Building New Understandings of the Practices of Social Enterprises:

Evidence from the northeast of England

Katie Aitken-McDermott

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School of Natural and Environmental Sciences
Newcastle University

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Abstract

Social enterprises (SEs) are presented in the UK policy context as important vehicles for efficiently creating social value. However, what the concept of a SE includes and excludes is ambiguous, fluid and contested. While the ambiguous nature of the SE concept, internationally and in the UK, is well documented in the academic literature, there is less understanding of the effects of this ambiguity in local support structures for the SE sector. Furthermore, our understanding of how these enterprises are started and sustained, has been limited, by both definitional contestations and, the nature of the academic lenses employed.

This study answers two research questions: (i) 'How is 'social enterprise' used and understood in the local ecosystem?' and (ii) 'How do individuals and groups start and sustain different types of social enterprises?'

Using qualitative methods, it builds understanding of SEs, using practitioners' perspectives as a basis for grounded theory. The research occurred in two stages. In the first stage, network ethnography employs participant observation and qualitative interviews to understand the conceptualization of SEs in one ecosystem of support - County Durham in the northeast of England. The second stage focuses on ten SE case studies sampled using a typology of SE journeys developed in stage one.

In the second stage, SE case study data analysis uses a collective, multi-level capability approach which extends Sen's Capability Framework to generate new understandings of the material, social and relational resources and processes involved in starting and sustaining SEs. Key findings include the importance of low/no risk economic capital at start-up, the pivotal role of the 'constructed SE family' and extended family, of shared and sharing values and a sense of shared identity play in motivating co-workers to share their expertise and labour for reduced financial return.

The typology of SE journeys is refined in stage two. Types of SE journeys are differentiated by founder features and sectoral origin. The two sets of founder features are: personal issue/ crisis led, and expertise/ profession led. The sub types of sectoral origin are: public sector; larger voluntary and community sector (VCS) organisation; smaller volunteer-run VCS organisations; private sector. These subtypes are not exclusive, a founder or founder group can bring together multiple

founder traits and can benefit from expertise and logic from multiple sectors – highlighting the importance of the collective dimensions of starting and sustaining these enterprises.

The study aims to inform future support for, and realistic expectations of these organisations and concludes with practical recommendations. The grounded research design finds a need for cross-sectoral SE support which recognises and serves different SE journeys, which integrates the logics and insider knowledge of public, private and third sectors, and which develops and supports the social and relational and value-driven components of resourcing SEs.

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Abbreviations

AFT	Alpaca Farm and Therapy Ltd
CA	Capability Approach
CB	Community Business
CD	County Durham
CSEF	Constructed Social Enterprise Family
DCA	Durham Community Action
DTC	Doctoral Training Centre
EU	European Union
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
GWK	Groundwork
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
hh	household
ITI	Iterative Thematic Inquiry
ISR	Individual Social Responsibility
LA	Local Authority
LRC	Lionmouth Rural Centre
LSP	Local Strategic Partnership
NE	North East
NE&C	North East and Cumbria
O&I	Oak and Iron
SE	Social Enterprise

SEA	Social Enterprise Acumen
SSE	Schools for Social Entrepreneurs
TSO	Third Sector Organisations
VCS	Voluntary and Community Sector
VCSE	Voluntary, Community and Social Enterprise
W1C	Wear1Care
WCT	Weardale Community Transport
WAW	WarmAgeWood
WW	Woodshed Workshop

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

> *"A new economy is emerging, one populated by enterprises born to put people and planet first."* (Doherty et al., 2020, p. 1)

At this time of urgent, global, economic, social and environmental challenges social enterprises (SEs) have been ascribed important positions in efforts to address complex problems. Interest in SEs comes from individuals and groups who see normative economic thinking of neoliberalism – and it's inferred financial efficiencies – as inevitably part of the solution to contemporary challenges, and from those who believe the economic system must fundamentally change with new modus operandi in which assumptions of the dominance of fiscal efficiency are left behind. That both these groups can purport SEs to be part of the solution to society's challenges clearly demonstrates the concept's ambiguity, and arguably its allure. In this study this ideological tension is apparent in the relationships in the SE support ecosystem and amongst the SEs themselves.

Though interest in SEs continues to grow – and SE and the related concept of social entrepreneurship – are increasingly being used by politicians, academics, support institutions, and practitioners in the field, it remains unclear what boundaries are being placed around these terms. Hence, it is unclear what inputs and processes influence and best nurture SEs' establishment and survival – the key focus of this thesis.

While it is well recognised that the concept of SE is ambiguous and contested (Teasdale, 2012; Teasdale et al., 2012; Defourny and Nyssens, 2017a), how this ambiguity affects those working with the concept and language of SE, particularly at a local level – and affects relationships within an ecosystem of SE support, had not been the focus of academic study when this research project was started. More recently some studies have focused on ecosystems of support (European Commission, 2019) and SEs themselves as ecosystems (Bharddwaj et al., 2022). This thesis elaborates on these studies and contributes new knowledge to our understanding with empirical evidence from one SE ecosystem and ten SEs.

Building on this new empirical knowledge of one local ecosystem of support, and using a bottom-up, emergent approach, this qualitative thesis addresses an often-unstated impact of the concept's ambiguity – its implications for sampling in studies of these organisations, which in turn influences the extent and applicability of our knowledge. The methodological approach also addresses the problem identified in the literature, that theoretical lenses applied in (Steyaert and Dey, 2010) findings – that findings are too focused, and that theoretical lenses steer and thus limit new knowledge.

This thesis directly addresses these issues, using bottom-up methodologies to explore what is meant by a 'SE' in one ecosystem, and to understand how SEs are started and sustained. The empirical evidence reveals a nuanced appreciation of the concept of SEs, and based on this, a new typology of SEs is developed, founded in the 'vernacular' expertise of SE support practitioners in the field.

Based on a new SE typology, understandings of SEs' practices are revealed that deepen and broaden knowledge of capabilities for different types of SEs – and the social ingredients and processes that are critical to the recipes used to start and sustain them.

This study confronts head on what Defourny and Nyssens' (2017a) describe as "the impossibility of a unified definition" (p2479), taking a pragmatist philosophical approach to SEs and the SE support ecosystem it addresses how the ambiguity of the concept and language is managed and worked with.

By recognising and documenting the fluidity of the concept, and related terms like community enterprise and community businesses, and the contestations which surround these in one ecosystem of SE support, the study reveals the vernacular expertise (Lowe et al., 2019) of those individuals who work with the concept and are tasked directly with supporting SE. By using their expertise to understand types of SEs in the field, in this research SE case studies are sampled, and data collected on how SE practitioners resource these SEs, to contribute a new theoretical perspective building on existing theory, layering understanding.

The focus of the study is SE practices. Practitioner perspectives are collated for a practice-based understanding of what and how questions posed to ten SE cases. This approach focuses on 'everyday practices' (Steyaert and Katz, 2004) to understand how different SEs access and convert resources to start and sustain their SEs. It uses bottom-up analysis, using Bourdieu's theory of capitals and adapting Sen's Capability Approach to generate a Collective SE Capability Framework for each SE case, to visualize what resources are used at different stages of each SE, how these are accessed and converted, and what these resources are converted to, to start and sustain each SE.

Taking a broad view of SE types, and a more holistic approach to the processes of starting and sustaining the SE case studies, contributes knowledge identified as lacking by Bhardwaj et al. (2022) with a more generalized study presenting a more holistic viewpoint (p252) .

1.2 Institutional Interest in SEs

Internationally SEs and social entrepreneurship have been widely credited with the potential to address complex social problems innovatively, efficiently and with efficacy. The World Bank (Tinsley and Agapitova, 2018), the OECD (1999, 2022), the EU (European Commission, 2017, 2019), have all allocated SEs prominent positions in their efforts to tackle the wicked problems of inclusive economic growth and sustainable development.

In the UK, SEs have been on the political agendas of different national governments for over two decades (Leadbeater, 1997, 2007; HM Treasury, 1999; DTI, 2002; OTS, 2006; House of Commons, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2010; DCMS, 2016, 2020) When the proposal for this research was first developed in 2014 SEs were part of the UK Prime Minister David Cameron's vision of The Big Society (Teasdale et al., 2012). Now, in 2022, SEs continue to be seen to be important vehicles for social value, commonly referenced alongside charities as potential beneficiaries of social investment by organisations set up in partnership with government to administer social investment funds (Access: Social Investment Fund, https://access-socialinvestment.org.uk/us/partners/ accessed 22/01/22). In England, SEs have been quantified and surveyed as a subset of the Small Business Survey, under the remit of the Department of Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (Cabinet Office, 2010; DCMS, 2016). And during the Covid-19 pandemic, SEs were included with voluntary and community organisations to benefit from the Coronavirus Community Support Fund (Department Culture, Media and Sport and The Cabinet Office, 2020).

1.3 Academic Interest in SEs

Academic study of SEs has grown rapidly in response to political interest (Sassmannshausen and Volkmann, 2018), and reflecting what has been claimed to be new ground swells of effort from social entrepreneurs to deliver social value via market mechanisms (Volkmann et al., 2012).

The confluence of real-world activity and institutional recognition in different political, economic and social contexts – via governmental, philanthropic and academic activities, and from different disciplines, has resulted in a messy and confusing picture of what SEs are, and how they come about. This thesis approaches the topic from a pragmatist philosophical perspective. In other words it accepts that different people have different understandings of the concept – reflecting their beliefs and context, and that those understandings are fluid.

Understanding the origins behind the different meanings attributed to SE, and acknowledging the contestations as inevitable, sets the scene for researching how the concept is understood at different levels of SE support and practice in the field. This is the focus of the first half of the thesis. The second half of the thesis builds on this learning, to understand how different SEs are started and sustained.

1.4 Study aims and objectives

The aim of this study is to build new understandings of the practices of SE. The primary and emergent objectives are:

first, to understand how the language of SE is used and understood;

to understand how individuals offering face-to-face support make sense of the ambiguity;

to identify types and features of SEs.

second, to understand how individuals and groups start and sustain different types of SEs;

- to identify if and how SE type and context affects the resources and processes of starting and sustaining different SEs

1.5 Structure of thesis

This thesis comprises eight chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the background to, rationale for and the aims and objectives. The following chapters are outlined below.

Chapter 2 reviews relevant academic literature, setting the context, identifying gaps in our knowledge addressed in this study, informing the methodology, and highlighting concepts which help to make sense of data and build new theory in the iterative processes of literature review, data collection and analysis. International and national typologies which inform this inductive and emergent study are reviewed, guiding a proposition that sectoral origin is as central to differentiating SE journey types. Then the fluid and contested nature of the concept of a SE in the UK is evidenced and key concepts from previous studies which inform data analysis are identified. Following this, studies focusing how SEs are started and run are reviewed, identifying academic silos and theoretical frameworks which seem to restrict integrated, multi-level understanding of these organisations.

Overall, it identifies sensitising concepts and themes which informed the evolution of the research questions and approach to data collection and analysis. And identifies both the need to leave space for the priorities of practitioners to come to the fore and for processes of SE to be understood afresh, having identified a gap in understanding the everyday actions and processes of SEs from practitioner perspectives.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach and methods used in the two stages of this study, presenting the emergent, bottom-up approach to data collection and analysis which provide the basis for findings. First, it introduces the research questions, context, collaborators, and the pragmatist research paradigm adopted. Then, it describes and justifies the ethnographic methods employed in the 'immersion stage' to understand the ecosystem of SE support, participant observation and interviewing across a network, and focus on the vernacular expertise of SE support practitioners. Before explaining the second stage of participant-led data collection and bottom-up analysis to understand and compare the SE Case Studies.

