course there's lack of support but I think* ***the best way to work in SE here is as an association*** *[…] SE* ***models have to be completely adapted****. You have to understand the values and the cultural system you're operating in. Here, SE is much more* ***an issue of the community****.* (DC1)

> *What I mean by associativism is that* ***being together helps us to solve our own problems better than when we are alone****. This is not exclusively an African principle. In the whole world* ***cooperation*** *is considered to be beneficial.* (Se5)

Trans-cultural SE implies embeddedness in an encompassing hybrid culture in which compound logics of market and community are strategically deployed to access external resources and ensure legitimacy. This combination of logics enables the alteration of institutional arrangements (Venkataraman et al., 2016). Trans-culturally embedded social groups who are in the forefront of pressing for social changes tend to be black African middle classes who are increasingly engaged in civil society and public affairs (Karanda & Toledano, 2012). Normally, these actors possess social capital but still have to overcome significant resource constraints and institutional voids. This is done through drawing upon bricolage and scientific modes of action (Lévi-Strauss, 1966), as explained in the next subsection.

### 7.2.1. *Combination of Bricolage and Scientific Modes of Actions*

Lévi-Strauss (1966) contrasts two modes of thought that translate into distinct modes of action: bricolage and scientific[9]. Both are equally valid and not supposed to be stages in the evolution of knowledge. Whilst in bricolage obstacles, such as

[9] Often translated, from the original French book*: La Pensée Sauvage,* as 'engineering'.

institutional voids, are avoided by making use of a diverse repertoire of resources and tools collected overtime - extensive yet limited - since there is nothing else at their disposal; scientific modes of action are enacted through the procurement of means which have been conceived for the well-defined demands of a specific project. This implies that the 'untamed' thought underpinning bricolage aims at practical coping, which is not planned beforehand or based on the availability of 'appropriate' resources. On the other hand, scientific thought entails asking a question and designing a determined solution which is nevertheless subordinated to tools, materials and methods previously defined for that purpose. 'Scientists' strive to make their way out of and go beyond the constraints imposed by a particular context, creating a new environment via planning and execution. 'Bricoleurs' recombine resources at hand to new purposes, rearranging the environment in sometimes unpredictable ways. It is clear from the above that accessibility to critical tangible and intangible resources plays a fundamental role in which of these approaches is most feasible (Desa & Basu, 2013).

As mentioned, exogenous SE is enacted through development projects engendered from the outside or smaller scale social ventures that replicate existing SE models from developed countries. These practices are characterised by scientific modes of action in the sense that priority is given to acquire or develop crucial resources for creating a new environment rather than making use of what already exists locally (see Chapter Five). Conversely, endogenous SE is driven by necessity and undertaken by the grassroots. This means that severe resource constraints are circumvented by mastering the local environment through bricolage (see Chapter Six). Trans-cultural SE, in turn, entails a combination of bricolage and scientific modes of action. This is due to its embeddedness in a hybrid context in which resources are still scarce but potentially accessible due to the existence of relevant social networks. In other words, trans-cultural embeddedness allows institutional voids to be addressed in ways that may lead to the transformation of the environment.

> *To bring an idea from Europe, you have to consider what is* ***implementable based on our local reality****. It's like an earring… Instead of using raw material that we don't have we have to* ***make it***

> ***out of what we have here****. That's what we need to fortify our initiatives!* (WB2)

By recombining local and international resources and logics, trans-cultural SE neither ignores nor simply rearranges what exists, adding into it. The connections established between these three forms of SE and bricolage or scientific modes of action are based on the dominant managerial tendencies observed among this variety of practices. This means that a dynamic continuum is acknowledged, in which exclusively scientific or bricolage modes of action may not exist in isolation but interpenetrate and predominate over one another in different degrees.

Trans-cultural embeddedness emerged during fieldwork and subsequent analysis. It was not considered at the initial stages of this study. In addition, people undertaking trans-cultural SE seem to be a minority currently emerging in the research setting. A Mozambican social entrepreneur highlighted:

> *We need to have a* ***connecting link*** *with the local culture and the people which is* ***difficult to find****!* (Se7)

As a consequence, the amount of data gathered on trans-cultural SE is significantly less compared to the materials collected on exogenous and purely endogenous forms of SE. However, as the study progressed several organisations were found to express degrees of trans-cultural embeddedness. One of them is MRA, a Mozambican recycling association responsible for the installation of a network of ecopoints (i.e. recycling containers) in Maputo, but also working to replicate its model and raise awareness for this environmental issue in other parts of the country. MRA provides employment for marginalised groups of society, such as HIV-positive women, ragmen, and gives them opportunities to find their way out of poverty. This CSO was co-founded by two well-connected social entrepreneurs: Belgian and French. This is in itself an exceptional case in that expatriates deliberately avoided setting up a for-profit company despite the organisation's goal to become increasingly sustainable in the market place. One of their Mozambican co-workers explained the importance to play by the rules in order to gradually gain local and international legitimacy:

> *They [the founders] started implementing* ***an association*** *then, slowly, they brought in purely organisational activities from the* ***Occidental model****. At that point* ***the government can't stop you*** *because you're already at that stage. Here, you have to report it as associativism but little by little you can gain that other status because you can't request* ***external funds*** *without that. It has to* ***start at the community*** *and then to develop that relationship with the government.* ***The government needs to get involved*** *as a main actor for you to develop some practices well.* (CSO1)

It is clear from the above that MRA made do with resources at hand (local institutional arrangements and regulations) in order to safeguard local embeddedness, and then access external funding without disregarding the role of the government. This combination of bricolage and scientific modes of action may lead to institutional change precisely because it is not confronting local institutions and logics but gradually transforming them.

Another example of trans-cultural SE was identified when interviewing the head of a smaller Mozambican CSO; a middle class black women not as well-connected as the previously presented founders. This association was created by five business women who managed to get the support of a large telecommunications company to take forward their initiative. Interestingly, she described what enabled the initial financing of this venture:

> *We've* ***used Xitique to start the association****. We've made a Xitique between the founding partners. We saved money every month for it* ***instead of using it ourselves****.* (CSO5)

The incorporation of this association was possible through the deployment of cultural repertoires of action as means to access local funding. Currently, part of the activities undertaken by the organisation generates profit to sustain the social mission. Again, bricolage and scientific modes of action were effectively combined potentially leading to institutional transformation. Xitique was adapted to suit a different purpose and utilised as an enabling tool for conventional SE.

HOMU was also found to be illustrative of trans-cultural SE. The 'Men for Change Network' is an activist CSO, engaging men in reducing gender inequalities. The organisation adopts a long-term approach to changing behaviours and attitudes. In fact, HOMU represents a wider movement - *MenEngage Africa* - consisting of seventeen country networks across Africa. The managers of the programme in Mozambique include proudly avowed Mozambican activists: reputable journalists and researchers. This demonstrates that the association benefits from significant social capital and international support. Although donor-dependent, HOMU's vision is translated into the local context through practices of bricolage which build on local ILs to cope with practicalities, and realistically address traditional customs that cannot be changed overnight.

> *There was the need to question all those things about masculinities, because they are* ***detrimental to men too****! You needed to take the view that the 'active player' should also be involved. So it comes a little bit out of that […] When I say 'culture' I mean that we need to* ***be careful when changing our cultures****. I'll give you an example: We talk a lot about something called kutxinga. Normally when a man dies, the woman, the widow, has to have sex with the brother-in-law to 'purify' the house. Often this leads to HIV transmission. However there are several ways to practice kutxinga… there are* ***ways to transform that into something positive****. You could call the religious leader, bring the bible and do a simple prayer instead of having sexual interaction. The only thing is some people insist you have to have flesh with flesh. So there are* ***feminist groups against it****. Sometimes that approach of saying "****let's get rid of this practice****" doesn't have the right effect. These are* ***cultural customs****. So I think a '****substitution approach****' will help much more.* (CSO4)

Trans-cultural SE is undertaken by reasonably resourceful and well-connected local actors. The following section elaborates on how these actors leverage on their social capital to overcome resource constraints.

## 7.3. Accessing External Resources

Trans-culturally embedded actors possess a network of contacts that facilitate access to resources from inside and outside the country.

> *In order to get those funds, you have to pass this whole scheme in which the only survivors are the ones* ***who are known and have internal connections****.* (CSO1)

This other case: *The Savings Bank for Women Development* (SBWD) is more extensively developed in this chapter as a truly illustrative example of trans-cultural SE, and how embeddedness in an encompassing hybrid culture may affect the management and outcomes of an organisation, via effectively linking bricolage and scientific modes of action.

**Figure 22: Premises of the Savings Bank for Women Development**


The SBWD, incorporated in 2013, is an initiative of fifteen highly connected Mozambican women who joined in association and started a monthly Xitique for five years, which is still ongoing, to launch the Bank. The idea was to create a customised bank to address the struggles women face when trying to access credit from commercial banks, with elevated interest rates, in order to finance their businesses. The target group are entrepreneurial women, but the Bank is also open to serve men. It provides access to 'cheap' credit, management assistance and training. Graça Machel[10] is the patron of the Bank and their main partner is GAPI (a Mozambican financial institution for development). One of the co-founders, and

[10] Mozambican politician and humanitarian - the widow of former South African president Nelson Mandela and of Mozambique's first president Samora Machel.

the face of the Bank, was interviewed. Rita is a black Mozambican woman who can be considered part of the national elite. She graduated in accounting and is a renowned serial entrepreneur; first woman to create a large Mozambican company in the private sector. After independence, Rita joined the Youth Organisation of Frelimo, the ruling party, worked at different Ministries and lived in Malawi. Later on, she founded *ECOAIDS* (Business against Aids). The mission of this venture is to fight HIV/AIDS in the workplace. It has over eighty member companies.

> *I had the **opportunity to go abroad**. I **met many people** and **experienced other cultures**.* (Se5)

Rita is a trans-culturally embedded actor who clearly recognises the importance of building networks of contacts; what she describes as:

> *An **essential tool to access resources** through **collaboration**.* (Se5)

The SBWD is an interesting example of how bricolage and scientific modes of action can be successfully drawn upon to mobilise financial resources from different sources. The Bank was incorporated as a for-profit company. However, the involvement of the founding partners with CSOs was acknowledged as a strategic move to overcome local barriers and access additional resources, including further social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

> *What have helped us a lot was to get involved with **associations**. This gave us the opportunity to increase our **network**, to contact with **other forms of thinking**, and it is also **where resources can be found** [donations]. We have decided that each woman joining the group [founders] would have to be the president of an association. We did this because it is easier to **disseminate the information** when you come from an association.* (Se5)

Furthermore, the Bank's owners decided to do a high amount Xitique in order to raise capital that would give SBWD the financial credibility to then ask for a loan.

> *The idea to do Xitique was born because every time we'd go to a meeting the focus was on the **hardship of getting finance**. Money is*

> *expensive and commercial banks have their rules. They have to buy and sell money so we had to sit down with them and **find a way through**. That's when we decided to **join**. I've spoken with Graça Machel to **get her to cooperate with us**. We've worked things through and started with 2500 Mts, on the basis that we wouldn't take this **Xitique money** but **save it on the bank instead**. This means we are **already buying our shares**.* (Se5)

Rita possesses significant connections inside and outside the country. She utilised Xitique as a means to access the resources needed to legitimise SBWD with the Bank of Mozambique. She also collaborated with partners, capable of influencing gate keepers, like the government, and to facilitate access to other sources of finance, such as grants and donations. SBWD was incorporated as a private company; a micro-finance organisation that charges reduced interest rates for micro-credit loans. The financial sustainability of the company is paramount. However, Xitique is still being utilised. It increased to 5000 Mts/month and it is now expected to assist the expansion of the Bank.

> *We're **still doing Xitique**, and that's because we need to increase our capital **to be able to expand** without having to rely exclusively on our revenue.* (Se5)

This is a case where different modes of action are being productively combined. Xitique became legitimate as a means to qualify for a loan, not via its formalisation but based on a concrete outcome: the generation of savings that add value to a company and can be used at different stages of venture development. SBWD is accessing external sources of finance through the mobilisation of both community and market logics. Obviously, social capital and personal reputation facilitate the process of effectively overcoming resource constraints. The intimate knowledge of the local context and embedded practices enabled the organisation to make use of cultural repertoires of action that do not clash but actually align with and potentiate SE market underpinnings. SBWD goals include financial sustainability and scalability together with community involvement, lobbying and advocacy. This suggests the political dimension of collective SE (Lawrence et al., 2012), and the

transformative capacity of trans-cultural embedded entrepreneurial practices to create interventionary citizenship (Daskalaki et al., 2015).