Chapter 4 is the first of three empirical and analytical chapters and presents findings from the immersion stage. These findings document multiple reactions to the ill-defined, fluid concept of SE in one support ecosystem and connects different individuals' professional roles with their attitude to the concept and language of SE. Then, using this learning as a foundation, the chapter presents findings of how SE support practitioners – vernacular experts – make sense of the concept and differentiate types of SE journeys using their expertise of different SE sectoral origins and their support needs.

Chapter 5 presents findings from the case study Stage of the research. It introduces ten SE case studies sampled to represent the different types of SE identified by the vernacular experts. Then, findings of how these SEs have been started and sustained are presented with common enabling resources and processes by which these resources are accessed and converted to SE activity identified using Collective SE Capability Frameworks.

Chapter 6 presents results highlighting where cases differ from common conversion themes identified in Chapter 5, if and how these differences relate to the SE Typology presented in Chapter 4 and key distinguishing features of each case. It identifies differences that are linked in the data to

SE's capability to convert different resources to start-up, and to be sustainable. These differences point to weaknesses and strengths, derived from different characteristics including SE origin, important signalers for future SE support.

Chapter 7 discusses the findings, reviews the results presented in Chapters 4,5, and 6 and discusses important themes which follow the research objectives. This discussion chapter develops understanding of the SE support ecosystem as complex, considers the importance of vernacular expertise in understanding different SE journeys, reviews if and how this study's finding sit with notions of hybridity and different types of embeddedness, before reflecting on the methodological approach and choices made across the two stages.

The final chapter concludes the study, bringing together the research findings, identifying the contribution of this thesis and presenting policy and practical implications.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This literature review sets the context for the study, critically reviews key contributions that inform the study, and identifies deficits in our knowledge. It introduces how conceptions and knowledge of SE have been understood in relation to different international and regional contexts, from different perspectives, and have changed over time. It also addresses how academic understanding of SE has been informed by different approaches to their study. This focuses attention on the need to better understand the cultural and social aspects of SEs.

The chapter provides the reader with sufficient background to the thesis' research questions to demonstrate the contribution made to knowledge with the findings presented in chapters 4,5, and 6. Sensitizing concepts are outlined which help to make sense of data, and build new theory (El Hussein et al., 2017).

The first half of this chapter (2.1) identifies literature informing data collection and analysis answering the first research question:

'How is 'social enterprise' used and understood in the local ecosystem?'

It starts by introducing the different international paradigms of SE (2.1.1), and international typologies (2.1.2). Then, the evolving nature of the concept of a SE in the UK is introduced with, UK typologies and literature introducing sensitizing concepts which informed the data analysis in the grounded, constant comparative approach (2.1.3). Finally, literature proposing SE as an alternative to current neo-liberal hegemony is introduced (2.1.4). Several important points come into view - the societal, the institutional and political nature of SE, and the constitutive nature of SE research are particularly important to this study.

This section of the review evidences that meanings of SE are contested, are continuously evolving and shifting - in context, and can be determined according to the priorities and values of the individuals and the institutions assigning meaning. This background is particularly important to begin to appreciate how the terms are understood in the UK. The dynamic and highly politicised nature of these terms in the UK makes investigating SEs very challenging and inevitably contentious.

The second half of this chapter (2.2) reviews literature informing the second main research question: ‘How do individuals and groups start and sustain SEs?’. And reflects on theoretical and empirical studies relevant to data collection and analysis investigating and understanding resources and processes involved in starting and running a SE.

In this section I review different approaches to understanding how SE are started and sustained and consider the assumptions these approaches carry. First, SE study which borrows heavily from the neoclassical notion of the individual, heroic entrepreneur is reviewed, (2.2.1.) then the notion of hybridity is developed, and empirical evidence built from this theoretical perspective is presented (2.3.2.). Then empirical studies that start to shift the focus more firmly to social and contextual components of these enterprises, informed by economic sociologists, are reviewed (2.3.3.) Finally, more critical and ‘alternative’ approaches to SE study are considered (2.3.4.).

This section introduces some of what is ‘known’ about how different SEs are started and sustained, identifying multiple factors and, the multiple levels of resource acquisition and conversion that come together to enable starting and sustaining different SEs. It identifies theoretical approaches that have been used to understand enterprises and SEs and, identifies opportunities to understand SEs from a novel perspective. As this section of the review will evidence, there is a danger that SE research findings are predetermined imposing or assuming what SEs are and by applying existing theories – particularly those of business practice. By predetermining the conceptual lens or lenses, facets and complexities of SE practice remain unseen. This section also evidences: the fragmented nature of the literature; the need to incorporate understanding of the processes of starting and sustaining SEs at multiple levels – individual, organisational and institutional (Saebi et al., 2019).

Both the two main research questions, and the methodological approach I take to answering them, are founded on the understanding that it is inherently difficult to define what a SE is, that in the UK what is deemed a SE has shifted and been determined according to different political priorities of governments and interest groups, and that practitioners of the activity of SE and those who start and manage SEs align themselves with the concept, or not, for different reasons. Reviewing different perspectives on SE in both sections of the chapter reveals the inherently political nature of different approaches to SE research, and the constitutive (Dey and Steyaert, 2012) nature of SE research. It also presents the rationale for founding this study in the ‘everyday’ realities of SE.

2.1 SEs in an international context, multiple paradigms

The academic field of 'SE' study is relatively new and has been emerging and evolving since international political and academic interest in SEs and social entrepreneurship mushroomed in the 1990s (Sassmannshausen and Volkmann, 2013; Alegre et al., 2017). To address what is deemed to be a SE in the UK it is useful to first take a step back and consider meanings ascribed to the term in different international contexts.

Early literature from US and European academics wrangle with trying to define SEs (Alter, 2004) and the related concept of social entrepreneurship (Dees, 1998; Austin et al., 2006; Peredo and McLean, 2006). An important contribution to the field was the recognition that different paradigms of SE and social entrepreneurship existed in Europe and the US (Kerlin, 2006).

In her international comparisons of SEs, Kerlin draws on social origins theory (Kerlin, 2010) and historical institutionalism (Kerlin, 2013) to evidence that SEs are embedded in political institutions and the institutions of a society - its values. In her 2013 comparative study Kerlin is explicit that SEs and models of SE development are embedded in institutions and rules:

> *"By institutions we mean both formal and informal rules that are consciously or unconsciously known by individuals" p87*

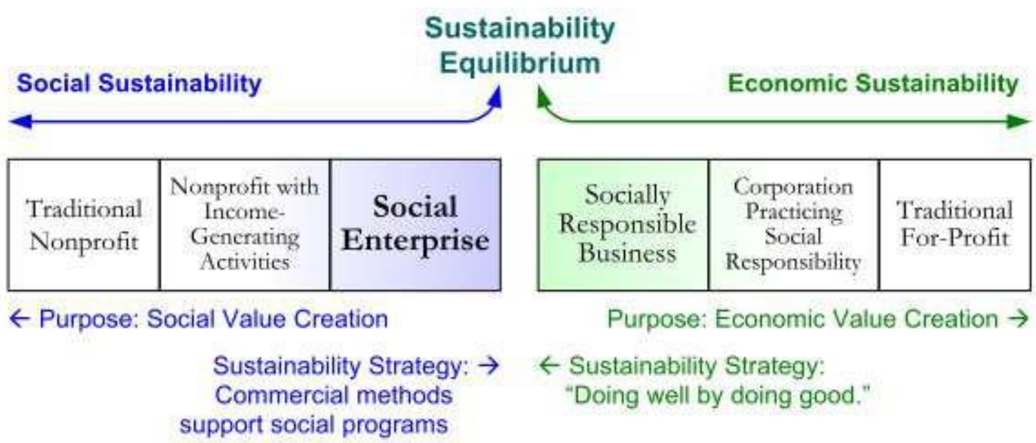
Three main schools of thought of relevance to this UK-based study are: two US paradigms - the earned-income school, and the social innovation school; and the European (EMES) paradigm.

The US paradigms focus on the activity of social entrepreneurship and the application of business and enterprise logics to achieve social value and meet social mission. In the North American context, conceptions of SE can be viewed as result of belief in the ability of the market and, or, innovative social entrepreneurs in the tradition of commercial entrepreneurship, to resolve social problems deemed state failures. The paradigm is generally one of welfare being delivered by non-profits, though this has expanded into other sectors as the not-for-profit paradigm has been explained using a spectrum approach, and as the not-for-profit and innovation paradigms have merged (Defourny and Nyssens, 2010; Young and Lecy, 2014).

2.1.1 Earned Income School

In the USA the 'earned income' school originated from not-for-profit organisations engaging in enterprise, trading to raise additional funding for their social purpose, and to supplement diminishing philanthropic income due to reductions in government grants in the 1990s (Defourny and Nyssens, 2010). As originally defined, the 'earned income' school was confined to the work of the not-for profits. The 'earned income' school has since evolved to include also social businesses, any 'earned- income' activity for social purpose including for-profit businesses with a primary aim of creating social value and operating financially sustainably.

An early contribution to explanations of this ‘earned income’ approach is Alter (2004) whose spectrum of organisations, in which hybrid SEs sit within permeable boundaries, is visualised along a spectrum of purpose, with either end of the spectrum aligning to social or economic value creation.



Alter (2004) p22

On first inspection this spectrum seems clear. However, its main weakness is where the boundaries are to be set, and by whom, if SE is to be found somewhere between pure philanthropy or voluntarism on the one side, and the adoption of social mission or social responsibility purely for economic gain on the other? Alter’s contribution does not shy away from the complexity of the business models and intricacies of the organisational models that are set up to deliver social value however, the spectrum visually presents solid boundaries.

Before reviewing the US ‘social innovation school’ next, it is interesting to note that in Alter’s proposed definition of SEs innovation is a critical component - but a component sourced from the enterprise side of the hybridity spectrum:

> *"A social enterprise is any business venture created for a social purpose–mitigating/reducing a social problem or a market failure–and to generate social value while operating with the financial discipline, innovation and determination of a private sector business." (Alter, 2004, p12)*

2.1.2 Social Innovation School

The social innovation school, in contrast to both 'earned income" and EMES approaches is conceptually more focused – though it still suffers from definitional ambiguities and debates. Its origins are in the 'individual heroic entrepreneur' discourse and reflects the Schumpeterian definition of an entrepreneur - conceiving SE as the activity of innovative, resourceful, risk- takers. It emerged from the work and discourse associated with individuals like Bornstein, and the Ashoka Institute (Bacq and Janssen, 2011), as the result of social entrepreneurs. This will be expanded on in a later section (2.2.1).

In this paradigm, as Chell et al. (2010) describe:

> *"SEs seek business solutions to social problems and in order to do so, we argue, it is necessary for SEs to foster innovation" (p485)*

Though conceptually more focused, empirically its reach includes social innovation activities across and within all sectors of the economy. This paradigm of SE is more often associated with SE as an activity, social entrepreneurship, however it inevitably also merges into discussions of SEs as organisations. The necessity of inclusion of 'social innovation' in the understanding of SE and the complexities that ensue parallel the long debates regarding what constitutes entrepreneurship, and if entrepreneurship is a necessary constituent of enterprise creation.

2.1.3 EMES school

In the EMES[1] paradigm a SE is an organisation located in the third sector, the social economy, ideally with participatory governance structures and bottom-up ideals (Defourny and Nyssens, 2010a; Defourny and Nyssens, 2010b; Young and Lecy, 2014). In Europe the social ills which SEs address are perceived to be the result of market and state failure requiring collective,

voluntary and community action. Further, having evolved from a tradition of co-operatives, a greater emphasis has been placed on the social organisation of the enterprise and the redistribution of productive power (Kerlin, 2009).

The EMES approach to SE, was originally outlined by Borzaga and Defourny (2001). This paradigm focuses on individual organizations, and originally located SEs

> *"at the crossroads of the cooperative and non-profit sectors" (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001 p25).*

This initial publication outlines key features of SEs, though these do not constitute necessary criteria (Defourny and Nyssens, 2010b), which are outlined below. The paradigm's origins are in the European co-operative tradition, and the different European examples of Work Integration Social Enterprises (Defourny and Nyssens 2008). As a result, the features which set it apart from the American approaches are the emphasis on the organisation and on collective governance, and limited profit distribution to shareholders.

The criteria by which EMES define a SE are outlined under three headings by Defourny and Nyssens (2012):

> *"**Economic and entrepreneurial dimensions of social enterprises** A continuous activity producing goods and/or selling services ... A significant level of*

[1] EMES is a group of international researchers and universities. Originally funded by the European Union it takes its name from the title of its first research project, "L'Emergence de l'Entreprise Social en Europe" (The emergence of SEs in Europe). Originally focused on research from Europe, it widened its membership in 2013 to international researchers. (https://emes.net/who-we-are/ Accessed Jan 2022)

economic risk … A minimum amount of paid work …

***Social dimensions of social enterprises** An explicit aim to benefit the community … An initiative launched by a group of citizens or civil society organisations … A limited profit distribution ...*

***Participatory governance of social enterprises** A high degree of autonomy … A decision-making power not based on capital ownership … A participatory nature, which involves various parties affected by the activity"*

(Defourny and Nyssens, 2012, p12-15)

These elements described above exclude much of the activity included in the US innovation school, for example corporate social responsibility, social businesses not collectively governed, and public-private partnerships (Young and Lecy, 2014). However, rather than a list of necessary attributes the characteristics of a SE proposed by the EMES group are described as a 'tool for researchers to position themselves in the galaxy of SEs':

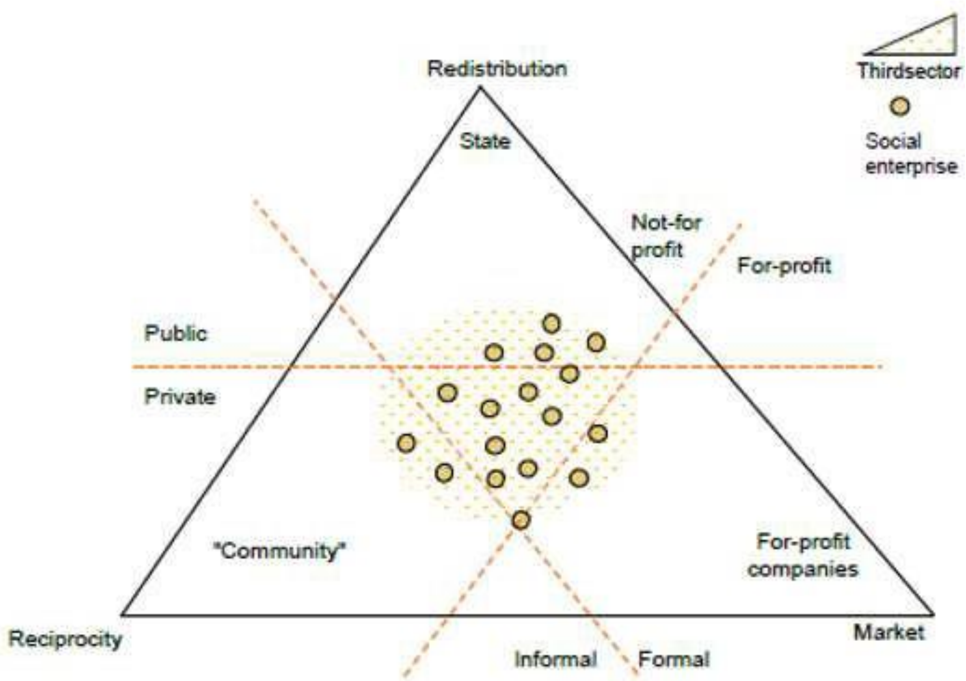
"an abstract construction … analogous to a compass, which helps analysts locate the position of the observed entities relative to one another and eventually identify subsets of social enterprises they want to study more deeply. Those indicators allow identifying brand new social enterprises, but they can also lead to designate as social enterprises older organisations being reshaped by new internal dynamics." (Defourny and Nyssens, 2012, p15)

This chapter from Defourny and Nyssens is particularly interesting in the context of this study because it explicitly references alternative perspectives on economics and society, proposing that understanding SEs requires different conceptions:

"go[ing] beyond conventional "bi-polar" representations of the economic landscape, which only stress the central place of the market and the regulatory role of the state" (Defourny and Nyssens, 2012, p15)

This visualisation of the EMES conceptualisation of SEs, shown below in Figure 1, and demonstrates the variety of sectoral locations, logics of exchange and, the variety of resource type which these organisations are engaged.

Figure 1: SE as a combination of various actors, logics of action and resources



(Defourny and Nyssens, 2012, p17, based on Pestoff 1998, 2000)

Using this visualisation these authors begin to present possible issues of organisational hybridity (discussed in section 2.2.2). For example, tensions between reciprocity and market exchange or profit maximisation for social mission. It is noteworthy that from this perspective, published in 2012, SEs can include for-profit companies working to the logic of the formal market economy, but they also are said to remain firmly in the third sector.

As this section, and the brief descriptions to the three approaches to the meaning of a SE, illustrate there are many and varied reasons contained within the concept of SEs that excite the imagination of politicians, academics and self-identifying practitioners.

So, while the other paradigms do not require innovation, the allure and promise of the 'innovation' school imbues SE rhetoric generally. And continued definitional ambiguity - of both SE and social innovation - nurtures this association (Dacin et al., 2011) - even where SE is used to describe activity that does not live up to the 'Schumpeterian' ideal. In the UK innovation in social value creation was central to early political thinking about SEs (Leadbeater, 1997). Even today, the boundaries and differences between SE and social innovation more often rely on inference than explicit and direct references.

These multiple paradigms have propelled the growth in interest in SE (Sassmannshausen and Volkmann, 2018). ‘Earned-income’ promises reduced grant costs to philanthropic trusts and government, ‘innovation’ promises fundamental change and novelty, whereas the ‘cooperative and participatory’ economics of the EMES tradition are attractive to those who seek alternative ways of organising the economy and society. Each, separately, and in different combinations, appeal to different political agendas and personal beliefs. Yet understanding these distinctions is still not sufficient for understanding the concept and how past, current and future players do and do not engage with it. In the next section I expand the complexity of this concept and present typologies and models of how academics have grappled with and tried to integrate different paradigms and to make sense of the realities of the different organisations and activities deemed to be SE and engaged in SE activity.

One difference observed between the original European and American understandings has been the European emphasis on a SE as an organization, a noun, and the American emphasis of a SE as an activity, a verb (Teasdale, 2012). The verb versus noun distinction stems from very different conceptual approaches to the topic, and it is generally agreed these are the result of the different institutional contexts from which different understandings of SE have developed.

In this study the focus is on SEs as organisations because the UK has settled on that distinction. However, in the previous section literature explaining all the three transatlantic paradigms is presented. This is because in the UK conception of SE is fluid and at different times and to different degrees incorporates all these paradigms, though this is not commonly made explicit.

2.1.4 Paradigms Merging – International Typologies and Models

The international paradigms continue to exert their influence in SE research, and understanding their origins is important to taking a critical view of the literature. As well as literature which sits firmly within one of these paradigms, there is also growing academic consensus in support of broader and more inclusive approaches to SE study rather than strict definitions and distinct models (Young and Lecy, 2014; Hulgard et al., 2014; Defourny and Nyssens 2017 a,b; Defourny et al., 2021). These approaches have been developed as understandings of non- western contextual factors on SEs in other parts of the world have developed (Chandra and Kerlin, 2021).

Broader and more inclusive approaches have generated typologies. After decades of definitional debate, these typologies indicate SE study has begun to extricate itself from the wrangling and knots created by efforts to produce a universal definition and, is turning attention to the ‘how’ of SE - resources and processes – over the ‘what’ of SE.

The more inclusive typology approach identifies shared characteristics and, within permeable boundaries, allows different SEs (activities and organisations) to be picked out, studied, and compared. It moves the focus from what is a SE to, how is it achieved, by whom, where, why, and the outcomes. This inclusive approach builds on the only sustained consensus within the definitional debate, that SE seeks to achieve social aims through commercial activity (Peattie and Morley, 2008; Teasdale, 2012). The shift to SE typologies is an important stage in the development of the field.

> *“One consequence of the lack of consensus on how to define and delimit the nature of social enterprise is that it inhibits the development of a consistent body of research. Researchers know they cannot compare apples with oranges but they are unsure which fruits belong in their baskets and which do not.” (Young and Lecy, 2014, p.1309)*

Different typologies take varying approaches to differentiating types: Spear et al. (2007) focuses on the 'how' in terms of the origins from which the SEs are established; Alter (2004) considers the degree to which the mission is integrated with the enterprise activity; Zhara et al. (2009) point to the types of social and economic input and processes by which SE founders gather necessary resources; Smith and Stevens (2010) consider the degree to which social entrepreneurs are embedded in the networks from which they source their resources; while others’ address the various forms and processes of governance (Spear et al. 2007; Teasdale 2010; B&G 2016).

In this section I review two of international typologies in more detail, before reviewing the peculiarities of SEs in the UK. The typologies reviewed here are Young and Lecy’s (2014) SE zoo, which is based mainly on data from the US, and Defourny and Nyssens (2017a,b) international typology which suggests four types of SE models.

The first typology presented below is the zoo metaphor, chosen because of how it helps make sense of the data emerging from the field in the first stage of data collection. This zoo metaphor, that Young and Lecy (2014) use to describe SEs, is an example of the inclusive approach. It includes SE as an activity and as an organisation under one umbrella, recognises SE organisations and ventures across and between the for profit, not for profit and public sectors, and includes the innovators alongside other more mundane types of SE replicators. Because, the authors argue, only by capturing all SEs and then differentiating sub-species can their study accurately reflect, and thereby inform, the reality of SE practice. Incorporating the well-versed ecology metaphor to describe the social contexts from which SEs emerge, the zoo metaphor facilitates investigation into how different sub-species evolve, and their continued evolution as ecologies change and sub-species compete and merge, highlighting realities of constant adaptation and change. The species they identify, which they state can then be divided into sub-species, are: for-profit business corporations engaged in CSR; social businesses, balancing for-profit with social mission; social cooperatives, which benefit the wider community as well as their members; commercial non-profit organisations; public-private partnerships; and hybrids, these include Community Intertest Companies and governance arrangements that enable non-profits to have for-profit subsidiaries and for-profits with non-profit subsidiaries.