> *Yes, there is [space for SE to have an impact on development]. One aspect is to have people who are **available**, interested and who have the **right skills**. To undertake SE you need **access to resources**. But **they have to be Mozambicans and open-minded**.* (LNGO2)

## 7.4. Compound Institutional Logics

This section explores the logics underpinning trans-cultural practices of SE, i.e. the taken-for-granted social prescriptions (Battilana & Dorado, 2010) that are mobilised to assign meaning to this alternative form of SE. Trans-culturally embedded actors draw upon apparently contradictory logics to conduct institutional work. They blend, for the sake of sustainability, ILs traditionally associated with non-western societies with logics traditionally associated with western societies (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Friedland & Alford, 1991), notably community and market. Trans-cultural embeddedness allows flexible combinations of logics as repertoires of action to be used to address institutional voids. Some actors are immersed in a hybrid context. They have been exposed to an extended cultural toolkit (Swidler, 1986) which accounts for context, and can be strategically configured (McPherson & Sauder, 2013) according to the task at hand. Hence, translated practices of SE undertaken by local elites are shaped by broader cultural logical frameworks and, as a result, enable the transformation of existing endogenous and exogenous institutional arrangements.

Vignette 6 is based on a combination of excerpts from field notes. It depicts reflections triggered by an increasing awareness of the logics unfolding in the field, issues of embeddedness, and the meaning of trans-cultural.

**Vignette 6: Reflections Leading to Trans-cultural Awareness**

| |
|---|
| It exasperates me the stubborn reluctance of some intellectuals (especially in developed countries) to accept the existence of western rationalities, as it exasperates me having to acknowledge them in my study. What I can expose is what I am observing and experiencing here.<br>There are indeed imperialist and neo-colonialist logics (not sure if 'neo' at all) operating in Mozambique, perpetuated by developed nation agendas and self-interested goals on the |

part of some individuals. But worse sometimes is to recognise that people, such as me, who are strongly against this enduring reality, the ones trying to mingle and to become part of 'them', can only attain an incomplete degree of immersion. As a reciprocal process, it would be simultaneously naïve and arrogant to forget that embeddedness requires both parties to be put into the equation. More, it looks like these altruistic actors end up being somehow more imperialist… imposing norms, values and beliefs without even realising! They tend to express this romantic protectionism which seems to me now much more perverted at times. And now I feel terrible as I know there are indeed well-intentioned people amongst 'imperialists', 'exploiters', and 'patronisers'.
As an ethnographer, what is left for me to do is to describe my story with integrity and faithfulness. All I can say is that, whether intellectuals like it or not, western and non-western cultures do exist and, amid their own heterogeneity and growing interweaving, they interact, clash but also reach degrees of harmonisation. Differences among societies have to be recognised, not simply tolerated or neglected as if they never existed.

*Source: Fieldwork diary and recorded reflections between February and April 2014*

ILs affect the understandings and behaviour of organisations and individuals (Thornton, 2004). In this case, logics of community and market legitimise trans-cultural agency before other community members and international SE promoters. Table 14 frames the logics of trans-cultural SE within the 'interinstitutional system ideal types' (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73). The identified logics underpinning trans-cultural accounts and observed practices are positioned in a societal context which simultaneously conforms with and complements normative institutional expectations of a hybrid context that includes endogenous and exogenous rationalities.

**Table 14: Interinstitutional System Ideal Types for Trans-cultural SE**

| Endogenous SE | Institutional Orders | |
|---|---|---|
| **Categories** | **Community** | **Market** |
| **Root Metaphor** | Common boundary ↓ Community as resource | Transaction |
| **Sources of Legitimacy** | Unity of will<br>Belief in trust & reciprocity | Share price ↓ Shared value |
| **Sources of Authority** | Commitment to community values & ideology [Ubuntu] | Shareholder activism ↓ Stakeholder activism |
| **Sources of Identity** | Emotional connection<br>Ego [& collective] - satisfaction & reputation | Faceless ↓ Sustainability |
| **Basis of Norms** | Group membership | Self interest ↓ Mutual interest |
| **Basis of Attention** | Personal investment in group ↓ Group investment in people | Status in market ↓ Status in economy |
| **Basis of Strategy** | Increase status & honour of members & practices ↓ Status of members & subsistence practices | Increase efficiency profit ↓ Increase efficiency market |
| **Informal Control Mechanisms** | Visibility of actions | Industry analysts ↓ Academia, Ashoka, Skoll |
| **Economic System** | **'Opportunity'**<br>Cooperation | **'Fair'**<br>Market Capitalism |

*Source: Adapted from Thornton et al. (2012, p. 73)*

The table zooms in on the two dominant institutional orders that are mobilised in trans-cultural forms of SE: community and market. These were directly extracted from Tables 4 (Chapter Five) and 10 (Chapter Six). The solid-lined cells indicate pre-existing, or adjusted categorical elements that were incorporated in the

interinstitutional system ideal types' model. The dashed-lined cells indicate categories that were inverted. Underlined words between solid brackets indicate additions to existing categorical elements.

The following quotation from one of the founding partners of SBWD illustrates how logics of community and market are recombined and transformed to enable each other.

> *We are all Mozambicans; the **Bank** is strictly a **Mozambican initiative** to assist the **local community**. We did **Xitique** because we didn't have the money, didn't have the **capital to start a bank**! We didn't want to ask for finance with **empty hands**. We had to show them **commitment** and that's why we then got support as we could provide **a form of guarantee**.* (Se5)

This actor deliberately connects local identity (community) with aid-independence (market), and opportunity-driven resource mobilisation (market) with indigenous mutual-help practices (community). Interestingly, one of SBWD's beneficiaries who was also interviewed expressed more rigid views that clearly demarcate these two logics instead of combining them.

> ***I could use Xitique** money to pay for this loan **but it seems like cheating...** The credit money has to be repaid **based on my business income** and the profit I get from it.* (Xw1)

This participant is not willing to combine endogenous and exogenous practices. She believes that Xitique is to be used on her domestic needs, whilst a loan is something separate that should be paid with profit generated for that effect. Conversely, SBWD and its employees expressed extremely flexible approaches which emerge from the combination of community and market logics. The Bank blends collective and individual logics of action. For example, it provides loans to both groups and individuals. Its model is based on approachability, including informal training opportunities for empowering their clients. Simultaneously, the Bank is market-oriented and takes the financial sustainability of their client businesses very seriously. For that reason: monitoring procedures are in place to evaluate what is happening on the ground; collateral is needed for a loan to be

granted; and interest rates are charged. This does not mean that contextual circumstances are not being accounted for, on the contrary. By adopting flexible means to assess and support the borrowing capacity of prospective clients, the Bank ends up being more inclusive and increasing its own efficiency and profitability. The bank's credit analyst explained:

> *We can't verify rigorously all information but we have* ***other means to check on these businesses.*** *Some of our clients travel on a regular basis to get products to resell here. They need to have travelling documents, a passport with entries and stamps… The biggest challenge we face* ***dealing with the informal sector*** *is the* ***lack of documentation****. Many businesses do not have any kind of certification. Nobody will give you a receipt. Under these circumstances we request their note book. If somebody really has a business they must have some sort of* ***record keeping****. Then we go there and* ***check on their busines****, any improvements and how it is progressing. That will signal whether the* ***money has been properly invested****. We do have that* ***duty****.* (Se5emp2)

SBWD is also capitalising on Xitique and utilising this practice with a novel application in mind, i.e. accumulating cash reserves to build and grow a SE venture. Xitique is valued when undertaken by the Bank's customers. The Bank's general manager believes that it reduces default rates by promoting savings that can be applied to generate income. Thus, Xitique can be leveraged and no longer be a support structure for subsistence businesses only. This is a genuinely trans-cultural approach.

> *We suggested that the small* ***Xitique*** *amounts they manage to deposit in our bank can then, after reaching a certain volume, be* ***converted*** *into* ***term deposits****,* ***individually or in groups*** *of 5-10 people.* (Se5emp)

SBWD positions itself as a bank with a different approach: more adapted and embedded in the local reality. It does not privilege legal businesses over informal ones lacking proper financial records.

> *There are some micro-credit banks but I doubt they provide similar services. Our interest rates are just 3.5% and collateral may be the business or the client's belongings. In commercial banks there isn't any* ***counselling****. We speak with our clients in their* ***native language*** *and* ***explain*** *how it works. Our role is to* ***empower them****. They open the account, make a deposit, and then we talk so they can start making transactions since they might think that their money stays there and it ends like that… Therefore, we make them see* ***they can save*** *but we also provide training sessions and explanations on* ***how to grow their businesses****. When it takes to sign the documents for opening an account or get credit, they* ***use their finger*** *[those who don't know how to read or write]. Most banks give loans to be repaid in 2 years' time. This is too long and the client reaches a point where motivation may be lost. We offer* ***smaller amounts*** *and* ***shorter repayment periods*** *and that is more advantageous for them too because, after repaying, they can* ***ask for another loan****. That's why many people* ***are so receptive*** *to this bank.* (Se5emp)

Some CSOs also manifested a similar combination of logics. Logics of community rooted in social movements are emphasised together with financial sustainability and market-oriented activities aiming at social transformation.

> *Community and business can be combined. Some practices involving returns may create* ***conflict*** *but* ***a hybrid approach is possible to attain****; that's why the* ***community has to be sensitised*** *for approaches in line with SE, to some extent via financial activities. That means to leave a circuit and channel it into another. That's balance, as* ***nothing in nature is lost****.* (CSO1)

The compound institutional framework of trans-cultural SE leads to its dual legitimacy.

## 7.5. Dual Legitimisation

Legitimacy has been defined as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially

constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). In a hybrid context where local and international institutions coexist, a 'generalised' perception or assumption of adequacy is ambiguous. Hence, the legitimacy of a trans-cultural practice of SE must be dual; granted by both global authorities in the field of SE and local stakeholders who play complementary roles as SE enabling actors. The legitimising efforts of this kind of organisations are targeted at international constituencies, such as donors and exogenous SE promoters, and local constituencies, such as the government and beneficiary communities. Trans-cultural forms of SE not only express compound logics of community and market but also reinforce their valorisation in the local context (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Bourdieu, 1977). This entails a mix of conformation and institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), most of the time leading to unintended consequences, which is facilitated by trans-cultural embeddedness, social capital and social prestige.

The concept of institutional work argues that individual or collective actors purposefully maintain, disrupt and/or create institutions through everyday practices (Lawrence et al., 2011). This implies navigating across ILs (Martí & Mair, 2009) and filling in institutional voids via their productive friction. Actors drawing on both globalised and local logics secure legitimacy by: (1) conforming to established discourses of SE in order to access vital resources (2) translating practices in order to overcome local barriers to acceptance and liabilities of newness. This type of institutional work does not involve the creation of new hybrid logics, e.g. resulting from market efforts to co-opt endogenous community practices. Instead, it bridges existing exogenous and endogenous institutions to contextualise SE through multiple logics. Although the combined logics remain intact, the result of their combination is more effective.

> *What we have is **a savings bank**. It's not the same as micro-finance. We look at what people feel when going to the bank. They do fear private banks, they are **intimidating** for them. Ours is **different**. You can get in wearing your capulana [a type of a sarong worn primarily in Mozambique]… if there are babies crying, no problem! We have a tent where we all meet on a monthly basis to **cash up**, find out about*

> *their struggles with work, repayment difficulties and so on… We manage sometimes to* ***anticipate problems*** *so people realise that they really have to* ***pay back****. It's* ***not a coercive type of pressure but a psychological one****.* (Se5)

In the particular case of SBWD, trans-cultural SE is not transformative for undermining the role of commercial banks or destabilising traditional ROSCAs, but for making some banking services more inclusive and customised and for extending Xitique practices to new applications.

According to Zott & Huy (2007), legitimisation is ultimately a symbolic and discursive process which requires meaning to be created and communicated differently to different actors. This requires an instrumental mobilisation of logics (Venkataraman et al., 2016; Thornton et al., 2012), and is especially important when considering novel social enterprising practices still unfolding and lacking formal and informal legitimacy (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994) in developing economies' contexts. The project coordinator of an international NGO explained issues related to the lack of local legitimacy.

> *The* ***community may reject*** *a foreign organisation because it doesn't understand the* ***cultural system from within****.* (INGO4)

Table 15 illustrates how logics of market (underpinning 'Fair Market Capitalism') and community (underpinning 'Opportunity Cooperation') contribute to the legitimisation of trans-cultural SE at international and local levels. Legitimising efforts targeted at international actors entail conformation with normative SE discourses in order to overcome resource constraints. Legitimising efforts targeted at local actors involve a translation of SE practices in order to address institutional resistance.