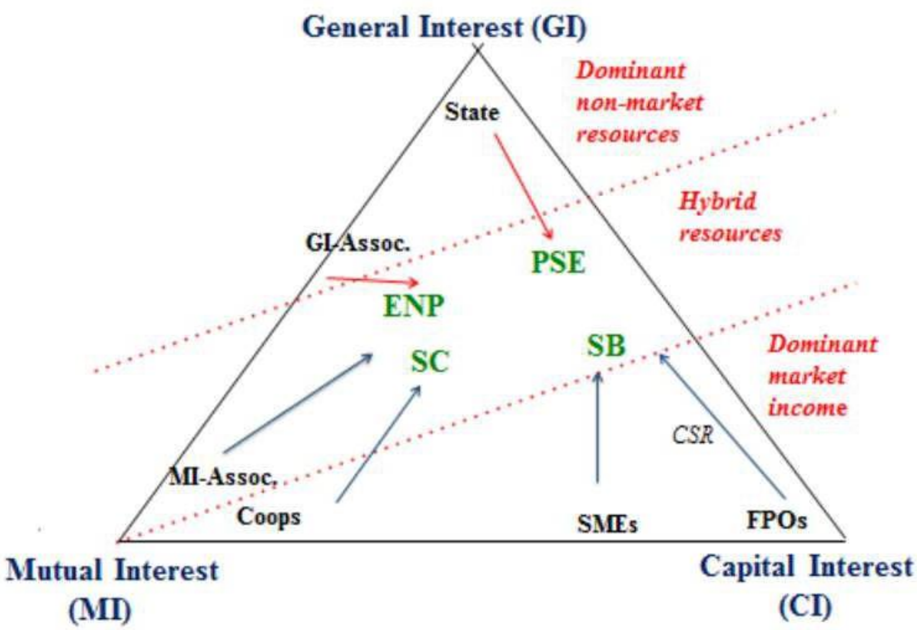
Young and Lecy (2014) present compelling arguments in favour of their inclusive zoo metaphor which include its ability to: identify SE sub-species and facilitate comparative research; to guide SE practice and thereby start to ask what is appropriate/ possible, where and how; study how types relate to each other, for example where SE compete or cooperate and the consequences; inform understanding of SE stability and sustainability; and provide a more comprehensive understanding of how SEs relate to their environment and thereby inform public policy (p1328).

It is notable that Young and Lecy (2014) specifically invite comparative study of their different SE species, while at the same time arguing that they do not propose other schools of thought be abandoned but instead:

> *"[by] making their frames of reference explicit in future research will simply help scholars, practitioners, and policymakers understand both the assumptions and the implications of their respective analyses." (Young and Lecy, 2014, p.1330)*

The second typology which Defourny and Nyssens (2017a) propose, both founding members of the EMES research group, identifies four international SE models distinguished on 'principles of interest' and 'resource mixes'. In an empirically tested theoretical model the four models are: the entrepreneurial non-profit (ENP) model; the social cooperative (SC) model, the social business (SB) model, and the public-sector SE (PSE) model (see Figure 2). This typology addresses questions that have hindered efforts to draw boundaries around SEs. It defines these four types by: where in the economic sectors they operate i.e. market, public, civic; what their motivation is; and the principle on which they are governed. ENP have moved from the non- profit sector and thus from General interest toward Capital interest, and some market income. PSE have moved from the State and general Interest toward Capital interest and market income. SC move from Mutual interest toward General interest and Capital interest. SB move from 'for profit' and Capital interest toward General interest. All shift to hybrid resources, combinations of market income and non-market resources.

Figure 2: Institutional Trajectories generating SE models



(Defourny and Nyssens, 2017a, p2478)

Defourny and Nyssens' models are based on the idea of different SEs more or less aligned between three spectrums delineating three ‘principles of interest’ identified in the overall economy. The principles of interest are ‘general interest’, ‘mutual interest’ and ‘capital interest’, respectively aligned with public and voluntary sectors, cooperative sector, and the for- profit sector. These principles of interest combine with different ‘resource mixes’ - economic models combining different proportions of public grants, philanthropic resources, and market income. The four SE models they identify are: the social cooperative model, which combines mutual interest with general interest – the interests not just of the members; the social business model, ‘driven by shareholders’ (capital) interest, but .. aimed at the creation of ‘blended value’; the public sector SE (PSE) model, which embraces “public-sector spin-offs”, and the entrepreneurial non-profit model, essentially trading non-profit trading to support their social mission (p323).

Significantly, Defourny and Nyssens’ second triangle marks a turn away from the traditional EMES ideal and incorporates more of the social business approach. However, because it also builds on the triangle presented in Figure 1 it incorporates logics of redistribution and reciprocity. Though, without the original triangle’s explicit reference to the work of Polanyi and his argument that the economy needs to be re-embedded in society, much of the ‘alternative’ pro- civic, pro-reciprocity ethos can remain somewhat hidden in the new triangle. What the range of models demonstrate is the movement of the EMES networks’ thinking toward greater acceptance of the Anglosphere notion of social business. This reflects common experiences of state retraction from social value provision and increased reliance on the various forms of SE, and on the private sector internationally, the export of the SE concept internationally in the work of organisations like the World Bank and OECD, and the related export, internationalisation and hegemony of the values and world view inherent in neoliberalism.

In relation to this study of SE in one part of the UK, both these typologies are informative and provide the foundations for accepting and understanding both the range of types of SEs and the range of values associated with SE in the field. Both are also important in that they identify the gaps this research fills, evolving and context-dependent understandings of local SEs, and the need to understand how component parts of the ecosystem relate. Moreover, Defourny and Nyssens (2017a) also point to features of the methodological approach that ought to be taken calling for ‘bottom-up’ conceptualisations:

> *"The arena of conceptualization efforts should now be fed with more contributions starting from bottom-up approaches built upon a hypothesis that could be termed ''the impossibility of a unified definition'' " (p2469)*

The second half of the review (2.2) will discuss how, beyond distinguishing types or species, SE researchers need to be aware of assumptions as to where SEs are placed in relation to society and the economy, and more fundamentally where the economy is placed in relation to society and how this affects SE research.

2.1.5 Paradigms and Research as Constitutive[2]

The international SE paradigms described above present SEs as the result of macro socio- economic and political contexts (Kerlin, 2009, Defourny and Nyssens 2010a), as legitimate responses within dominant ideologies (Dart, 2004). The process is circular, with political and academic institutions generating the paradigms, defining what is SE and, legitimating and resourcing that activity. Given this, it is important to recognise that ideologies steer paradigms, and paradigms steer academic enquiry which in turn generate and maintain ideologies (Steyaert and Dey, 2010). Researchers have to recognise their place in the system and ensure they remain critically aware of the biases they, and the concept of SEs bring to their research.

It is interesting that as early as 2004 Dart identifies his institutional theory analysis of SE as an alternative to "more traditional rational economic concepts" and predicts:

> *"social enterprise is likely to continue its evolution away from forms that focus on broad frame-breaking and innovation to an operational definition more narrowly focused on market-based solutions and business-like models because of the broader validity of promarket ideological notions in the wider social environment." (Dart, 2004, p412)*

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[2] Steyaert and Dey (2010) warn SE research itself has the power to constitute – define – what SEs are.

Internationally, and within the UK, SEs have been legitimated via different institutional mechanisms using the label of SE, or labels related to SE, like social business, social venture, community enterprise, and community business. This has contemporary relevance because different approaches to business, economics and society continue to steer different groups and academics. Moreover, definition continues to impact on theory and practice – because of what Defourny and Nyssens (2017a) have more recently termed "the impossibility of a unified definition" (p2467). Given the fluidity and politicised nature of the term 'social enterprise', it is critical researchers consider our own biases and assumptions, and try to minimize and recognize how these affect our study and data collection.

While the concept of SEs has been popularised at a time when the dominant ideology has been neoliberalism, it is important to recognise that the language of SE reflects top-down beliefs in that ideology (Dey and Steyaert, 2010). Yet, the practices of SE are bottom-up activities. Practitioners can be working within that dominant ideology with practices aimed at countering the hegemonic ideology, or not. Because of the fluidity of definition, value-led organisations, and practitioners bring their own shifting belief systems and values to the concept.

The focus of the next subsection is the UK and what the literature reviewed here shows is how important it is to be aware of the assumptions contained within this concept and how important it is that academics pay close attention to the different interrelating layers of resourcing and activity associated with SEs.

2.1.6 UK conceptions and typologies in shifting political and theoretical sands

In this section how UK conceptions of SE align with international paradigms is considered, UK typologies are introduced, meso-level issues like transition, social enterprization and regional variegation are outlined, and sensitizing concepts[3] from the literature which help to make sense of the data in the first stage of the study are highlighted.

In the context of the international paradigms introduced in 2.1.1 it is useful to recognise SE models

[3] Sensitizing concepts are concepts from the literature that proved particularly useful in the analysis, striking a chord with the date

in the UK have been aligned with both the Anglo-sphere earned-income paradigm and with the innovative paradigm (Teasdale, 2011). However, although many similarities exist with these US approaches, the UK SE sector shares the co-operative origins of the EMES paradigm (Teasdale, 2011; Defourny and Nyssens, 2010; Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2011) and displays other context specific differences to the US paradigms (Defourny and Nyssens, 2010). This is in large part because of the historical context of the welfare state and the foundations of philanthropy and workers cooperatives on which the welfare state itself developed (Sepulveda, 2015). The UK has also been identified as having an especially supportive and well-developed institutional ecosystem for SE (Nicholls, 2011).

Analyses of the sector in the UK present a complex picture of top-down and bottom-up activity influencing multiple definitional discourses which have emerged, coexisted, layered and overlapped before and since the publication of the official, if somewhat open, definition generated by the UK government in 2002:

> *"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" (DTI, 2002, p. 8)*

Understanding the political foundations of the SE concept in the UK is a helpful signaler for what the concept has been used to deliver by successive governments. One of the earliest contributions to the political debate on SEs in the UK is from Leadbeater's (1997) report 'The rise of social entrepreneurs' which calls for social innovation from social entrepreneurs working in all sectors of economy to reform an inefficient, cumbersome and increasingly unaffordable welfare state. It also calls for the state to resource, support and encourage SEs – for example,to reform legal structures to enable innovative organisational forms. In the report social entrepreneurs are described as innovative, adaptable, heroic individuals, who are not deterred or limited by a lack of resource, who produce and build social capital in communities - an attractive promise politically, especially to any government focused on limiting expenditure (Leadbeater, 1997).

As this report signals, SE holds a paradoxical position in the UK, simultaneously promising to address both state and market failure (Teasdale, 2011; Sepulveda, 2015), but, in an enabling institutional context maintained and resourced by the state. It is interesting that in the concluding recommendations of Leadbeater's report, it is government and the private sector that are called on to take social innovation forward and support social entrepreneurs even though social entrepreneurs in the voluntary and not-for-profit sector get particular mention.

> *"Social entrepreneurs will help us address our most pressing social problems. But they will only flourish amid the right environment, which will be created largely by the government and the private sector." (Leadbeater, 1997, p85)*

The success of the SE concept since Leadbeater's report is in large part because of its flexibility. The malleability of the concept means its meanings continue to evolve.