**Table 15: Trans-cultural SE Legitimisation**

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Dual Legitimising Mechanism</td><td>GLOBAL</td><td>MARKET LOGICS<br>Material resources recombination<br><br>Alignment with global SE discourses of financial sustainability ⟶ Conformation<br><br>- Scientific Approach: SE best practice<br>- Bricolage Approach: Local effectiveness<br><br>[Fair Market Capitalism]</td></tr>
<tr><td>LOCAL</td><td>COMMUNITY LOGICS<br>Cultural resources recombination<br><br>Alignment with local beliefs and values of commitment, trust and reciprocity ⟶ Translating Practices<br><br>- Scientific Approach: Prestige and resourcefulness<br>- Bricolage Approach: Local identity & embeddedness<br><br>[Opportunity Cooperation]</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Frames of Reference</td><td>Social activism; cooperation; views predicated on collective movements and community action; social networks and social prestige; financial sustainability</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dominant Institutional Logics</td><td>Community and Market</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Metaphor</td><td>‘All for all’</td></tr>
</table>

Translation assumes that ideas and practices are interpreted and reconstructed during the process of adoption (Czarniawska, 2008; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). For example, the following quotation from the communication’s manager of HOMU (Men for Change Network) illustrates how the organisation contextualises its initiatives and subtly counteracts local barriers.

> ***There was no organisation for men in this area of gender****. So this represents innovation.* ***Men suffer*** *with patriarchy too and women themselves reproduce these patterns! We* ***focus on younger people*** *who tend to have a more* ***open mind****. We carry out our campaigns challenging stereotypes you know where? At* ***improvised bars*** *full of people who stay there to drink… that whole thing. We use these*

> *entertainment sites because they are* ***predominantly male spaces****.* (CSO4)

A mix of scientific and bricolage approaches become part of the legitimising process of trans-cultural SE within international and local spheres. Global legitimacy is conveyed by a scientific approach that stresses SE best practice in its quest for the most efficient resources, for instance, profit generation, and bricolage as a means for customisation and local effectiveness. Local legitimacy is granted by scientific approaches that transpire the resourcefulness of local elites, such as capability to lobby and engage the government through social capital, and bricolage as a means to ensure the local identity and cultural embeddedness of SE.

> *The founders are attempting to get the* ***government fully involved****. This is still quite new; we have just opened in October… When asking the state for any kind of support, we have to* ***show them what we are doing****. Graça Machel drove this project together with Dr Adriano Maleiane [CEO BNI] and Dr Luisa Diogo [Prime-minister 2004-2010]...* ***they had an important role****. After the founders gathered the amount they did through* ***Xitique****, they gained the* ***credibility*** *to get supported.* (Se5emp)

The frames of reference influencing trans-cultural SE, based on western-centric and non-western centric assumptions and repertoires of action, are also highlighted in Table 15. They encompass social movements (Rao et al., 2000) and effective community action from well-connected and prestigious CSOs that contemplate issues of financial sustainability through market activities. Hence, trans-cultural SE entails local collective efforts to empower local communities: an 'all for all' principle. Table 15 depicts the relationship between the mobilisation of specific logics and the legitimising efforts undertaken in a hybrid context. It specifies that community and market logics can be mobilised and conveyed in such ways that they are no longer competing but reinforcing and complementing each other (O'Mahony & Lakhani, 2011); the community can leverage on the market as the market can leverage on the community.

The dual legitimisation that characterises trans-cultural SE derives from contextual bridging (Venkataraman et al., 2016) and enables institutional transformation.

### 7.5.1. *Institutional Transformation*

The transformative potential of trans-cultural SE and its relation with activism have been elaborated on across this chapter. This section provides illustrative examples of how trans-culturally embedded actors play an important role in local and even global institutional transformation. Trans-cultural organisations combine their familiarity with globalised SE logics with an intimate knowledge of the local context. Their recognised expertise on 'what works and what does not' puts them in a privileged position to change assumptions and adapt practices; in other words, to translate SE.

> *There are internal entrepreneurial practices that can be adapted through Western input. We utilise* ***western models as references*** *but in reality there are* ***difficulties in adopting them****. There is the social framework which is not the same; there is the legal framework which has a deficiency. Without feeling that a certain model really works,* ***society won't subordinate*** *to it.* ***The model has to start here****.* (CSO1)

> *The process of transformation, social development in the field [bottom-up] implies* ***trying to influence*** *so that* ***change happens first and foremost from within people****. This* ***social transformation requires time!*** *And that is an opportunity for our activists and people who work with SE.* (LNGO2)

Trans-cultural SE contributes to institutional transformation because it demystifies market logics before local communities as an effective means to grow and avoid dependency. Simultaneously, it presents community logics before international actors as an embedded source of resources. Practices of SE translated by local elites are shaped by a combination of cultural logical frameworks that conforms with, but also alters, local and international institutional arrangements (Rao et al., 2000). SBWD provides insightful

illustrations of gradual endo-institutional transformation (local) and exo-institutional transformation (international) and their outcomes:

> *Some women ask for finance and they tell us that their husbands cannot know. Then we say: "No, he does have to know. You can't sign on your own; you have to do it* ***together with your husband****. He is the* ***head of the household*** *and has the* ***right to know*** *you are asking for a loan!" This will* ***prevent problems in the future****. We always talk to them to convince them to bring their husbands here. We* ***talk to the husbands too*** *to make them see that the amount being loaned will work out, it will improve the business and that will make them grow. We have managed to lead difficult husbands to accept that their wives can ask for credit, and they know exactly how much they'll be paying per month. Sometimes* ***they do help and remind their wives****: "today is the instalment day, you have to repay it".* (*Se5emp*)

This account suggests how the Bank is addressing delicate gender-related issues in a more contextualised way and a long term outlook; probably very differently from what a foreign organisation would do. It is an example of institutional work applied to normative and cognitive institutions (Scott, 2007). By attempting to change behaviours and educating for competitiveness and financial independency, the Bank is surely contributing to institutional transformation: social and economic.

> *I have an* ***advisory role*** *beyond undertaking the assessment. I advise the clients on how to better invest the money in order to improve the business and reduce risk. Our principle is that even if the credit is deviated the client has the capability to repay. People working in the informal sector are better payers in relation to the ones working formally. They contact you today and the next day they'll be selling!* ***Money is always coming in*** *little by little. It is also very cost-effective to have a* ***short repayment period*** *so they ask for further credit afterwards.* (Se5emp2)

This account, from the Bank's credit manager, illustrates that the organisation's degree of understanding of the local context puts it in a credible position to influence future credit products and the operations of exogenous micro-finance organisations. The bank adopts an unconventional approach; marked by a close relationship with the clients, personalised advice and training. It also draws on its local knowledge of the informal sector to customise loans to customers' needs. As a result, default rates are reduced and additional loans are granted. SBWD is a social venture that is attempting to address several institutional voids: the lack of support and engagement from the government; the intimidating reputation of banks among the grassroots; informal businesses' lack of access to credit and official savings' accounts; aid-dependency; gender conflict and gender inequalities. This entails institutional work leading to institutional transformation.

## 7.6. Explanatory Summary

> The West is a thinking model not a place. Here, in Mozambique, you will find people thinking strictly along those lines among several other models that co-exist.
>
> Statement from a Black Mozambican Anthropologist

This Mozambican scholar was invited to speak at a public debate that I attended in Maputo, broadcasted on TV. In his statement various thinking models are acknowledged. This suggests that there is a self-awareness of multiple worldviews developing in Mozambique.

Trans-cultural forms of SE raise the issue as to whether degrees of trans-cultural embeddedness blending local and globalised ILs may be shaping the enactment of local social ventures in developing economies. These practices of SE undertaken by local actors, well-connected and well-positioned in the field, play an important role in the translation of SE. Trans-cultural SE contributes to the diffusion of more contextualised and embedded practices and builds on a dual legitimacy to prompt institutional transformation. Trans-cultural actors are embedded in a hybrid culture that empowers them to access vital resources and to act 'in context' in order to bring about change (Mair & Martí, 2006). It also enables them to reflexively build on diverse ILs in order to take action (Leca & Naccache, 2006).

Looking back to the trans-cultural SE conceptual model introduced at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 21), significant implications can be drawn. The diagram illustrates a relationship between trans-cultural embeddedness and trans-cultural SE, mediated by access to outside and inside resources as well as an enhanced pool of compound logics which can be strategically mobilised to gain legitimacy among international and local constituencies. Legitimising efforts involve conforming to established discourses of SE and locally translating practices of SE. The combination of bricolage and scientific modes of action, the mobilisation of what is at hand together with what is supposed to be most adequate to tackle endemic poverty, contributes to the dual legitimacy of trans-cultural SE. In this context, agency is opportunity-driven but rooted in the local context. By leveraging on external support and an intimate knowledge of the local reality, trans-cultural SE organisations address institutional voids from within, transforming the environment.

Referring back to the research question, this chapter contains empirical evidence showing that trans-cultural practices of SE are emerging in Mozambique, combining logics of action traditionally associated with non-western societies and logics traditionally associated with western societies. These endeavours appear to be more effective and transformative for their local identity and extended access to resources. The theoretical contribution of this chapter is twofold: first, trans-cultural SE is introduced and theorised as an emerging practice of SE which provides feasible and more impactful answers to social and economic problems via bricolage and scientific approaches. Second, the productive combination of community and market logics, underpinning trans-cultural SE, is explained as a means to legitimise and increase the effectiveness of SE. This has implications for practice. For example, micro-credit banks and other for-profit organisations are attempting to capitalise on Xitique social ethics. Regardless of these external interventions, Xitique has been changing demonstrating "potential for development on indigenous peoples' own terms" (Peredo et al., 2004, p. 1). This chapter suggests that trans-cultural embeddedness is already leading to alternative Xitique applications; leveraging it beyond pure survival without corrupting its essence. It also considers hybrid contexts, and the partial autonomy

of actors from social structures brought by trans-cultural embeddedness which favours institutional work.

SE in the context of a developing economy is also enacted through opportunity-driven actions of trans-culturally embedded agents, i.e. well-connected expatriates deeply embedded in the local culture or members of the local elite, who are better positioned to erode boundaries (Rao et al., 2005), translating and combining exogenous and endogenous practices of SE.

The next and final chapter provides a summary of this thesis and conclusions. It answers the research question by contrasting the three main practices of SE encountered in the research setting and their dominant ILs. It also elaborates on this study's contributions to theory and practice, highlighting limitations and recommendations for future research.

# CHAPTER EIGHT:
# CONCLUSION

> SE is not recognised here and probably is a type of entrepreneurship that we should be promoting. We have some support from organisations such as the UN, WB, international NGOs and donors who have interest in this area and work in it; and that support is already pre-established. They define their priorities and Mozambicans resign themselves … It's seen as charity and because of that is already assigned to other institutions.
>
> Statement from a black Mozambican public servant

This chapter begins with a summary of the thesis findings (Section 8.1.). It then elaborates on its theoretical contributions (Section 8.2). Section 8.3. reflects on the implications of findings for practice. Finally, the limitations of this study are described and suggestions for future research are provided (Section 8.4.).

## 8.1. Thesis Summary

This section provides a summary of the findings. It also links them together in order to synthesise the empirical contributions of this study. An in-depth analysis of how SE is being enacted in the context of a developing economy led to the identification of three different types of SE practices: exogenous, endogenous and trans-cultural.