Teasdale's (2011) analysis of the discourse of academic, policy and practitioner literature presents a picture of the SE concept being socially constructed from the bottom up – from practitioner and interest organisations, and top down – directed by policy, and concludes:

> *"conceptual confusion is because social enterprise is a fluid and contested concept constructed by different actors promoting different discourses connected to different organisational forms and drawing upon different academic theories." (Teasdale, 2011, p99)*

He finds, the formal definition published by the DTI was itself a product of dispute, and states:

> *"the language of social enterprise ... [and] its meaning expanded as other actors adopted the language to compete for policy attention and resources. Policy makers deliberately kept the definition loose to allow for the inclusion of almost any organisation claiming to be a social enterprise. This allowed them to amalgamate the positive characteristics of the different organisational forms, and so claim to be addressing a wide range of social problems using social enterprise as a policy tool." (Teasdale, 2011, p99)*

In the UK understanding that the term is 'fluid and contested' (Dey and Teasdale, 2013), constantly evolving and being moulded to fit ideologies (Kay et al., 2016), agendas, and biases (Kerlin, 2009), and that the process is both top-down and bottom-up (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008; Lyon et al., 2010), is crucial background to the study of SEs. Understanding SE in the UK as an evolving and malleable concept (Teasdale, 2012), is based on assertions that the process of defining what is a SE in the UK has been iterative and cumulative. Iterative in that conceptualisations are developed backward and forward between interest groups, government policy and state-led resourcing, and practitioner activity (Dey and Teasdale, 2013, 2016). Cumulative because any contemporary definition is founded in the historical practices of non- profits and co-operatives (Bull and Ridley-Duff, 2019), and, because consecutive governments have built layers of enabling policies and mechanisms focusing on different sectors of economic activity. The layering of enabling policies is ongoing.

Although a government definition of SE has existed since 2002, because this definition is not strictly bounded, it leaves room for interpretation, by governments and interest groups (Teasdale et al., 2012), practitioners (Dey and Teasdale, 2016) and academics. Iterative processes of institutions and interest groups defining SE are explained by (Teasdale et al., 2013) in their critique of different attempts to measure the SE sector. Top-down, layers of policy are also described in detail by Spear et al. (2017) a national report written for the EU funded project 'Enabling the Flourishing and Evolution of Social Entrepreneurship for Innovative and Inclusive Societies'. The layers include ongoing marketization of public and welfare services since the 1970s, the policies of New Labour's third way and (Teasdale et al. 2012), localization (Durkin, 2014). Then, following the financial crisis 2008, policies of austerity demanded contraction of local state spending and sought efficiencies via mutualisation, out-sourcing delivery of services from local authorities.

Politicians create the context and determine what is expected of SEs, aligning SE with different agendas, and developing the context for different SEs with policies. The result being that what is 'legitimately' (Dart, 2004) considered 'a SE' by those generating policy and supporting activity in local economies and communities shifts. And, in response, actors on the ground self- define, realign, and relabel their actions in line with the priorities and rhetoric in particular to access resources. Dey and Teasdale (2016) term this 'tactical mimicry', proposing:

> *"'tactical mimicry' as a sensitizing concept to suggest that third sector practitioners' public identification with the normative premises of 'social enterprise' is part of a parasitical engagement with governmental power geared toward appropriating public money" (Dey and Teasdale 2016, p485)*

Though the mainstream paradigms of SE described here reflect dominant ideologies and socio-political differences in different countries and regions of the world, some academics ask if SE does, can and should represent an alternative to, and even rebellion against, the dominant neoliberal, free market ideology (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008; Curtis, 2008; Kay et al., 2016). The argument has been put forward by some that in the UK and in SE study more generally, that the American Business School approach has subsumed the 'alternative' definitions that understand and approach SE as a redistributive movement (Ridely-Duff & Bull, 2011). However, in his account of how the concept has been contested and managed, Teasdale (2012) suggests this claim is overstated. Using findings from Amin (2002) to demonstrate his point, Teasdale (2012) suggests that the market failure and state failure explanations for the emergence of SEs can be used to explain intra-national differences in local distributions of SE types within the UK.

> *"Drawing upon the academic explanations for the emergence of social enterprise might suggest that in [geographic] areas characterised by state failure, social businesses are the prominent organisational form, whereas co- operatives and community enterprises emerge primarily where markets fail." (Teasdale, 2012, p.107).*

A more critical, alternative reading of UK SEs has tended to be developed by those academics with interests in cooperatives. Bull et al. (2010) present ethical capital as an important distinguishing feature of SEs, claiming that if the field is to be societally transformative, ethical capital offers a necessary, alternative frame of reference for SEs to avoid market focused managerialist views. They list ethical capital alongside physical, economic, human, intellectual, social capitals and stating:

> *“understanding the transformations of capitals … is crucial to the development of the field” (Bull et al., 2010, p253).*

In their argument ethical capital can be a source of economic benefit for SEs, and they contrast ethical capital with social capital and economic capital. Social capital is the community and relationship building work and outcomes of SE. Ethical capital in contrast, is the perceived moral authority and identity of an organisation, which can be transformed into other capitals, and which is built up via ‘the application of social and economic rationality’ (p256). SEs enact a level of ethical capital only surpassed by charity which Bull et al. (2010) argue excludes economic rationality from its thinking. They go on to propose that ethical capital and ethical decisions 'have to involve a group' and some 'democratic process to guarantee that normative values cannot dominate in the long term' (p258-9)[4].

In 'Nine Verbs to Keep the Social Entrepreneurship Research Agenda 'Dangerous'' Steyaert and Dey (2010) consider the constitutive power of research to define what it is researching. One reading of the UK literature indicates two prominent schools of thought emanating from UK academic institutions: the Glasgow Yunus school and Sheffield Manchester EMES/Co- operative school. The former seems to align more closely with the social business school of thought – that SEs are another type of business and extension of the current free market neoliberal paradigm. In contrast, the latter school which appears to be founded with one foot firmly in the cooperative movement and presents SE as an alternative to the dominant paradigm. While this distinction is not rigid and the schools overlap to some degree, with critical, questioning and 'dangerous' contributions from both, this reading is another indication of thepower of institutions and institutional actors to define, redefine, reflect and maintain threads of different meanings which are all part of the 'SE' milieu in the UK.

Recognising this 'constitutive power', this thesis aims to use respond directly to Steyaert and Dey's (2010) aim:

> *"to encourage the field of social entrepreneurship to undertake 'situated inquiries' (Law 2004), that is, research that creatively capitalizes on a co-productive relationship with the subject matter." (Steyaert and Dey, 2010, p232)*

Dey and Teasdale (2013, 2016) evidence dynamic, bottom-up interactions with SE by different stakeholders in the third sector, using qualitative methodologies to understand concepts of 'dis/identification' and 'tactical mimicry'. Arguing that understanding SE as it is played out by

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[4] This argument is developed in a later paper by Bull and Ridley-Duff (2019) which proposes conceptualising SEs as hybrids of ethical and entrepreneurial intentions – instead of hybridity between mission and market. And which links the moral choices to different models of economic exchange, expressed through SEs' different legal forms - for example, charitable status, co-operative and community interest companies

practitioners offers important perspectives.

Dey and Teasdale (2013) use identity work and concepts of dis/identification to research and present the different and complex ways third sector practitioners identify or disidentify with the SE discourse. Subsequently, Dey and Teasdale (2016) use the concept of 'tactical mimicry' to understand further nuances of stakeholders' identification with SE, finding evidence of game playing with.

Both publications build on early work by Parkinson and Howarth (2008) who find the rhetoric of entrepreneurship and managerialism within SE policy to be at odds with the concerns and priorities of social entrepreneurs and suggest:

> *"a modified social construction of entrepreneurship, in which [social entrepreneurs] … draw their legitimacy from local or social morality [not from] the rhetoric of enterprise used to promote efficiency, business disciple and financial independence." (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008, p285)*
>
> *These publications offer useful insights that inform understanding of the relationships found in the local ecosystem of SE support in this study, reported in chapter 4, and feed into the selection of SE case studies in the second part of this study.*

Social Enterprization and Transitioning

Understanding the utility of SE as a policy tool, as a result of the fluidity of the term's meaning, provides important insights for academic study of SE in the UK and to understanding the different types of SEs identified in the next section.

One important use of SE as a policy tool has been in the marketisation of services previously delivered by the public sector (Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2011; Sepulveda et al., 2018). The marketization of public services refers to a state-funded and state-managed pseudo-market (Curtis, 2007) in which businesses and third sector organisations, including organisations spun- out of the public sector (Sepulveda et al., 2018) tender to provide services previously provided by the state (Bull and Crompton, 2006; Sepulveda, 2015). The ongoing marketisation of public service delivery, reflects an intensification of the fiscal pressures on local authorities and, reductions in grant funds. These financial realities have changed how local social value delivery has been resourced in multiple ways and pushed organisations to engage in trading in markets. Consequently, support services have been set up and financed to help organisations transition to SE. What the changing landscape of financing social value has meant is that many different types of organisations are transitioning to SE models. In the north of England, the evidence points to higher reliance on public sector contracts in this marketisation (SEUK, 2017).

By gathering results from different qualitative studies, a complicated picture of different types of transitioning to SE begins to emerge. Because of the multiple pushes on different individuals and organisations to generate income, via trading within or out of the state system, and ongoing institutional resourcing for SE, many individuals, often in sectors not used to the language and values of enterprise, are having to engage with SE. Consequently, UK based academics have asked if and how different individuals, for example those in the third sector, identify with the SE concept and associated language (Parkinson and Howarth, 2008; Dey and Teasdale, 2013, 2016). While others have researched how public sector employees, also not used to the language of business, transition to SE from public sector employment (Sepulveda et al., 2018).

The empirical reality of the multiple pushes to create SEs has encouraged some academics to ask how individuals within the third sector identify with the concept and the language (Parkinson and Heworth, 2008; Dey and Teasdale, 2013, 2016; Seanor et al., 2013 and 2014).

An early contribution from Seanor and Meaton (2007), based on Seanor's PhD data, presents a study similar to the first part of this thesis, asking how actors in a local third sector network in NW England make sense of SE. Their findings include: the bottom-up identification tensions of organisations with the SE agenda, particularly with the notion of the individual heroic risk taking social entrepreneur; issues of infrastructure support, like competition within the ecosystem, and top-down resourcing which is inappropriate to existing local delivery; and experience of fragmented SE support from existing voluntary and business support agencies, and from within the local authority.[5]

[5] Seanor and various co-authors (2007, 20013, 2014) have provided third sector practitioner perspectives: firstly, using qualitative methodologies to understand local SEs and their interaction with local infrastructure support in the north

Allinson et al.'s (2011) study of SEs for the Department for Business Innovation and Skills combines qualitative with quantitative data from a diverse set of 100 SEs, finds a mismatch between business support provided and SEs with:

> *"the sense of 'not being understood' work[ing] against SEs in the targeting and uptake of business support" (Allinson et al., 2011, p12).*

The scale of this study is unusual and the perspective of how business support can better support SEs is a useful one, however this study does not differentiate types of SEs nor consider the 'social' aspects of SEs and their management.[6]

Seanor et al. (2013) collect narratives from 'social organisations' in the north of England to understand their different relationships with the public sector during this process of social enterprization and find:

> *"different paths in transition, not simply a linear journey to commercialisation"*
>
> And, *"that despite the enactment of the grand narrative in the advice and support from advisors to those in transition, the [social] organisational representatives … acted differently to conventional entrepreneurship … "*
>
> Concluding *"SE cannot be told as a single story but as a set of little narratives showing ambiguities, contradictions and paradox" (Seanor et al., 2013, p339)*

Sepulveda (2015) considers the state promoted and supported social enterprization of the public sector with the deliberate creation of businesses from within the public sector - public sector spin-outs and mutuals (p854). She points to 'institutional layering' as a useful concept for understanding the new landscape of public service delivery, identifying it as a subtle, subversive form of

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west of England (Seanor and Meaton, 2007); then, investigating lived experiences through "narratives of transition" and visual methodologies, to understand transitions to SE from the perspectives of third sector and support organisation practitioners (Seanor et al., 2013, 2014).