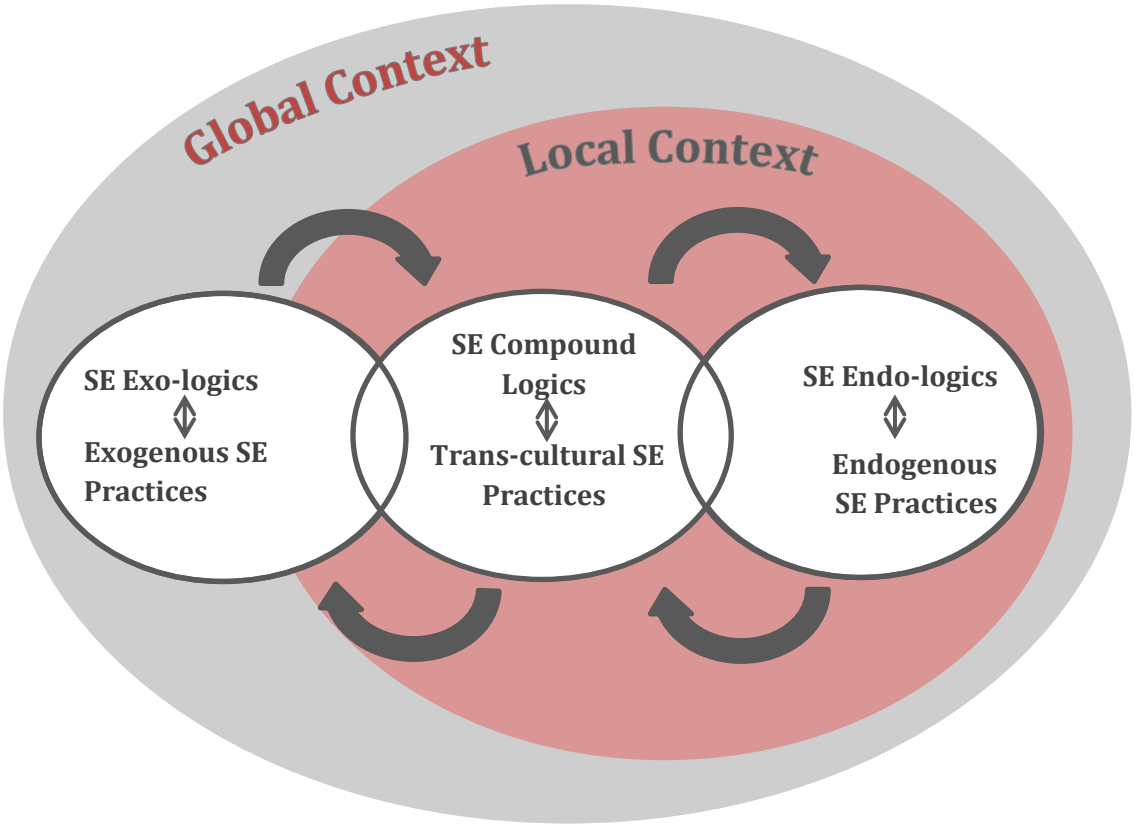
Exogenous SE is defined in Chapter Five as meanings and practices of SE which have been generated outside the local context, and are actively being transplanted to developing countries. The globalisation of SE, through which predominantly Anglo-American assumptions and repertoires of action widespread in developed countries are being transferred, tends to function within the parallel system of international development, outside the scope of local institutions. Figure 9 in Chapter Five depicts the mechanism underpinning the transplantation of exogenous forms of SE; in particular, the role of international SE promoters as carriers of ILs and as legitimacy-grantors leading to the replication of pre-existing models and discourses. Exogenous forms of SE, when not properly adapted to other realities, may contribute to the diffusion of decontextualised understandings and disembedded practices.

Endogenous SE, in Chapter Six, is defined as meanings and practices of SE being generated inside the the local context. These overlooked forms of SE operate as informal arrangements based on mutual trust and reciprocity. Indigenous necessity-driven practices, grounded on local customs, mobilise different ILs in order to circumvent resource constraints and institutional voids. People at the grassroots 'make do' with what is at hand to address their own needs and their communities'. Figure 12 (in Chapter Six) depicts the mechanism underpinning endogenous forms of SE; in particular, the role of necessity-driven bricolage for accessing scarce financial resources making use of informal social networks and the local culture as a 'toolkit' for poverty alleviation. Endogenous SE conforms to logics traditionally associated with non-western societies. It is deeply embedded in the local context offering feasible yet limited solutions.

In Chapter Seven, trans-cultural SE is situated along the continuum stretching from social endeavours based on models generated outside, and then transplanted into the local context, to purely indigenous grassroots practices of SE. Trans-culturally embedded actors mobilise, combine and translate local and globalised ILs. By leveraging dual social capital, local and international, and compound ILs, endo and exo-logics, they access precious resources and become more effective. Figure 21 in Chapter Seven depicts the mechanism underpinning trans-cultural forms of SE; in particular, the role of trans-cultural embeddedness in translating and combining logics in ways that facilitate legitimacy gaining from international and local constituencies. These practices contribute to the diffusion of more contextualised and embedded SE models that entail the potential to generate institutional transformation.

Figure 23 elucidates how local and globalised logics of SE interplay in Mozambique. Since logics simultaneously comprise symbolic meanings and material practices (Friedland & Alford, 1991), the figure depicts both the understandings and related practices of SE found in the research setting.

**Figure 23: Logics Interplay in the Context of a Developing Economy**




The three practices of SE identified in this study differ in terms of: the context in which they are enacted; degree of social and institutional embeddedness in the local setting; the type of agents behind them; their drive and identity; the approaches adopted to mobilise resources; underlying logics affecting legitimising efforts; and resulting outcomes. These aspects are interrelated and dynamically influence each other. Table 16 summarises and contrasts these elements in a practice model that addresses the research question:

> *How is social entrepreneurship enacted and legitimised in a developing economy through local and globalised institutional logics?*

Exogenous SE responds to the demands of SE international agents. It integrates market logics with elements of state logics since, from a western perspective, SE is supposed to encourage more market-oriented activities in addressing social failures, replacing the welfare role of the state. Religion-related logics such as wider spiritual beliefs were found to be a trigger of agency, mobilising global elites to contribute to a 'moral' economic system that requires a 'fair market capitalism'.

Exogenous SE is a result of globalisation and its legitimising efforts entail complying with SE normative discourses and practices in order to access significant resources. This leads to a self-perpetuating mimetic cycle in which exo-ILs are replicated. Exogenous SE can be theorised as the 'Entrepreneurship of the Elite', i.e. opportunity-driven entrepreneurial practices carried out by privileged social groups who can strategically access resources to generate economic and social value. Inevitably, these practices are predicated on individual over collective action because community logics are not readily accessible to actors perceived as outsiders and who do not 'belong' (Littlewood & Holt, 2015). By definition, exogenous SE would never emerge from local communities. It strives to overcome issues of ownership ambiguity and aid-dependency but remains, for the most part, disembedded. The findings suggest that exogenous practices of SE are characterised by scientific modes of action (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). Such endeavours operate based on the procurement of means which have been conceived and designed for the well-defined demands of their projects. Going beyond the constraints imposed by a particular context in order to access 'ideal' resources from abroad is conducive to the creation of new environments. However, by ignoring institutional voids and locally available resources, exogenous SE may not be sustainable in the long-term.

**Table 16: Toward a Practice Model of SE in a Developing Economy**

| SE Forms | Context | Degree of Embeddedness | Agents | Drive | Identity | Approach | Resource Mobilisation | Logics | Legitimacy | Metaphor | Outcomes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **EXOGENOUS SE PRACTICES** | Transplanted from the outside | Locally disembedded | Global elite | Opportunity | Individua-lism and self-interest | Scientific model (Lévi-Strauss) | Material resources' acquisition | **Transpose**<br>Exo-logics:<br>- Market<br>- State<br>- Religion | **Replication**<br>of globalised logics | 'One for all' | **Creating** an environment<br>- ignoring institutional voids |
| **ENDOGENOUS SE PRACTICES** | Self-contained locally | Deeply embedded | Grassroots<br>beneficiaries of themselves | Necessity | Collecti-vism | Bricolage model (Lévi-Strauss) | Cultural resources deployment | **Reproduce**<br>Endo-logics:<br>- Family<br>- Community | **Conformity**<br>with local logics | 'All for one' | **Rearranging** the environment<br>- circumventing institutional voids |
| **TRANS-CULTURAL SE PRACTICES** | Hybrid (local & international) | Trans-culturally embedded | Local elite | Opportunity | Both | Mixed model<br>reflexive combinati-on | Material & cultural resources' recombination | **Translate**<br>Compound Logics:<br>- Market<br>- Community | **Integration**<br>of globalised & local logics (dual legitimacy) | 'All for all' | **Transforming** the environment<br>- addressing institutional voids |

Similarly, endogenous SE also has limitations. ROSCAs are indigenous practices deeply adapted to the local conditions which attempt to circumvent endemic institutional voids and resource constraints. They are undertaken informally by the grassroots who act simultaneously as social entrepreneurs and beneficiaries, and who are not influenced by international prescriptive logics of action. In such cases, typical logics of state such as wealth redistribution, market such as revenue generation through trading, and corporation such as bureaucracy are replaced with alternative cultural logical frameworks revolving around family and community ties. Endogenous SE is a result of bricolage and its legitimacy is questioned for challenging normative assumptions of what SE is or should be. It can be theorised as the 'Entrepreneurship of the Common', i.e. necessity-driven collective entrepreneurial practices carried out by grassroots sections of society with the aim to mitigate poverty within local communities. Endogenous SE continuously reproduces informality and is restricted to locally available resources. It operates within closed social cycles; making use of a limited web of community and family relationships that confines available resources to people's own savings. This allows the poor to sustainably make do within their means and without external support, rearranging but not exactly transforming the environment.

In turn, trans-cultural SE reconciles global and local practices of SE by combining and translating exo and endo-logics. Trans-cultural SE is undertaken by burgeoning local elites including well-positioned Mozambicans and, more rarely, highly embedded foreign actors. Their field level position enables them to make use of an all-encompassing social capital, local and international, and an expanded and mixed pool of logics to address resource constraints and institutional voids more effectively. Trans-cultural embeddedness, in what can be conceptualised as a hybrid institutional context, facilitates access to all possible resources from outside and inside the country, maintaining a local identity that is valued by both international agents and local communities. In this case, agency is opportunity-driven but rooted in associativism. The combination of bricolage and scientific modes of action, namely the mobilisation of what is at hand together with what is believed to be more adequate to tackle endemic poverty, is conducive to

contextualised practices, institutionally and socially embedded. The leverage of a dual legitimacy, resulting from the productive friction of compound logics of market and community, allows practices to be translated and adapted in order to bring about change. This strategic and reflexive combination of local and globalised ILs implies institutional work and, therefore, prompts the transformation of the environment.

The empirical findings suggest that both exogenous and endogenous practices of SE face significant challenges that constrain their transformational impact on poverty alleviation. Conversely, trans-cultural SE provides promising opportunities for addressing poverty-related issues in sustainable, contextualised and potentially transformative ways. The practice model of SE in the context of a developing economy has implications for practice.

## 8.2. Theoretical Contributions

This thesis makes conceptual, theoretical, and methodological contributions. Conceptually, the study led to the emergence of specific theoretical dimensions: ownership ambiguity (Chapter Five), necessity-driven SE (Chapter Six), and trans-cultural embeddedness (Chapter Seven).

'Ownership ambiguity' within development projects suggests limited engagement of intended beneficiaries, and lack of accountability. It is a useful concept for development studies that depicts some of the drawbacks of acclaimed CSPD, currently considered the panacea for under-development, poverty and inequality. When multiple parties across sectors and even countries engage in collaborations aiming to empower the poor, there is the need to cope with multiple, competing demands (Greenwood et al., 2011) in order to deliver outcomes that surpass those of single sectors acting in isolation (Kindornay et al., 2014). The institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011) resulting from balancing the interests of multiple stakeholders increases the risk for responsibilities and obligations to be recurrently transferred from one intervenient organisation to another. When results are met all partners want to take credit for it. Conversely, when projects fail or do not meet the expectations, partners detach themselves blaming each other. The concept of ownership ambiguity is therefore, useful to better

understand the downside of international intervention through multiple intermediaries, especially when international legitimacy is prioritised over addressing local needs. How SE projects materialise may not actually translate what was planned from the outside.

'Necessity-driven SE' challenges orthodox understandings and models of SE that assume amenable contexts are a requisite for SE to occur (Bornstein, 2007), problematising existing assumptions of what SE is or should be. It refers to informal practices, enforced by subsistence needs and enacted at the grassroots, which can be framed as legitimate forms of SE. Hence, it acknowledges that SE may also be undertaken collectively by the poor themselves in an attempt to create social value to a community to which they belong. The legitimacy of necessity-driven SE is controversial considering that these practices do not demarcate social entrepreneurs and beneficiaries as two separate entities, one benefiting the other. It signposts the extent to which SE is context-specific and expresses itself in less conventional ways depending on different 'realities'.

'Trans-cultural embeddedness' builds upon the notion of cultural embeddedness by acknowledging that culture may in fact be a combination of cultures. It accounts for the field level positions of some actors that enables them to navigate both local and international institutional arenas, drawing on relevant social networks and expanded cultural repertoires of action in order to gain access to resources from outside and inside the country. The paradox of embedded agency (Holm, 1995) raises the question as to how actors who are embedded in existing institutional arrangements are capable of championing institutional transformation. Trans-cultural embeddedness helps to address issues revolving around this paradox because it considers the existence of a hybrid context, comprising both local and international institutional actors from which people seek legitimacy from.

This thesis makes six other contributions to theory development, namely to SE scholarship, to development studies, and the ILP.

(1) The study extends existing research on SE, focusing on how hybrid organisations combine contradictory logics of action, for-profit vs. non-profit, by considering the role of cultural context and local embeddedness in developing

economies. This furthers our understanding on how potentially conflicting logics from western and non-western cultures interplay within the field of SE, providing scope for different types of practices of SE to emerge. Hence, it offers a more nuanced comprehension of the diversity of logics used to give meaning to SE practices in developing economies.

(2) This study associates different practices of SE with sets of logics. It explores how specific ILs are connected to diverse practices, which are meaningful depending on what goals, interpretations, activities, and interactions are considered to be appropriate (Nicolini et al., 2016) in a given context. However, further work is required extending the application of practice theory to SE in order to better capture practice variation within the field and how SE comes into being (Mair & Martí, 2006).

(3) The thesis reflexively critiques western models of SE underpinned by hegemonic assumptions and legitimising discourses that give primacy to some ILs over others. They prescribe what SE is or should be, overlook less conventional forms of SE, and narrow down our understanding of the SE phenomenon across the globe. Market as the only route to sustainability, individualist views of heroic social entrepreneurs driven by opportunity, and the increased legitimacy of formal social enterprises can be problematic in the context of poor countries. This may lead to the replication of normative models without a proper adaptation to local contexts.

(4) This research brings to the fore overlooked necessity-driven practices of SE undertaken informally at the grassroots. These have remained invisible as they are undertaken by people who make do with what is at hand to tackle enduring poverty in contexts of subsistence. Poverty must be addressed by acknowledging the poor themselves, the struggles they face, their tacit knowledge of the local context, and how they act in feasible ways to circumvent resource constraints and institutional voids. Such endogenous practices, although bounded, challenge existing assumptions and models of SE.

(5) The thesis yields insights into the transformative potential of trans-cultural practices for legitimising SE in developing countries. These practices construct a

dual legitimacy, local and international, to bring about change. This entails strategic combination and translation of logics from non-western and western societies, purposefully maintaining, disrupting and/or creating institutions (Lawrence et al., 2011). Trans-cultural practices of SE leverage on the productive friction of local and globalised logics to access important resources and to address institutional voids.

(6) The study explains the mediating effects of a 'hybrid context' in the enactment and legitimisation of SE in a developing economy. The local context in Maputo was found to comprise local and international institutional influences. This allows an extended pool of logics from at least two interinstitutional systems to be available to whoever is trans-culturally embedded. This thesis considers the relationship between context, logics, practices, and legitimacy. Logics are embedded in contexts. Therefore, it is possible to further contextualise research on SE by accounting for contextual logics and the role of agency (Welter et al., 2015).

The thesis also makes a methodological contribution by combining different data collection methods, typically employed in ethnographic studies, with distinct analytical approaches. Whilst more formal interviews allowed for elaborated messages to be conveyed by key local actors in the field of SE, representative of normative SE discourses, casual social encounters with the same actors enabled an 'opportunistic' type of interaction in which the researcher became involved in a group by chance (Reimer, 1977), acting as a disinterested observer. This second type of engagement provided a rich set of materials illustrating more personal views and relaxed statements, not concerned with 'political correctness'. Direct observation of the 'local reality' was conducive to the identification of a variety of practices, actually unfolding on the ground, and their situated logics. The utilisation of photography and video-recordings provided an additional means to cross-verify the accuracy of descriptions and interpretations, and to be reflexive (Pink, 2001).

Rich ethnographic materials gathered from all these data collection methods were then analysed using a range of techniques. The interinstitutional system ideal types' model (Appendix 1) provided a method of analysis that helped identify the

logics at play. Qualitative coding schemes in thematic analysis were also utilised. This systematic analysis (Gioia et al., 2013) led to the emergence of specific theoretical dimensions, summarised in the form of a data structure diagram (Figure 11 in Chapter Five and Figure 20 in Chapter Six). Conversely, more flexible ethnographic analytical approaches focusing on the 'big picture' were applied to observations gathered in the field, captured in the research diary reflexive thoughts, photographs, audio and video recordings. Practice theorising requires close ethnographic observation and analysis of what people actually do and sometimes are unable to articulate (Langley & Abdallah, 2011). Combining various data collection methods with different analytical approaches contributed to the conception of schematic representations depicting the causal mechanisms (Hedström & Ylikoski, 2010) behind each of the identified practices of SE (Figure 9 in Chapter Five, Figure 12 in Chapter Six, and Figure 21 in Chapter Seven).

## 8.3. Implications for Practice

As mentioned in the introduction, this study is intended to extend the transformative reach of British funds to global sustainable development. Most importantly, it provides empirical evidence which may assist the formulation of policy guidelines on how to better support change-oriented practices of SE with the potential to contribute to developing countries' self-sufficiency. In practical terms, this translates into recognising sustainable economic practices that effectively create enduring social value in contexts of endemic poverty. Examining how SE is enacted in a developing economy, mobilising and orchestrating scarce resources, has practical implications for both developing and developed economies. It yields insights into how new forms of governance and organisation, sucg as community-driven sustainable practices, may be developed and supported considering issues of cultural and social embeddedness.

This study contextualises SE in a developing economy. It accounts for institutional, social, and cultural contextual dimensions which play a fundamental role in driving or impeding SE. Analysing how multiple intervenient parties across sectors and countries ascribe meaning to SE, and attempt to legitimise it based on various configurations of logics, sheds light on what kind of resources can be accessed and

how they can be sustained overtime in order to address social needs and bring about change. For practice, this research proves useful to: understand how to better support SE; build individual, organisational and institutional capacity for SE (Nafukho & Muyia, 2010); translate and adapt practices and eventually scale out initiatives across community and geographic borders; provide guidance for strengthening partnerships and/or collaborations, which may reveal difficult due to ownership ambiguity, self-interest and lack of embeddedness in the local context. Indeed, synergistic effects may arise from combining the efforts of disembedded higher status social groups or individuals who have privileged access to resources with embedded lower status, disadvantaged communities capable of assigning cultural and social legitimacy to new endeavours (Battilana, 2006). Stronger ties between these two types of agents are expected to trigger social transformation and the legitimisation of novel ways of enterprising.

This study suggests that combining international and local resources, and globalised and local logics, is likely to lead to more transformative and effective outcomes. Thus, it is pioneering in showing how trans-cultural embeddedness and its dual legitimacy can be leveraged via contextualised and impactful policies for international development. It also calls for legitimacy-granting authorities in the field of SE to acknowledge indigenous practices of SE in developing economies as alternative forms of SE capable to produce limited yet feasible means to tackle enduring poverty in contexts of subsistence. However, rather than co-opting them, the aim should be to learn from their intimate knowledge of local contexts in order to generate positive and sustainable social effects that build on mutual understandings and reciprocal institutional transformation.

This study culminates with a practice model of SE in the context of a developing economy, based on distinctive legitimising efforts that replicate, conform to, or integrate distinctive logics of action. This model is not exclusively useful for policy makers and resourceful SE promoters to improve supporting structures and successfully transfer social entrepreneurial practices to poor countries. It also provides insights, for both local and global social entrepreneurs, on how the institutional, cultural and social embeddedness of social ventures matter for acting 'in context', addressing local needs and empowering the poor. This may raise

public awareness of some of the factors such as logics, context, that facilitate or hinder the creation and performance of social ventures in different national settings (Zhao & Lounsbury, 2016).

In the developing world, some forms of organising may be better suited for addressing specific needs than others. The argument developed in this thesis emphasises the value of reconciling discourses around SE and conveying legitimacy to less resourceful and disenfranchised actors. This is important for adopting holistic approaches to poverty alleviation that consider the enabling and hindering aspects of contexts of 'institutional pluralism' (Kraatz & Block, 2008).

## 8.4. Thesis Limitations and Avenues for Future Research

Although this study makes a number of important contributions, there are theoretical and methodological limitations that should be noted, raising several possibilities for future research.

This study contributes to theory development by extending the applicability of new institutional theory and the ILP to developing countries (Bruton et al., 2008). This entailed the incorporation of a richer set of informal institutional arrangements that are used to fill in institutional voids in developing economies (George et al., 2016). The thesis suggests that the ILs ideal-types presented in the interinstitutional system are not universal, i.e. the ideal-type logics of non-western societies may be different. The ILP is supposed to represent "a general model of cultural heterogeneity un-biased toward the Western world" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 18). However, the study points to some of the limitations of applying theoretical frameworks based on the rationalities of modern capitalist societies across cultures. Research emphasising the role of informal institutions, would contribute to the refinement and further applicability of existing theories (Zahra, 2007) to developing countries (Bruton et al., 2008).

This study systematically utilised ideal-type logics from the ILP, although problematising the assumption that western institutional meanings are applicable across all contexts. This approach was unavoidable, considering that configurations, typologies and classification systems, depicting what is known to

the general public, had to be used as a starting point for contrasting different practices of SE and account for context (Meyer et al., 1993). Contextualisation is about recognising differences instead of forcing generalisations (Welter & Gartner, 2016). Then how can we recognise differences across cultures without making use of stereotypes to compare them against? Inevitably this implies a bias that must to be acknowledged in which the 'West' is the default. In addition, this study drew on the western/non-western dichotomy. Again, research based on taxonomies and typologies may seem simplistic, being subject to criticism (Doty & Glick, 1994) when not considering nuances and continuity. Although western/non-western pure-types may not exist, they provide a means to study the social world. Future research utilising 'non-western' rationalities as the reference point would make an important contribution for contrasting worldviews and logics from a different perspective.

This thesis builds on the role of legitimisation for understanding how different practices of SE are enacted. To this end, it draws on both: new institutional theory, emphasising how institutions influence audiences' legitimacy judgments; and the ILP, acknowledging how actors' agency for gaining legitimacy is rooted in the logics of action they mobilise. Further research is needed explicitly integrating institutional and 'cultural entrepreneurship' perspectives on legitimisation, as a means to better understand how legitimacy efforts may differ considering that different types of audiences with different type of judgments need to be simultaneously addressed (Überbacher, 2014). This is especially relevant for studying SE in developing economies and the multiple conflicting logics of action involved.

Although underpinned by an 'ontology of becoming' rather than an 'ontology of being', this study is not longitudinal. The unfolding of SE in the context of a developing economy entails multiple ongoing processes that cannot be fully captured in a study that is circumscribed to on-the-spot snapshots of dynamic relationships in a limited period of time. More ethnographic studies are needed, conducted over longer periods of time or at multiple points in time (Soulsby & Clark, 2011) and based on historical approaches (e.g. Nicolini et al., 2016), systematically analysing archival data (e.g. Jay, 2013), to more accurately describe

the processual dynamics of practices that unfold overtime (Steyaert, 2007). These approaches would contribute to further contextualise SE in developing countries.

The entrepreneurial role of women in Mozambique clearly emerged from this study, as well as the importance of practices as ROSCAs for women emancipation. This opens up interesting research questions addressing gender, SE, and developing economies, for example: whether SE is gendered, i.e. to what extent women may be more concerned than men about social needs; how female networks play out in order to overcome the lack of financial resources to create social value; what sources of finance and legitimacy strategies are utilised by women within the field of SE in developing countries etc.

This thesis suggests that wider religion-related logics, such as spiritual beliefs rooted in a 'moral' Occidentalism, are being mobilised to give meaning to exogenous practices of SE in particular. Such logics, not explicit in global SE discourses, appear to trigger and influence the transplantation of SE western conceptualisations and practices to the developing world. The evangelical nature of SE promotional innitiatives and the often concealed religious underpinnings of many promoters of SE suggest that, although spirituality may conflict with the market pillar of SE, the SE movement can be interpreted as a 'new religion' or an expanding ideology. The extent to which this finding contradicts the ILP assumption that religion logics are more prevalent in non-western countries should be further investigated. Also, the role of religion-related logics as a vehicle to 'convert' the developing world to SE and its imperialist neo-liberal contours signpost thought-provoking opportunities for future research.

This study was temporally and spacially constrained. Despite reaching a point of theoretical saturation, the research would have benefited from longer exposure to the local context. Geographically, the study focused on a particular country and narrowed down ethnographic data collection to Maputo and surrounding neighbourhoods. This raises issues of empirical transferability across countries as well as across rural and urban areas. Researching within-country heterogeneity was not the aim of the study. However, this calls for other studies with the same focus to be conducted in rural areas, and other developing or emerging economies

across continents. Such studies could test the validity of the practice model of SE developed in this thesis by capturing the heterogeneity of non-western/less-westernised contexts of informality.

Finally, the challenges of conducting ethnography in a foreign country must be noted. Reasonable degrees of immersion were impossible to attain in all circumstances. Also, participatory research techniques not always break down power imbalances between the researcher and researched (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). This suggests that ethnographic collaborations with local researchers would offer deeper levels of engagement and possibly more truthful interactions, in which indigenous and foreign researchers could collaborate acting as 'cultural translators'.

Indeed, there are exciting opportunities for future studies at the intersection of SE developing countries, and the institutional logics perspective (Zhao & Lounsbury, 2016).