[6] Interestingly Allinson et al. (2011) finds a deficit of financial management and sales and marketing expertise in the SE sector limiting enterprise growth.

privatization. What her observation and conclusions point to are again the importance of shifts in the ongoing relationships between different components of the ecosystem, and new layers in complex systems that change over time as a result of changes in policy, not wholesale changes in service provision and the people providing those services but changes in the way service provision is resourced and the way service provision is organised.

> *"Crucial here is how the new elements or institutional layers ... are added to rather than replacing the existing institutions" (Sepulveda, 2015, p855)*

Each of these studies on transitioning was published immediately before or during the first phase of data collection and resonated with the data being collected to answer the first main research question, encouraging a whole ecosystem perspective prioritising the local third sector and public sector and the relationships between organisations, but recognising the range of organisational types which make up the story of social enterprization in the UK. As a result, data collection in the field and the literature review for this study considers SEs and SE start- up with a broader, more inclusive brush than some previous work. It also includes the processes involved in transitioning under the banner of 'start-up'.

UK Typologies

The first of the UK typology studies considered here is Spear et al.'s (2007) work on SE governance, which develops a typology based around origins, governance and size, and deals with the very practical issues and challenges different groupings of SEs are likely to face. This early report by Spear et al. (2009) for the Social Enterprise Coalition referenced by Defourny and Nyssens (2017a) in their seminal contribution to the field because of its focus on origins:

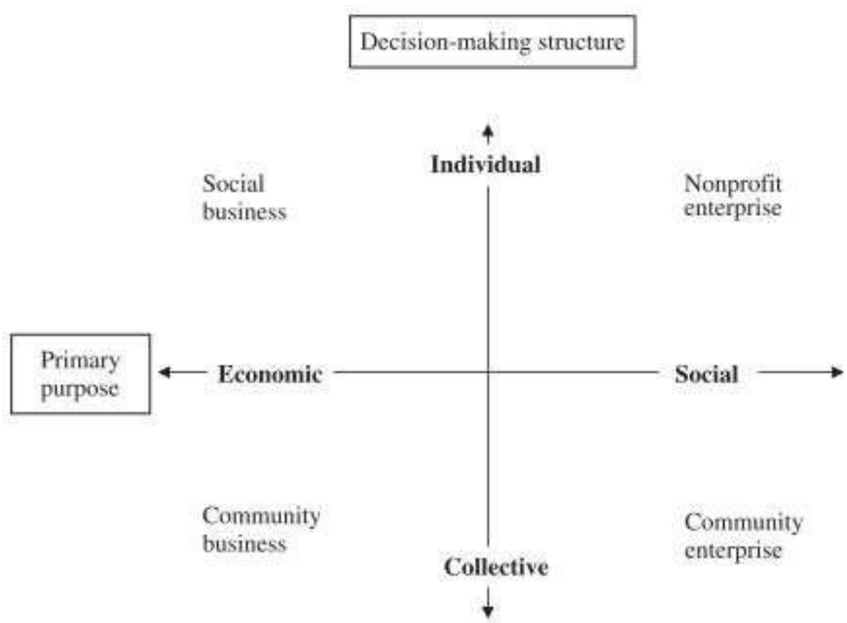
> *"The origins of social enterprises are significant because the social enterprise sector is in a state of emergence and social enterprises are developing from very different roots. These different roots affect the transitions they have to make and can influence both the way governance structures are constructed and developed, and the types of issues that emerge. The research identified four important origins of social enterprises: mutualism (e.g. credit unions, co-operatives), public sector spin-offs (e.g. leisure trusts), charitable and voluntary activity (e.g. trading charities), new enterprises established by social*

entrepreneurs, either linked to new social movements (e.g. fair trade and recycling organisations), or from the business sector." (Spear et al., 2009, p7)

As the results presented in chapter 4 indicate, there is a great deal of overlap between Spear et al.'s (2009) typology and that developed in the field in partnership with those working to support SEs.

A second approach, by Teasdale (2010), based on two SE case studies located in a UK inner city, provides a typology according to two axes – governance and mission (see Figure 3). The governance axis is a continuum between individual and collective governance. The mission axis is a continuum between economic and social outputs. In Teasdale's typology the four types are the 'non-profit' enterprise, the 'social business', the 'community business' and the 'community enterprise' each sit at different ends of two spectrums. The first spectrum identifies economic v social priorities, the second differentiates between individual and collective decision-making structures. The social business and non-profit enterprise are both identified as having more individual decision making structures, versus the collective structures of the community business and community enterprise. The community enterprise prioritises social purpose over economic purpose, in contrast to the community business.

Figure 3: Forms of UK SE based on governance and missions



(Teasdale, 2010 p93)

Published two years later, Teasdale's (2012) review of the development of UK SE discourses over time, and over the course of successive governments, identifies five discourses, five types of SE which are quite different from the typology in Teasdale (2010). The five discourses are:

> *"cooperatives (that embody a different way of doing business .. democratically controlled by their members, who are the beneficiaries..); community enterprises (development trusts, for example, .. trading on a ''not- for-personal-profit'' basis and re-investing surplus in the community); social business (businesses that apply market-based strategies to achieve a social or environmental purpose ..); earned income (voluntary organizations selling goods and services); and [third sector enterprises] delivering public services (the state funds delivery ...)" (Teasdale, 2012, p104)*

For research based in the UK, the advantage of these typologies - derived from local data - is that they reflect the evolution of the UK SE paradigm and exclude some of the types found under the US umbrella, like SE activity within primarily for-profit companies. There is little change from Teasdale's (2012) SE types and the categories of SEs identified by Spear et al. (2017) in their report 'Social Enterprise in the United Kingdom: Models and Trajectories', produced for the EMES's International Comparative Social Enterprise Models Project, and which directly feeds into Defourny and Nyssens (2017a) triangle published under the same research project.

While the literature on international and UK SE typologies points to the diversity of SE types, it is notable that there are a very few empirical studies which recognise this diversity. This thesis aims to fill this gap and contribute to our knowledge. It is notable that two UK studies which address SE diversity, and find related challenges and opportunities, were similarly focused on informing SE support, and funded by practice-led organisations, and government departments with an interest in practical support for the sector. The two studies are: Spear et al.'s (2009) paper based on their study of governance issues across types of SEs, conducted for the Governance Hubs and Social Enterprise Coalition; and Allinson et al.'s (2012) longitudinal study of challenges relevant to SE business support across different types of SEs, conducted for the UK Government's Office of Civil Society and Department for Business Innovation and Skills. Both studies highlight the heterogeneity of SEs and the need for comparisons across SE types to understand specific challenges. Both identify challenges carried over from SEs' origins as critical in determining likely governance and management issues of different SEs. Allinson et al. (2012) identify charitable and public sector origins linked with challenges such as moving away from grants-based thinking and bureaucratic processes and structures; and note reliance on public sector contracts limiting a SE's ability to grow. Both studies identify the need for relevant human capital on management teams and boards and recruiting people with certain expertise, particularly financial and business management and strategy.

Responsibilization/ Variegation and ecosystems

While these national studies and typologies provide a useful introduction to the diversity of UK SEs, other research in the UK points to the need to better understand how local context affects SEs (Amin, 2002; Buckingham et al., 2012; Munoz , 2010) and the support they receive. And identify an important gap in our understanding of how national shifts in policy impact different, local ecosystems. Because, while the literature points to local context being critical to how different people and places engage with SE (Amin, 2002; Harding, 2007; Mazzei, 2017), it does not link these observations to these or other typologies of SEs.[7]

There is also limited evidence regarding how different components of the SE support ecosystem relate to the concept of SE, how this affects how they relate to each other, and what components of the support infrastructure prove useful for different types of SEs (Hazenburg et al., 2016a,b). Each of these gaps is addressed in this thesis.

This gap in our understanding of social enterprization in local ecosystems is an example of what has been termed issues of 'variegation' by Brenner et al. (2010) (Shucksmith and Brown, 2016). That is the differentiated effects of multiple policies of social enterprization on local ecosystems. Effects differentiated because of different historic, cultural and socio-economic factors, and how the policies have been delivered and received locally over time. Munoz et al. (2015), referring to the responsibilization of communities, encouraged by the Conservative government through

[7] In the grey literature there is evidence that SEs in the northeast of England are more reliant of public sector funding (SEUK, 2017).

realities of austerity and policies of community ownership and voluntary organizations, states:

> *"there is little guidance on how this might happen and a knowledge gap relating to the processes of how community social enterprise organizations may emerge as service providers within different types of social and geographical context. … . It is essential to understand which resources and capabilities communities need to employ in order to create social enterprises" (Munoz et al. 2015, p479)*

Intra-national comparisons and rural-focused studies of SEs (Munoz, 2010; Smith and McColl, 2016; Smith and Stevens, 2010; Steiner et al., 2019; Steiner and Teasdale, 2019) all point to the role of context in understanding SEs. For example, work by Mazzei (2018) comparing two Northern English city regions experiences of SEs highlights the context dependent nature of what SEs can achieve and finds:

> *"each locality nurtures different relational assets, depending on the nature of institutions and the community and its culture. These relational assets in turn provide diverse incentives and opportunities for the social economy to develop and grow." (Mazzei, 2018, p2763)*

In the Tyne and Wear region, which includes County Durham which is the focus of this thesis, Mazzei finds firstly, heavy reliance on public sector contracts in the local social economy, secondly, related to this that a key expertise of social entrepreneurs was understanding and experience of the local public sector, and thirdly, 'little space for experimentation' as a consequence of the local reliance on statutory partners but greater opportunity for collaboration – both between SEs and between SEs and the local authorities and statutory bodies. All of these characteristics were identified as context related to the historical, cultural and socio-economic nature of the region.

2.1.7 Conclusion

As this first half of the chapter has evidenced, conceptualisation of SE in the UK is complex and contested at multiple levels by politicians, support intermediaries, and practitioners. The concept is in constant renegotiation (Teasdale, 2012), being aligned to different political agendas by governments (Gunn et al., 2008; Sepulveda, 2015), to different organisational forms and activities

- for example, for the purposes of resource acquisition (Teasdale et al., 2013), and to different ideologies (Bull, 2008; Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2011; Dey and Teasdale, 2013), as well as academic theories and interests (Kay et al., 2016). Consequently, typologies of UK SEs emerge from a field in which a plurality of SE organisational forms is the norm (Defourny and Nyssens, 2017a; Bull et al., 2018).

What remains unclear is how well recognised or accepted this plurality is at the level of SE support and SE practice, and how different components of SE support systems relate to the concept of SE. Hence the first research question, and sub-question.

'How is 'social enterprise' used and understood in the local ecosystem?'

> 'How do individuals providing face-to-face support manage the ambiguity of the language of social enterprise?'

2.2 How SEs are Started and Sustained?

This second half of the review identifies key texts that provide academic context - background knowledge and justification – to the second main research question and sub questions:

'How do individuals and groups start and sustain social enterprises?

> What resources are used?
>
> Where do those resources come from?
>
> How are resources converted to social enterprise activity?'

It brings together empirical and theoretical studies regarding the resources and processes involved starting and sustaining SEs, focusing in on social resources and processes.

Paralleling the evolution of research into enterprise and entrepreneurship (Thornton, 1999), studies asking how SEs are started and managed have focused on the individual social entrepreneur (Westhall, 2009; Weerawardena and Mort , 20006; Mueller et al., 2013; Bacq and Alt, 2018), on SE organisations as hybrids balancing and managing different logics (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Battilana et al., 2012; Battilana, 2018; Doherty et al., 2014), on these individuals' and organisations' context and embeddedness (Amin, 2002; Spear, 2006; Zahra et al., 2009; Kerlin, 2010, 2013; Borzaga and Defourny, 2001; Smith and Stevens, 2010; Chandra and Kerlin, 2021), or on social capital and networks (Peredo and Chrismann 2006; Littlewood and Khan, 2018; Steiner and Teasdale, 2016).

In her seminal assessment of the state of academic understanding of social entrepreneurship and their SEs, Haugh (2005) proposes that future research focus on eight gaps in our knowledge. This thesis aims to contribute to addressing two of these eight knowledge gaps. These are:

> *"Resource acquisition: To understand the sources, management and sustainability of the physical, financial and human resources that SEs rely upon ….*
>
> *Opportunity exploitation: to understand how social enterprises are able to bring resources together, develop networks and formulate and implement strategies to develop a viable organisation and exploit the market opportunity they have identified" (Haugh, 2005, p94)*

Since 2005 there have been multiple efforts to address these gaps in our understanding of the creation and management of SEs. However, these contributions are difficult to aggregate or compare, because, though as the field has matured, and a growing number of empirical and conceptual studies have started to address 'how' questions of SE, this literature - on the resources and processes of SE – is fragmented (Saebi et al. 2019, Weerawardena and Mort, 2006).

The fragmentation is due to the different academic approaches taken to studying these individuals and organisations, and their activity and contexts, and the different language used to describe different types of SEs.

> *"Because of the heterogeneity in phenomena and approaches, the SE literature is challenging to grasp." (Saebi et al., 2019, p71)*

Studies use different language to refer to units of analysis, the definitional contestation is often not acknowledged in the research design, and studies do not often compare a range of types of SEs. Further, as Saebi et al. (2019) assert, studies have not generally addressed the multi-level - individual, organisational and institutional, and multi-stage nature, of the processes of SE creation and management:

"research typically engages with only one level of analysis at a time. However, SE is inherently a multilevel phenomenon, and conducting research at only one analytical level not only misrepresents the phenomenon but also risks foregoing the opportunities for advancing knowledge by means of multilevel research (see Shepherd, 2011) into SE phenomena." (Saebi et al., 2019, p89

In summary, integrative, multi-level, multi-stage and comparative perspectives are lacking.

To make sense of this fragmented literature, it is helpful to group papers into the different general approaches taken to the study of SEs, essentially presenting approaches along a continuum. On one end of the continuum are those approaches led by academic theory reflecting the dominant neo-liberal economic paradigm, on the other end are more critical and alternative approaches (Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2016). Though this is a simplification, the continuum can be represented as a sliding scale between approaches focused on individual hero social entrepreneurs, led more by economic rationale, and on individuals and groups doing everyday tasks, led more by social rationale. This way of making sense of the literature highlights gaps which present opportunities for novel understanding.

2.2.1 Social Entrepreneurship: Innate individual characteristics or embedded action?

The different paradigms of SE, outlined in 2.1.1, inevitably effect how academics approach questions asking how SE is enacted. And some argue that the US paradigms' focus on SE as an activity resulting from social entrepreneurship, understood as a subfield of entrepreneurship, has meant their study has been inappropriately steered toward individualistic economistic rationale (Bull, 2008; Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2011). A critical debate in the field relating to this study is how different SEs and social entrepreneurship are from primarily-for-personal-profit (PPP) enterprises and entrepreneurship, and whether business studies theories of PPP business are sufficient or suited to understanding them.

In studies of both SEs as organisations and as the activity of social entrepreneurship some academics argue for these to be understood as subdisciplines to enterprise and entrepreneurship studies (Zahra et al., 2009; Dacin et al., 2010; Dacin et al., 2011). Chell et al., (2007) argue the case for entrepreneurship to be modified to include the creation of economic and social value, that existing theories are sufficient, and for inclusive theories of enterprise - for-personal-profit enterprises and not-for-personal-profit social and community enterprises. Similarly, Santos (2012) places theory development of SE management firmly in the realms of enterprise theory and instead of distinguishing social from economic value proposes distinguishing social entrepreneurship by distinguishing value creation from value capture.

> *"... value creation is a concept measured at the societal or system level, while value capture is measured at the organizational or unit level. The traditional notion of profit is no more than an estimate of the value captured by an organization." (p337)*

In the UK, an early, and seminal, contribution from Haugh (2005), summarizing opportunities to expand knowledge in social entrepreneurship research, suggests:

> *"To* advance knowledge and understanding, research should be grounded in existing management and entrepreneurship theories". (p10)

Zhara et al. (2009) respond to Haugh's call with a typology that makes use of three seminal theories of entrepreneurship, to identify individual social entrepreneurs who differ according to their innate characteristics. This in turn affects their relationship to their context and the strength and nature of their network ties. In their paper, Zhara et al. (2009) build on the work of Hayak, Kirzner and Schumpeter to identify three types of social entrepreneurs each using different resources and traits to generate social wealth. Hayek's Social Bricoleurs 'craft, often small scale and local, solutions using personal resources'. Kirzner's bold and innovative Social Constructionists 'reconfigure processes to generate social wealth'. And Schumpeter's Social Engineers 'break and reconfigure institutions for greater social efficiency by amassing political capital for necessary resources and legitimacy.' (p524-526)

In contrast, counter to the argument that models of entrepreneurship are sufficient, some authors working from the 'earned income' paradigm have previously emphasised the importance of sectoral context to understanding social entrepreneurship (Young et al., 2002). Though simultaneously they emphasise characteristics of innovativeness and advantages of economic efficiency of the social entrepreneurs embedded in this sector (Weerawardna and Mort, 2006, 2012; Nicholls, 2011a,b). This sectoral embedded nature of social entrepreneurship is used by some to develop new theory (Mair and Marti, 2006; Mair et al., 2012) and to call for processes of the activity

- the ‘how’ - to be better understood.

> *“Viewing social entrepreneurship as a process resulting from the continuous interaction between social entrepreneurs and the context in which they and their activities are embedded, we bring together insights from sociology, political science and organization theory to enrich our theoretical understanding of the subject… we see the concept of embeddedness as the nexus between the ideas and theoretical perspectives … structuration theory, institutional entrepreneurship, social capital, and social movements.”(Mair and Marti 2006, p40)*

Mair and Marti (2006) propose social entrepreneurship offers opportunities to develop the field of entrepreneurship beyond existing theory:

> *“… to challenge, question, and rethink important concepts and assumptions in its effort towards a unifying paradigm” (Mair and Marti, 2006, p39)*

By drawing on notions of embeddedness, studies have increasingly sought to understand the social components and dynamics of social entrepreneurship. For example, from within the discipline of entrepreneurship Dacin et al. (2010) argue that social entrepreneurship research would gain from seeking to understand the social resources and processes:

> “that there are fruitful opportunities for research focused on how social entrepreneurs leverage *three key bundles of resources—relational, cultural, and institutional. Relational .. social capital … social skills … cultural .. norms, values, roles, language, attitudes, beliefs, identities, and aesthetic expressions of a community … [and] the political, legal, and institutional infrastructure from which individuals can draw.” (Dacin et al., 2010, p48- 50)*[8]

[8] It is notable however, that this combination Dacin et al. (2010) calls for, demands the multiple levels of analysis which Saebi et al. (2019) still find to be lacking from SE and social entrepreneurship academic literature almost one

Unlike the North American conception of social entrepreneurship, the EMES conception of SE as an organisation is innately understood as socially embedded, as their definition of the diverse galaxy of SEs makes explicit:

> *"Social enterprises … rely on collective dynamics involving various types of stakeholders in their governing bodies" (p204, Defourny and Nyssens, 2008)*

However, although the EMES approach is founded on the understanding of SE as organisations resourcing from different economic sectors, and on cooperative origins, this too has received criticism for prioritising economic logic over social logic, with some arguing that SEs have been predominantly understood using traditional concepts of enterprise, theories of business studies which prioritise the logic of market exchange (Bull, 2008; Dey and Teasdale, 2016, 2019; Nicholls and Teasdale, 2017). And in the UK, though the focus of research has generally been on SEs as organisations, the political and academic discourses staddle the US and EMES paradigms (Peattie and Morley, 2008), which has been criticised by other UK-based academics (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008; Bull, 2008; Bull et al., 2018).

Haugh (2007) studies five Scottish community-led social ventures in the non-profit sector, from which she produces a model of the six stages of social venture creation, while simultaneously stressing the importance of multiple levels of activity, networks and connections beyond the organisation, and the embedded nature of venture creation and management. Her six stages are:

(1) opportunity identification, (2) idea articulation, (3) idea ownership, (4) stakeholder mobilization, (5) opportunity exploitation, and (6) stakeholder reflection (p161).

Haugh's (2007) inclusion of connections into multiple levels of analysis, and the concurrent and multiple nature of the processes associated with these stages is an early example of research addressing the multiple levels Saebi et al. (2019) call for. However, Haugh's data (2007) is limited as she does not consider multiple types of SEs, instead focusing on community-led social venture in the non-profit sector, and on the early stages of social venture creation, and not later stages of

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decade after Dacin et al.'s 2010 paper.

sustaining these enterprises.

Bull and Crompton (2006) argue SEs are fundamentally different and question the relevance of existing business practices and business support, arguing that adding social value creation to existing business theory is not sufficient. Similarly, Peattie and Morley (2008) call for the distinctiveness of SEs from commercial enterprise to be better understood and, for different types of SEs to be explicitly recognised in SE research.

> *"Social enterprise is a form of business that is distinctly different to conventional commercial enterprise and that has an extraordinary diversity in organisational form, legal structure, purpose, culture, scale and scope. There are also a number of "paradoxical" elements to the research agenda for social enterprises arising from their "hybrid" nature." (Peattie and Morley, 2008, p91)*

Along the continuum between the extremes of those who see existing theories as sufficient and, those who want to shift dominant economic and business paradigms, are those who understand SEs as the epitome of organisational hybrids. In the following subsection this notion of hybridity and its application to SEs is reviewed, considering how these organisations straddle different sectoral logics and access and convert different resources. And a similar development over time to different understandings of the social components, the civic or non-profit logics, and the interpersonal, relational aspects are fundamental to how some SEs are started and sustained, and how social entrepreneurship is actioned, is evidenced.

2.2.2 SEs as hybrid businesses

An important subset of the literature relevant to the question of 'how' SEs are started and managed focuses on SEs as hybrid organisations (Doherty et al., 2014). Hybridity has been an ongoing theme of SE definitional discourse (Dart, 2004; Mair and Marti, 2006; Alter, 2004; Defourny and Nyssens, 2008). The concept juxtaposes the logics of commercial and social value creation, and the recent conceptual work by Defourny and Nyssens (2017a,b) builds on underlying notions of hybridity – multiple economic logics and sectoral embeddedness.

Having identified hybridity as the defining feature of SE organisations the concept has proven to be a productive lens regarding 'how' questions. It has been used to frame conceptual and empirical understandings, moving academic discourse on from definition to contexts and processes.

However, though the lens of hybridity seems to identify features distinguishing SE from enterprise, and to bring into view social aspects of SE. There have been criticisms that the social components have merely been add-ons, or that the primacy of economistic logic has subsumed the social components, or simply assumed that the two are incompatible, rather than understanding economic activity to be inherently socially embedded (Dey and Steyaert, 2012, 2019; Kay et al., 2016).