## 8.5. Reflections and Concluding Remarks

Externally induced developmental programmes and SE models from the developed world fall short of effectively empowering local communities in developing economies. The sustainability of organisations with an embedded social purpose, although related to their activities, should not be confused with the sustainably of their outcomes. The lack of social and institutional embeddedness, resulting from intransigent power structures and strict boundary setting, has been preventing local and durable self-reliance (Burkey, 1993). This thesis agrees with development studies that acknowledge the crucial role of civil society in developing countries for sustainable poverty alleviation, and the shortcomings of universalistic models and ideological biases (Brohman, 1995). The SE movement, organised and delivered by international elites, has caused less conventional practices of SE to remain invisible and exogenous initiatives to make themselves indispensable, in spite of reduced sense of ownership on the part of beneficiaries, in order to ensure legitimacy from SE promoters.

> *Foreign organisations want to justify their role. If we were to stop for a minute to think, it is clear some projects don't make any sense […] These activities are a mix of being out of context and needing to do something to show the donors.* (C2)

SE strives to solve underlying issues rather than alleviating symptoms (Schwartz, 2012). Interestingly, when promoting the independence of beneficiaries, ideally until the point of no longer being needed, social ventures may compromise their own survival. Contextual aspects and different ways of conceiving SE affect how it materialises. This study refines our understanding of how SE unfolds and is legitimised in developing economies. It poses that SE may offer a refreshing and promising approach to poverty alleviation when building on models that draw on social and cultural resources of local communities.

> *When you talk about social development and SE, you're basically talking about a given notion of prosperity, a predetermined idea of social order. These western designs should be considered a draft, a way forward, and not something final…* (INGO4)

It is surprising how this research shifted between studying SE in a specific context to studying context through the lens of SE. This may be totally irrelevant and possibly what ethnography is all about. I also moved from actively engaging in an actual SE project, to undertaking a PhD expecting to make an academic contribution. Looking back to the 'Garbage & Meal Appeal' project that triggered this study, I acknowledge the usefulness of this thesis. The devised practice model of SE presented in Table 16 makes me reflect on what caused it to fail and realise that if I only knew, I would have done things differently. Then, I remember a comment made by a Mozambican social activist, who participated in this study, and ask myself: was this worthwhile?

> *For me, the question is: how can we carry out research where we don't just reach comfortable conclusions but, above all, challenge what has been done and provide basis for recommendations that can help people reflect and follow up.*

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# APPENDIX 1: INTERINSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM IDEAL TYPES (CHAPTER THREE)

(Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73)

| **Y-Axis:** | **X-Axis: Institutional Orders** | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Categories** | **Family 1** | **Community 2** | **Religion 3** | **State 4** | **Market 5** | **Profession 6** | **Corporation 7** |
| **Root Metaphor 1** | Family as firm | Common boundary | Temple as bank | State as redistribution mechanism | Transaction | Profession as relational network | Corporation as hierarchy |
| **Sources of Legitimacy 2** | Unconditional loyalty | Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity | Importance of faith & sacredness in economy & society | Democratic participation | Share price | Personal expertise | Market position of firm |
| **Sources of Authority 3** | Patriarchal domination | Commitment to community values & ideology | Priesthood charisma | Bureaucratic domination | Shareholder activism | Professional association | Board of directors Top management |
| **Sources of Identity 4** | Family reputation | Emotional connection Ego-satisfaction & reputation | Association with deities | Social & economic class | Faceless | Association with quality of craft Personal reputation | Bureaucratic roles |
| **Basis of Norms 5** | Membership in household | Group membership | Membership in congregation | Citizenship in nation | Self-interest | Membership in guild & association | Employment in firm |
| **Basis of Attention 6** | Status in household | Personal investment in group | Relation to supernatural | Status of interest group | Status in market | Status in profession | Status in hierarchy |
| **Basis of Strategy 7** | Increase family honor | Increase status & honor of members & practices | Increase religious symbolism of natural events | Increase community good | Increase efficiency profit | Increase personal reputation | Increase size & diversification of firm |
| **Informal Control Mechanisms 8** | Family politics | Visibility of actions | Worship of calling | Backroom politics | Industry analysts | Celebrity professionals | Organization culture |
| **Economic System 9** | Family capitalism | Cooperative capitalism | Occidental capitalism | Welfare capitalism | Market capitalism | Personal capitalism | Managerial capitalism |

## APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH POSTER (CHAPTER FOUR)

(Presented at the early stage of the study)

# Contextualising Social Entrepreneurship in Emerging Economies: A Live Study of Cultural Entrepreneurship

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### 1. Research Aims

Studies into Social Entrepreneurship tend to assume Western institutional conditions are applicable across all nations. Yet, there is a growing recognition that entrepreneurship research has failed to incorporate the influence of context.

This study aims at:

- Analysing how Social Entrepreneurship is interpreted in a country with scarce precedent for such activities
- Examining the role of institutional logics in enabling or constraining entrepreneurial action
- Examining the process through which Social Entrepreneurship may emerge as a novel mechanism for mobilising resources to achieve legitimacy

### 3. How It Will Be Done

By closely integrating the mediating effects of cultural context, this study examines how Social Entrepreneurship can be 'exported' from the UK and 'translated' into an emerging economy - Mozambique.

A reflexive ethnographic study will be conducted based on a live project devised by the researcher in collaboration with the World Bank. 'Garbage and Meal Appeal' aims to empower the local community to actively contribute to municipal solid waste collection in exchange for meals. This will require the researcher to engage in enterprising actions (e.g. resource acquisition, business plan writing, deal-making, pitching) in order to create a new venture in an unfamiliar institutional context. Data will be sourced from relevant stakeholders across sectors, including beneficiaries.

### 4. Theoretical Framework


### 2. Why Should We Care?

Extending the transformative reach of Social Entrepreneurship to the developing world can lead to the emergence of sustainable and innovative projects for poverty alleviation.

International development agencies and NGOs struggle to resolve prevailing issues such as aid ineffectiveness, aid dependency, and to identify best models for local governance transparency and accountability.

Social Entrepreneurship can be seen as a useful mechanism for addressing these challenges - a 'seed' that holds the potential to be fruitful in different environments:

- It incorporates multiple forms of value
- It blends social and economic competences
- It empowers local communities to treat the root cause of problems by putting society ahead of the individual

**Can Social Entrepreneurship be globalised? How?**

### 5. Contribution

The academic contribution will be to broaden understanding of Social Entrepreneurship emergence and legitimisation through the interrelationship between (macro) institutional settings and (micro) strategic actions. The research is also expected to assist the practices of social entrepreneurs, and those involved in supporting Social Entrepreneurship (e.g. Development aid agencies, NGOs, CSR-focused organisations).

It is anticipated that deprived communities in developing countries will benefit from this research by means of acknowledging the vital role of collective agency, and *community* as a socially embedded catalyst for sustainable economic practices.

# APPENDIX 3: MOZAMBIQUE (CHAPTER FOUR)

Mozambique is located in Southeast Africa bordered by the Indian Ocean, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and South Africa. The country's capital city is Maputo. Portuguese is the official and most widely spoken language of the nation. According to the World Bank (2013), the country's total population in 2011 was 23,929,708. The ethnic groups are distributed as follows: African 99.66% (Makhuwa, Tsonga, Lomwe, Sena, and others), Europeans 0.06%, Euro-Africans 0.2%, Indians 0.08% (CIA, 2013a). The largest religion in Mozambique is Christianity, with significant Muslim and African traditional religious minorities. Mozambique is the 36$^{th}$ largest country in the world, occupying a total area of 801,590 km$^2$ - equivalent to 309,500 sq. mi (CIA, 2013b).

**Economy**

Mozambique experienced an unrivalled development take-off after the end of its civil war in 1992. Actually, it has been the fastest growing non-oil economy in sub-Saharan Africa in the last 15 years. Since 2001, Mozambique's annual average GDP growth has been among the world's top ten. However, this growth has not led to a corresponding reduction in poverty (Gov. UK, 2013).

According to the Mozambique news agency (AIM, 2009), there are signs of positive growth which have contributed toward a GDP average growth rate of 8% per annum between 1996 and 2006, and around 7.5% in 2012 (CIA, 2013a). Nonetheless, the country is reliant on foreign investment, particularly from South Africa, and on donor funding (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007). The Government of Mozambique has doubled its own revenue from 10% to 19.5% of GDP in the last decade. At this rate, the country could be independent of aid in 2023. However, Mozambique hosts one of the highest concentrations of donor agencies of any country in the world (DFID, 2012c).

With an estimated GDP (purchasing power parity) of $26.22 billion for 2012, according to the CIA (2013a), Mozambique is still one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the world, ranked 172 out of 177 countries in 2005, with a life expectancy of below 40 years largely due to HIV/AIDs and malaria (World Bank, 2007). 75% of the population live in poverty since the country has one of the lowest GDP per capita and one of the worst *Human Development Index* and Inequality (CIA, 2013a). Extreme poverty, people living on below $1 per day (UN, 2013), affects at least 59,6% of the population and may get worse (The Guardian, 2013). The working population comprises around 10 million and is characterised by a small formal sector and a large informal sector. Only 8% of the population is formally employed, many of whom engaged in casual work; 17% are unemployed, and the rest are in the informal sector or engaged in agricultural work (AfDB/OECD, 2008).

Mozambique enjoys huge, untapped potential, abundant natural resources (minerals, gas, coal and now oil) and 30 million hectares of unused arable land. Its

location, linking five landlocked countries to global shipping routes, gives it strategic regional importance. On governance, the country held competitive elections, increased media freedom and introduced a new constitution following the end of the war. Peace and stability were consolidated. Good performance in economic and financial management continues. Yet, the 2009 elections tightened the ruling party's grip on power. Boundaries between party, state and the private sector have become blurred. Claims of election fraud were supported by international observers who criticised the fact that the National Electoral Commission did not conduct fair and transparent elections. An elite operates with relative impunity. Accountability mechanisms are weak. Corruption appears to be a growing problem. This is happening as natural resource revenues are rising and major oil finds are predicted (DFID 2012c).

In 2007, the World Bank talked of Mozambique's "blistering pace of economic growth"; a joint donor-government study said "Mozambique is generally considered an aid success story"; and the IMF added "Mozambique is a success story in Sub-Saharan Africa". Nevertheless, despite this apparent success, both the World Bank and UNICEF described rising chronic child malnutrition in the face of GDP growth as a 'paradox'.

**Historic outline**

At present, Mozambique is a presidential representative democratic republic, whereby the president is head of state and head of government of a multi-party system.

**Mozambique's chronology of key events**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Before 1498** | Mozambique did not exist as a unified territory but as numerous kingdoms |
| **1498** | The area was explored by Vasco da Gama (the Portuguese navigator who discovered the sea route to India) |
| **1505** | Portuguese colonisation (motivated by access to resources and the establishment of a station on the Indian trade route) |
| **1752** | Slave trade starts |
| **1869** | Portugal officially abolishes slavery (but the trade with humans goes on in Mozambique until around 1900) |
| **1891** | Anglo-Portuguese Treaty (defining the boundaries of Portuguese influence) |
| **1895** | The rebel Gungunhana, last emperor of the Gaza Empire, is |

| | |
|---|---|
| | captured by the Portuguese and deported to the Azores |
| **1961-1974** | Portuguese Colonial War (War of Liberation fought between Portugal's military and the emerging nationalist movements in Portugal's African colonies) |
| **1975** | Mozambique Independence – 1st President Samora Machel (the new government, receiving diplomatic and military support from the Soviet Union, establishes a one-party state based on communist principles that takes control of a large number of enterprises) |
| **1976** | A violent Civil War began (in which the ruling Front for the Liberation of Mozambique - *Frelimo* - party adopts Marxism-Leninism) |
| **1986** | Joaquim Chissano succeeds President Samora Machel, after his death in a plane crash, and starts reforms changing from Marxism to Capitalism |
| **1987** | Decline of Soviet support brought the country close to financial collapse (the government, taking advice from the IMF and the World Bank, began engaging in liberalisation and privatisation) |
| **1990** | New Constitution (providing for multi-party political system and a free market economy) |
| **1992** | Civil War ended (UN-negotiated peace agreement, between *Frelimo* and rebel Mozambique National Resistance - *Renamo* - forces, ends the fighting) |
| **1994** | First democratic elections (Joaquim Chissano from *Frelimo* is elected president) |
| **1995** | Mozambique became the first member of the Commonwealth of Nations without any former colonial or constitutional links with the United Kingdom |
| **1999** | Second democratic elections (Joaquim Chissano once again beats his *Renamo* rival and international observers approve the election);<br>Disorganised Neo-liberalism based on large scale, non-transparent privatisation (Castel-Branco et al., 2001) |
| **2004** | Joaquim Chissano stepped down after 18 years in office (elected successor Armando Guebuza, still from *Frelimo*, promises to continue the sound economic policies that have encouraged foreign |

| | |
|---|---|
| | investment) |
| **2009** | Re-election of Armando Guebuza - election fraud is claimed (removing Mozambique from the Freedom House list of electoral democracies (CIA, 2013a) |
| **2015** | Election of Filipe Nyusi as president of Mozambique |

*Source: Author's compilation*

# APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW QUESTIONAIRE - SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS (CHAPTER FOUR)

**PERSONAL LIFE**

1. Name and Age
2. Where were you born and where did you live
3. Marital status; children
4. Professional background: qualifications and work experience
5. Current residence
6. How long have you been in Mozambique? Why did you relocate?

**SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT**

1. What motivated you to implement this project?
2. What are the main barrier and problems you have faced?
3. What kind of support and parterships have you engaged with and from which sectors?
4. What is the model of your venture? How can you ensure sustainability?
5. What is the legitimacy of SE in a poor country lacking resources (considering beneficiaries and their prospects)?
6. Do you think SE is a model with potential in developing economies? Is it being adapted and translated to the local reality?
7. Do you think SE generates sustainable development with significant impact?
8. Are there opportunities for residential communities to undertake SE?
9. What were the main cultural differences you confronted yourself with?
10. What promotes and hinders entrepreneurship in Mozambique?
11. Do you think it is a practice mostly undertaken by educated white expatriates because of their access to resources and networks of contacts?
12. To what extent is SE developing and expanding in the country?
13. What forms can it take here?

**XITIQUE**

1. Have you heard about Xitique or any other culturally-rooted practices?
2. Do you think they are advantageous or not?
3. Do you think Xitique can be framed as a native form of SE?

## APPENDIX 5: DIRECTORY OF INTERVIEWEES ACROSS ORGANISATIONS (CHAPTER FOUR) *

| Type of Organisation | Organisation | Role | Interviewee |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Development Aid Agencies** | | | |
| | United Nations | UN Women Representative | **UN1**: Luisa Castro |
| | | Head of UNIDO Operations | **UN2**: Manuel Mondlane |
| | World Bank | Senior Health Specialist | **WB1**: Hugo Macie |
| | | Implementation Consultant | **WB2**: Maria Cossa |
| | DFID | Governance and Economic Policy Department | **DFID1**: Joel Schneider |
| | | Manager of Projects and Inclusive Growth Policies | **DFID2**: Samuel Dario (ex-USAID) |
| | | Private Sector Development Advisor | **DFID3**: John Mitch |
| **NGOs (International)** | | | |
| | Famo | Coordinator of 'Grow Campaign' | **INGO1**: Adelino Martins |
| | Technicaf | Private Sector Investments | **INGO2**: Rosa Moreira |
| | Vitafrica | Operations Manager | **INGO3**: Miguel (Spanish Cooperation) |
| | ADIV | Project Coordinator | **INGO4**: Sandra |
| | Mix Global | Project Manager | **INGO5**: Dora |
| | VIA | Sewing Student Beneficiary | **INGO6**: Mariana |
| | | Welding Student Beneficiary | **INGO7**: Evaristo |
| | | Industrial Electricity Student Beneficiary | **INGO8**: Andre |
| | | Buildings Electricity | **INGO9**: Filipa |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Student Beneficiary | |
| | | Electricity Installation Student Beneficiary | **INGO10**: Egidio |
| **NGOs (Local)** | | | |
| | MNGO | Project Manager | **LNGO1**: Linda |
| | | Programme Officer | **LNGO2**: Duarte Cardoso |
| **Government** | | | |
| | IPEME | Director Of Statistical Studies | **GOV1**: Alvaro Midilio |
| | | Administration and Statistical Studies Assessor | **GOV2**: Americo Jonas |
| | Ministry of X | Minister of X /Ex-Minister of Y | **GOV3**: Ricardo Madalane |
| **Religious Charities** | | | |
| | International Foundation | Development Network Management and Programme Liaison Officer | **R1**: Jorge Sousa |
| | ECMR | General Secretariat | **R2**: Sister Jasmine |
| | Religious Congregation | Planning and Development Coordinator | **R3**: Pedro |
| | | Superior Delegate | **R4**: Father Francisco |
| | | Vocational Courses Manager | **R5**: Brother Tiago |
| | | Parish Priest | **R6**: Father Gonzalez |
| | | Mozambican Member | **R7**: Brother Matias |
| **CSOs** | | | |
| | MRA | Accountant | **CSO1**: Paulino |
| | | Manager of Communications | **CSO2**: Carla |
| | | Operations Manager | **CSO3**: Joaquim |
| | HOMU | Communications and Knowledge | **CSO4**: Carlos Chikua |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Manager | |
| | Women Association | Executive President | **CSO5**: Lisbete Teixeira |
| | Cross-Border Association | President | **CSO6**: Amilcar |
| | MulherPower | Executive Director | **CSO7**: Isabel |
| **Social Enterprises** | | | |
| | Mozambikes | Co-founder and General Manager | **Se1**: Nicole |
| | | Sales Manager | **Se1emp**: Cesar |
| | Juju Ant | Social Entrepreneur | **Se2**: Elsa |
| | Business Works | Founder and Manager | **Se3**: Lucy Jones |
| | Kimani Platform | Social Entrepreneur | **Se4**: Ruben |
| | EcoAids and Savings Bank for Women Development | Social Entrepreneur | **Se5**: Rita |
| | Savings Bank for Women Development | General Manager | **Se5emp**: Fernanda |
| | | Credit Analyst | **Se5emp2:** Roberto |
| | Community Nursery | Founder and Manager | **Se6**: Manuela Machava |
| | EC Patchwork | Founder and Manager | **Se7**: Ines Dy |
| | ThirdWay | Chair and Founding Partner | **Se8**: Juan Carlos |
| **International Corporations** | | | |
| | Multi-National Bank | Head of CSR | **C1**: Maria Jose |
| | Mundi | CFO at External Affairs Executive director | **C2**: Gonçalo Pereira |
| | | General Manager Community Relations and Social Performance | **C3**: Igor Olande |
| **MFIs** | | | |
| | M-credit | CEO | **MFI1**: Kamundo |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Development Consultants** | | | |
| | BrainLab | Co-founder and General Manager | **DC1**: Patricia Lopes |
| | Here | Founder and General Manager | **DC2**: Cristina Fonteboa |
| | Moz Investments Group | Executive Director | **DC3**: Lourenço |
| | Mozambique Business in Development Facility | Development Consultant Cross-sector Partnerships | **DC4**: Lucy |
| **Academics** | | | |
| | Eduardo Mondlane University | Geographer | **A1**: Prof. Ana Felix |
| | S. Tomas University | E'ship Lecturer | **A2**: Dr Duarte |
| | Universities | Anthropologist | **A3**: Dr Joel |
| **Journalists** | | | |
| | 'Mozambique' Newspaper | Reporter | **J1**: Antao Filipe |
| | 'Africa' Newspaper | Founder | **J2**: Dario Faria |
| **SE Promoters** | | | |
| | ROOT Initiative | Project Manager | **P1**: Hans |
| | SEI Bootcamp | Speaker | **P2**: Rafael |
| | SEI Bootcamp | Organizer | **P3**: Luis |
| | SEI Bootcamp | Mentor | **P4**: Etna Correia |
| | Est. Workshop | Coordinator | **P5**: Teresa Maia |
| **Xitique Beneficiaries** | | | |
| | Workplace Xitique | Xitique Member | **Xw1**: Telma |
| | Workplace Xitique | Xitique Member | **Xw2**: Flora |
| | Workplace Xitique | Xitique Member | **Xw3**: Evaristo |
| | Family Xitique | Xitique Member | **Xf1**: Tete |
| | Family Xitique | Xitique Member | **Xf2**: Alexandre |
| | University Student | Xitique Member, cross-border trader | **Xs1**: Madalena |
| | University Student | Xitique Member and bar owner | **Xs2**: Luis |

***** All organisations and interviewees' names are fictitious

# APPENDIX 6: ETHNOGRAPHIC WORK (CHAPTER FOUR)

(Fieldwork Plan - participants and activities) *

1. **SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS:**

**African Mozambicans**

- Cahora Bassa Administration Advisor - Julião Pondeca
- Cook - Alexandre
- Driver - Augusto
- Taxi Driver - Salvador
- Domestic staff - Tete, Flora and Evaristo
- Founder 'Mozambique' Newspaper / Entrepreneur and anti-poverty social activist

**Portuguese Mozambicans**

- Journalist and Consultant - Antão Filipe
- Founder of Africa Newspaper - Dario Faria
- BMP Bank Director - Catarina

**Local Academics**

- Professor and Antropologist - Dr Joel (Blog Ma-Chamba)
- Entrepreneurship Lecturer at University of S. Tomás - Dr. Duarte (MNGO)
- Geography Lecturer at University Eduardo Mondlane - Dr. Ana Felix
- Deputy Director for Research and Extension at University Eduardo Mondlane/School of Business and Entrepreneurship - Dr. Barroso Marraleke

**UN**

- Representative UN Women - Luisa Castro
- UN High Commission for Refugees - Mafalda Trindade
- United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) - Manuel Mondlane

**World Bank**

- WB IFC (International Finance Corporation) - Fatima
- Coordinator, Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist - Maria Cossa
- Senior Health Specialist - Hugo Macie
- Private Sector Development - Felizberto Muti

**DFID**

- Governance and Political Policies - Joel Schneider
- Inclusive Growth Policy and Programme Manager - Samuel Dario
- Private Sector Development Adviser - John Mitch

**IPEME (Mozambican Institute for the Promotion of SMEs – Gov.)**

- Director of Statistical Studies - Dr. Alvaro Midilio
- Assessor - Americo Jonas

**Government Representatives**

- Minister of X / ex-Minister of Y - Ricardo Madalane

- EDM - Jaime Salva
- Municipality President - Juca Esteves

**ROOT Initiative**

- Project Manager - Hans

**Religious Organisations**

Religious Congregation:

- Planning and Development - Pedro
- Priest at Instituto Superior D. Bosco - Father Francisco
- Priest at S. José de Lhangane Parish - Father Gonzalez
- Brother at S. José de Lhangane - Brother Tiago
- Vocational Courses (inc. E'ship module) - 5 Students were interviewed

Mahotas:

- Sister Clotilde

Avomacc:

- Sister Maria Alice

**Residents involved in fund raising and charitable work**

- Consul of Portugal - Salvador Melo
- Lawyer - Serenela Andrade
- ECMR (Episcopal Commission for Immigrants) - Sister Jasmine
- Founding Partner at Investe Imóvel Moçambique - Marisa
- Fund Raiser (Embassy of Portugal) - Constança

**SE - People involved with or supportive of social ventures**

- Juju Ant (Social Entrepreneur) - Elsa
- Livro Aberto Initiative - Aida
- Founding Partner Mozambikes (social venture) - Nicole
- Sales Manager Mozambikes - Cesar
- Director at BusinesWorks Mozambique Lda – Lucy Jones
- AVOMACC Sustainable Planning - Paula
- SE promoter - Rafael
- SEI (empowered by a prestigious global business school) - Luis
- SEI (empowered by a prestigious global business school) - Emilia
- Bootcamp participant - Lisbete

**Mozambican Social Entrepreneurs**

- Social Entrepreneur (Kimani) - Ruben
- Social Entrepreneur (Sustainable vynil bags) - Ines Dy
- Social Entrepreneur (Women Bank) - Rita
- Social Entrepreneur (community nursery) - Manuela Machava

**NGOs**

- Famo - Coordinator of the 'Grow Campaign' Adelino Martins
- International Foundation - Representative Office Mozambique Jorge
- Technicaf - Forest Industry Director|Private sector investments Rosa Moreira
- Mix Global - Project Manager Dora Carvalho

- Vitafrica (Spanish Cooperation) Project Manager Miguel
- MNGO - Project Manager Linda
- HOMU (Mozambican NGO) - Knowledge Manager Carlos Chikua
- MulherPower (Mozambican NGO) - Executive Director Isabel
- Cross-Border Association - President Amilcar
- MRA (Mozambican Recycling Association) – Paulino, Carla, Joaquim
- ADIV (Community Enterprise) - Country Representative Sandra
- Estímulo (Portuguese NGO for Development) – President Teresa Maia

**SMEs**

- BrainLab founding partner - Patricia Lopes
- Here - Corporate Responsability Mozambique CEO – Cristina Fonteboa
- Sustainable Jewelery Design owner - Astrid Sulger
- Relocation Solutions founding partner - Matilde
- Moz Investments founding partner - Lourenço
- Founding Partner at ThirdWay (Matola Project) - Juan Carlos

**CSR**

- Multi-national Bank (CSR Department) - Maria Jose
- Mundi CFO & External Affairs General Manager - Gonçalo Pereira
- Mundi General Manager community relations/social performance - Igor Olande
- Polana Group (Hotel Polana General Manager) - Miguel Afonso dos Santos

**MFIs**

- MCredit CEO - Kamundo
- Socremo (Micro-finance bank)

**2. INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS AND SOCIAL ENCOUNTERS:**

- Key informal conversations were held with several other local residents from all walks of life, and documented
- There were many opportunities to undertake 'opportunistic ethnography' at multiple social events etc.

**3. VOLUNTARY WORK:**

- Teaching at S. Tomás University - 2 lectures
- Kimani - "One hour for a Smile" (Maputo Central Hospital)
- Livro Aberto Literacy and Numeracy programme
- SEI Bootcamp Jury

**4. FIELD VISITS:**

- Attended 2 family Xitique ceremonies
- Maputo Central Hospital (Pediatric Service) – Dr. Inês Claudino
- Eduardo Mondlane University visit
- Khalene Market (Maxaquene) Muckeristas visit

- Mahotas day care centre for disabled people (2 Nuns were interviewed + informal conversations with beneficiaries and members of staff)
- Catholic Orphanage (several informal conversations with beneficiaries and members of staff)
- Avomacc Nursery
- Quiduxo School at Zimpeto
- Women Bank at Matola (4 members of staff and 1 beneficiary were interviewed)
- Chova Library at Costa do Sol (several informal conversations with beneficiaries and tutors)
- Mozambikes production site (several informal conversations with members of staff)
- Matutuine Communities visit together with NGOs: ADIV, Vitafrica, MNGO
- Sustainable Jewelery Design production site at Bairro Triunfo
- Shelter Field Visit (UNICEF + UN Women initiative)

**5. OFFICIAL EVENTS PARTICIPATION - Dissemination opportunities:**

- Invited to attend "Cross-sector Partnerships for Development" Workshop
- Intervention on a Public Debate at Instituto Franco-Português - 'Gender Role on Politics' (broadcasted by TVM)
- Assisting SE Workshop at the Portuguese Consulate - organised by NGO Estímulo
- Attending and talking at a research methodology class - Univ. Eduardo Mondlane
- Teaching at S. Tomás University – 6 local entrepreneurship case studies were presented by students
- Jury at 2nd SEI Bootcamp (empowered by a top global Business School) – 9 social innovations were pitched by participants

***** All organisations and interviewees' names are fictitious

# APPENDIX 7: ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS (CHAPTER FOUR)

## AUDIO RECORDINGS *

1. **Recorded Semi-structured Interviews:**

| | |
|---|---|
| - Adelino (Famo) | 1:00h |
| - Lourenço (SME) | 0:45h |
| - Maria Cossa (WB) | 0:30h |
| - Elsa (SE) | 1:30h |
| - Tete, Flora, Evaristo (Residents-Xitique) | 0:40h |
| - Pedro (Religious Congregation) | 1:00h |
| - Padre Francisco (Religious Congregation) | 0:40h |
| - Padre Gonzalez (Religious Congregation) | 0:45h |
| - Irmão Tiago (Religious Congregation) | 1:45h |
| - Ligia (WB) | 1:00h |
| - Zeca (Resident) | 1:00h |
| - Dr Joel (Antropologist) | 1:45h |
| - Dr Duarte (Entrepreneurship Lecturer) | 1:15h |
| - Nicole + Cesar (Mozambikes) | 0:45h |
| - Ruben (SE) | 0:15h |
| | 2:15h |
| - Luisa Castro (UN) | 0:45h |
| - Joel (DFID) | 0:50h |
| - Samuel + John (DFID) | 1:10h |
| - M. Jose (CSR Multi-national Bank) | 1:30h |
| - Rita (SE) | 1:10h |
| - Fernanda (Women Bank) | 0:35h |
| - Roberto (Women Bank) | 0:15h |
| - Staff (Women Bank) | 0:15h |
| - Client (Women Bank) | 0:30h |
| - Carlos Chikua (HOMU) | 1:15h |
| - Patricia Lopes (SME) | 1:25h |
| - Paula (AVOMACC) | 0:15h |
| - Irmã Jasmine (ECMR) | 2:00h |
| - Alexandre (Cook) | 0:30h |
| - Ines Dy (SE) | 1:40h |
| - Julião Pondeca (Cahora Bassa) | 0:45h |
| - Rosa Moreira (Technicaf) | 2:00h |
| - Lucy Jones (BusinesWorks Mozambique) | 0:40h |
| | 1:10h |
| - Prof. Ana Felix (Univ. Eduardo Mondlane) | 1:15h |
| - Gonçalo Pereira (Mundi) | 0:30h |
| | 1:10h |

- Paulino, Carla, Joaquim (MRA) 2:00h
- Manuela Machava (SE) 1:00h
- Sandra (ADIV) 1:30h
- Linda + Miguel (MNGO and Vitafrica) 1:33h
- Cristina Fonteboa (Here) 2:15h
- 5 Vocational Students Interviews 1:00h
- Teresa Maia (NGO) 0:55h
- Amilcar (Cross-Border Association) 2:15h
- Americo Jonas (IPEME) 1:20h
- Dr. Alvaro Midilio (IPEME) 0:30h
- Juan Carlos (Machangulo) 0:50h
- Hugo Manir (WB) 0:58h
- Igor Olande (Mundi) 1:25h
- Rafael (SE promoter) 0:20h
- Luis (SEI) 0:40h
- Lisbete (Bootcamp participant) 1:10h
- Ricardo (Minister) 1:00h
- Hans (ROOT Initiative) 1:00h
- Manuel Mondlane (UN) 1:15h
- Dr. Barroso Marraleke (Univ. EM) 0:30h

**2. Recorded Informal Conversations, Events and Field-visits:**

- Abelardo (taxi driver) 0:03h
- Augusto (chauffeur) 0:05h
- Salvador (taxi driver) 0:10h
- Maria (WB) + Jaime (EDM) 0:10h
- Jaime N. P. (historian) 0:15h
- Dora (NGO) 0:10h
- Francisco (SME) 0:07h
- Fernando Lima + Guta (newspaper) 0:25h
- Manuela Figueiredo (resident) 0:05h
- Reforms talk 0:27h
- Mozambikes visit - staff 0:08h
- Jaime Salva + Maria Cossa (EDM) 0:40h
- Manuela + Salvador (residents) 0:15h

0:35h

1:00h

- Public Debate on 'Gender Role on Politics' 2:20h
- Methodology Class (Univ. Eduardo Mondlane) 0:55h
- Minister Ricardo's Party Speeches 0:11h
- SE Workshop Portuguese Consulate 1:00h
- SEI Meeting 0:25h
- SEI Bootcamp Pitches 1:10h

- SEI Bootcamp Jury feedback 0:45h
- Univ. S. Tomás - Lecture 0:12h
- Univ. S. Tomás - Case study 1 0:09h
- Univ. S. Tomás - Case study 2 0:06h
- Univ. S. Tomás - Case study 3 0:05h
- Univ. S. Tomás - Case study 4 0:06h
- Univ. S. Tomás - Case study 5 0:04h
- Univ. S. Tomás - Case study 6 0:06h

**3. Recorded Reflections:**

- 12 January 0:15h
- 29 January 0:35h
- 1 February 0:10h
- 13 February 0:50h
- 27 February 0:30h
- 2 March 0:17h
- Skype talks (several) 1:40h

**Audio Recordings (78h):**

| | |
|---|---|
| 85 people interviewed - 65 recorded interviews | Total: approx. 64h |
| 20 recorded informal conversations | Total: approx. 2h |
| Official Events and Fieldvisits | Total: approx. 7h |
| Recorded Reflections | Total: approx. 5h |

**OTHER SOURCES OF DATA**

- Interview sheets: descriptions, thoughts

- Interview notes (when impossible to record)

- Photographs

- Video recordings: fieldtrips, events, Xitique ceremonies, premises etc. Total: approx. 3h

- Field notes (including a diary and reflections)

- 30 forms, completed by university students, with definitions of entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship) + 6 local entrepreneurial case study posters presented by students (in groups of 5)

- Exchanged emails with participants

- Secondary data gathered during fieldwork - movies, organisations' reports, programmes, leaflets, books, newspapers, magazines etc.

***** All organisations and interviewees' names are fictitious

# APPENDIX 8: INFORMATION FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS (CHAPTER FOUR)

## WRITTEN CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research project. Your participation in this research is voluntary, and you may change your mind about being involved in the research at any time, and without giving a reason.
This information sheet, which is available in English and in Portuguese, is designed to give you full details of the research project, its goals, the research team, the research funder, and what you will be asked to do as part of the research. If you have any questions that are not answered by this information sheet, please ask.

What is the research project called?

The Unfolding of Social Entrepreneurship in an Emerging Economy Context

Who is carrying out the research?

PhD researcher - Maria Margarida De Avillez

The study is being carried out as part of a PhD program from Nottingham University Business School (United Kingdom). It is funded by the 'Economic and Social Research Council – Doctoral Training Centre' (ESRC DTC), which is the UK's largest organisation for funding research on economic and social issues.

What is the research about?

The aim of the research is to better understand how Social Entrepreneurship can promote sustainable economic practices in a specific context: Mozambique. The study will examine the role that local culture plays in enabling or constraining the emergence of Social Entrepreneurship, and in shaping the forms it takes in Mozambique. By examining how local actors and organisations engage with Social Entrepreneurship, this research is expected to contribute to a better understanding of the processes through which new forms of governance and organisation may be developed as a means of achieving poverty alleviation.

What groups of people have been asked to take part, and why?

Several key local actors directly or indirectly involved in Social Entrepreneurship practices in the country will be inquired in order to get a broad view of the topic, based on different perspectives. They include: Governmental agencies; international aid agencies (e.g. World Bank, United Nations, Department for International Development - UK), other organisations (e.g. Non-Governmental Organisations, religious charities, Micro-Finance Institutions, private companies), local residents (national and international citizens, social entrepreneurs, Mozambican academic researchers); and also members of local deprived communities.

What will research participants be asked to do?

You may be interviewed or simply asked to share your views and practices in a

more informal way. Interview/s will be scheduled in accordance to your availability, lasting from half an hour to 2 hours. Whenever possible, access to the organisation premises and field activities may also be requested in order to observe how you operate. This may be arranged in exchange for voluntary work.

What will happen to the information I provide?

All data collected (written information, audio recordings) will be protected and kept secure. The information gathered (e.g. interview transcripts) may also be disclosed to you, when required, so that you can verify its accuracy and be reassured about how anonymity will be kept. For example: if you are a Governmental agency representative, your name will be changed, the specific department you work for will not be disclosed, and your job title will be replaced by a description of your role; if you work for an NGO or a religious charity, your name will be changed, as well as the name of your organisation; instead, a description of its goals and sector in which it operates will be utilised. The same applies to private companies, Micro-Finance Institutions, and local residents in general. The name by which you and your organisation will be referred to in any publications can be agreed upon at the time of the first interview.

What will be the outputs of the research?

The research outputs will be included in a Doctoral Thesis and, possibly, presented at academic conferences and published in peer reviewed journals.

**Contact details**


- Researcher: Maria Margarida De Avillez
  Nottingham University Business School
  Jubilee Campus
  Nottingham NG8 1BB
  Phone: +44 (0)7900877173
  Email: lixmmdea@nottingham.ac.uk
- Supervisor: Dr Andrew Greenman
  Nottingham University Business School
  Jubilee Campus
  Nottingham NG8 1BB
  Phone: +44 (0)115 9515266
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**Complaint procedure**

If you wish to complain about the way in which the research is being conducted or have any concerns about the research then in the first instance please contact Dr Andrew Greenman, or contact the School's Research Ethics Officer:


Adam Golberg
Nottingham University Business School
Jubilee Campus
Nottingham NG8 1BB
Phone: +44 (0)115 846 6604
Email: adam.golberg@nottingham.ac.uk


Participant Signature: Date:

**VERBAL EXPLANATIONS SCRIPT**

Thank you for participating in this study. You can change your mind about being involved at any time, and without providing any explanation.

Researcher's information

Student - Maria Margarida De Avillez

I am Portuguese. I am doing a study about Mozambique at Nottingham University (UK).

I am doing voluntary work for ... (organisation name) – if applicable.

What is the study about?

I am studying Mozambique's culture, everyday life customs and local beliefs. I am also looking at how your community is being supported by local organisations.

What will you be asked to do?

I just want to observe what you do in a regular day, get to know what you think and how you live and relate to other people. I might take some photographs if you would allow me.

What will happen to the information I provide?

All information collected will be kept safe. Your name and the name of this location will be changed if I write anything about you so that nobody can identify you or your neighbourhood.

What is this study for?

By getting your views, and learning more about your routines and your community, this study will help other countries, especially the UK, to better understand what your needs are and how you see the world around you.

**Contact details**

Researcher: Maria Margarida De Avillez
Mobile Phone (Maputo): +258 842 198146
Email: lixmmdea@nottingham.ac.uk

Organisation (when applicable): ... name of organisation I am working for...
Contact details