From an organisational perspective, SEs' hybridity is the result of these organisations combining multiple institutional logics (Battilana and Dorado, 2010).

> *"SE as an organizational form that has emerged at the boundaries between the private, public and non-profit sectors have become blurred and more fluid" (Doherty et al., 2014 p418).*

Young (2012) and Doherty et al. (2014) contend the management of dual mission of financial sustainability and social purpose is what makes SE distinct and is critical to the opportunities and challenges they face. Similarly, Galaskiewicz and Barringer (2012) point to the 'extreme hybridity' of SE organisations to explain why they are so difficult to categorise, and to understand. SEs, being balanced on a blurring boundary between social (not-for-profit) and commercial (for-profit) organisational logics, challenge socially constructed organisational identities and the theories associated with them. As a result, audiences, unable to categorise these organisations within current conventions, find them difficult to judge.

Focusing on SEs as organisations and identifying organisations as the unit of analysis in SE discourse has begun to identify common features which make it distinctive. This perspective has moved discussion on to practices and processes (Pache and Santos, 2010; Tracey et al., 2011; Wilson and Post, 2013). As Doherty et al. (2014) contend:

> *"social enterprise has matured beyond definitional debates and embraced the analysis of institutional and organisational processes associated with their creation and management" (Doherty et al., 2014, p14)*

Early contributions which assume hybridity as the defining feature of SEs assume and study tensions created by managing what are deemed different and even opposing logics, the 'double bottom line' (Tracey and Phillips, 2007), commercial and social objectives. The assumed inevitability of tensions between the logics is the starting point for many hybridity studies. Battilana and Dorodo (2010) state:

> *"At a time when social enterprises that combine social welfare and commercial logics are spreading across sectors all over the world … the need for further research that addresses the role of organizational factors in the context of hybrids .. is pressing. Many observers are skeptical about the sustainability of such hybrid organizations because of the risk of mission drift."(Battilana and Dorodo, 2010, p1437)*

As Smith et al. (2013) state:

> *"social enterprises … seek to achieve social missions through business ventures. Yet social missions and business ventures are associated with divergent goals, values, norms, and identities. Attending to them simultaneously creates tensions, competing demands, and ethical dilemmas. Effectively understanding social enterprises therefore depends on insight into the nature and management of these tensions." (Smith et al., 2013, p407)*

Pache and Santo's (2010) empirical study, of intraorganizational processes of established Work Integration Social Enterprises in France, find ten areas where the social welfare and commercial logics impose conflicting demands. For example, the legitimacy attributed to the use of volunteers, considered a highly legitimate resource by social welfare logic but, considered amateurs according to the commercial logic.

In contrast, Tracey et al. (2011) study the formation of one UK-based SE in 2002, finding what they referred to as a 'bridging institutional entrepreneur' who selectively makes good use of the multiple logics:

> *"[T]he entrepreneurs drew strategically on existing institutional logics. Specifically, they treated the logics of for-profit retail and nonprofit homeless support and their associated practices and organizational forms as a kind of "cultural toolkit" (Swidler 1986) from which they produced the basis of a new organizational form for tackling homelessness" (Tracey et al. 2011, p72)*

And, while hybridity as the defining feature of SE, as understood by academics from a conventional business school traditions has, generally, assumed that SEs can be understood by adding onto existing PPP business theories, the separation of business logics and social logics explicitly bring into view different social components and theories of action. Gidron and Hasenfield (2012) assert that understanding SE through the lens of hybridity is a key to investigating important social components and issues - like context, applicability, sustainability, power and success.

Similarly, Jenner (2016), in his review of literature on SE sustainability from the perspective of hybridity, identifies both social and business resources and processes at play, stating:

> *"key factors important to social enterprise sustainability [are] ... securing resources (Doherty et al., 2014) suggesting that a combination of financial, physical, human and network resources is required for a social enterprise to succeed (Haugh, 2009) … legitimacy (Dacin et al., 2010; Dart, 2004; Townsend and Hart, 2008), a commercial orientation (Dees, 1998; Chell, 2007)" (Jenner, 2016, p43)*

Using survey data from 93 Australian and Scottish SE leaders, Jenner (2016) further provides empirical evidence that social components are critical – though simultaneously finds sustainability relates directly, and primarily, to commercial growth.

> *"[I] identifying resourcing, organisational capabilities, collaborative networks and legitimacy as influential in the sustainability of social ventures. However, importantly, ... the research reveals an overarching commercially focused growth orientation as the dominant factor in the strategic management for sustainability of these ventures." (Jenner, 2016, p50)*

In her recent review of the state of research on hybridity and SEs, Battilana (2018) identifies internal and external tensions that result from the competing financial and social logics, and expectations. Tensions identified include internal and external tension of multiple identity, internal conflict and emotional stress, especially if the balance of social and economic are not agreed by members of the hybrid, and stress of external expectations, having to prove both the 'economic and social legitimacy' to various different stakeholder (p1283). But she concludes by identifying specific processes by which organisations manage that tension and effectively embody hybridity in their organisational culture – they acknowledge, air, and deal with tensions head-on and on an ongoing basis. The four pillars of hybrid organisational management [she identifies via a review of the research] which shape and are shaped by the hybrid organisational culture are:

> *"how organizations set goals, structure activities, select members and socialize those members" (Battilana, 2018p 1278)*[9]

Although much of the literature has seen the processes of navigating competing logics – commercial and social – as a defining challenge of SE (Austin et al., 2006), more recently there has been a shift to understanding processes of SEs contending multiple logics as opportunities. So, whereas this balancing act has generally been viewed as a negative (Pache and Santos, 2010; Battilana and Dorado, 2010), an additional challenge SEs face, recent contributions have reframed hybridity as an organizational strength. In their editorial 'The Bright Side of Hybridity: Exploring How Social Enterprises Manage and Leverage Their Hybrid Nature', Mongelli et al. (2019) state:

"So far, research has mainly investigated the challenges faced by hybrid organizations both internally and externally as they recombine apparently incompatible institutional elements (Smith et al. 2013). We call for inquiry that instead sheds light on the opportunities triggered by hybridity and that investigates how hybrid organizations can become purposeful actors … exactly because of their recombination of apparently incompatible institutional elements."(Mongelli et al., 2019, p304)

It is to this call that this thesis directly responds. Smith and Besharov's (2019) in-depth, longitudinal study of one SE in Cambodia similarly responds to this call. And identifies key processes enabling the ongoing adaptation required to sustain the organisation. The processes they identify include confronting the tensions; reassessing organisational identity; setting in place systems for guarding against veering too far toward social or economic missions. Importantly each

[9] In her ethnographic study of SEs in the north of England, Mazzei (2017) concurs stating "ongoing reflections, explanations and negotiations as key ingredients in keeping SEs "balanced". negotiating tensions is a constantly dynamic process." (p299)

has its place in an ongoing, cyclical management of social and economic resources. The theoretical framework developed from this case study, named ‘structured flexibility’, identifies key resources, like mission-focused human capital. And key processes, like the organisation’s leader’s paradoxical management of stakeholders’ perceptions of tensions and conflict as inevitable and even positive features of the organisation’s identity and ongoing sustainability.

In turn, Smith and Besharov (2019) call for future research to identify specificities on how hybridity is managed and sustained in more examples. Noting that increasingly hybridity of social and economic missions, and the complexities of this are becoming the norm.

> *“In our rapidly changing global economy, organizations increasingly pursue competing goals and face multiple internal and external tensions, with the potential to address some of the world’s greatest challenges. We hope our model of structured flexibility inspires future work to continue exploring how organizations can thrive in the context of such multiplicity.” (Smith and Besharov, 2019, p31)*

Castellas et al. (2019) builds case studies using interviews and focus group data from executives of six hybrid organisations, sampled from Australian social and sustainable business market, and find similarly managed, dynamic movement between logics in organisations contending with external and internal value pluralism. Castellas et al. (2019) present the view of successful management of complexity and pluralism as an ongoing process of review, identify processes of ongoing review and argue:

> *“a critical factor of ‘success’ as a hybrid is the ability to sustain pluralism” (Castellas et al., 2019 p 637).*

Though these two contributions to the literature add to our understanding of management of the assumedly different logics, both focus on larger, established, and successful hybrid organisations. Neither compare types of hybridity, different types of SEs bridging different sets of institutional logics, and neither identify specific resources and ‘everyday’ processes of management, and interactions within and beyond the organisation. [10]

While the hybridity lens has been fruitful and has facilitated an important shift of focus to the organisations and processes of organisational management, the lens has assumed that SE straddle and combine opposing logics. Before focusing on the other end of the continuum, in section 2.2.4, where more critical, and alternative positions are taken - which conceive of social and economic elements as integrated, the next section reviews some of the literature on SEs and social entrepreneurship informed by economic sociologists, which addresses these gaps, and evidences the movement to understanding the social components, thereby revealing the importance of processes of resource conversion, for example, via social networks, collaboration, and reciprocity.

2.2.3 SEs, Embeddedness and Contexts

This subsection reviews findings and theories from research using theories of economic sociologists to understand how social components of how SEs access and convert resources. While it does not provide a comprehensive review of the literature, it identifies key texts which have directed this research project.

Literature that contributes to understanding the social components of SEs can be divided into external relationships and internal relationships. That is organisations' and activities' interactions with the external environment, with its external context, and the internal relations between people and activities within the organisation, and between people engaged in SE activities. As the definitional debates evidence, much of the literature on SE and social entrepreneurship has been focused on the external context. However, in a recent publication Chandra and Kerlin (2021) state:

> *"Context has been treated as a 'nice to know' or taken-for-granted variable in social entrepreneurship research… Context has been assumed" (Chandra and*

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[10] In a recent contribution to the literature on non-profit and for-profit social purpose organisations (SPOs), Siebold (2021) presents tactics used to exploit plural value opportunities as critical components of what it takes to start and to run social purpose organisations. In her analysis, using multiple stakeholders as the foci, she evidences that SPOs negotiate relationships with their stakeholders to innovate value creation, value delivery, and value capture. By using multiple stakeholders as the foci of her analysis, Siebold (2021) begins to address Saebi et al.'s (2019) criticism that the literature lacks multi-level analysis.

Kerlin, 2021, p135)

By that they mean that the variety of contexts internationally and, the detail of the different types of contexts external and internal to these organisations and social entrepreneurship, have either not been the focus of study, have not been explicitly stated, or have been assumed in studies as either universal or unimportant. They go on to identify ten types of context, and explore how these types have been related to the study of social entrepreneurship in past literature, and how they can advance and enrich social entrepreneurship theorising in the future. The ten types they identify include temporal and spatial context, tradition as a context, stakeholder as context – founders, intermediaries, beneficiaries for example.

Understanding the dynamic effects of context has been the focus for economic sociologists (Bourdieu, 1990a,b; Granovetter, 1973,1983,1985; Putnam, 2000). In the vocabulary of economic sociologists, external relations can generally be understood to be features of embeddedness (Granovetter, 1983, 1985). Interpersonal relations are more likely to be studied as features and forms of social capital (Bourdieu, 1990 a,b; Putnam, 2000) and social networks (Granovetter, 1973,1983, 1985). Though this division is a simplification, and different conceptions of embeddedness and social capital are interrelated and overlap.

Just as schools of enterprise have been informed by work of economic sociologists, these theories have also been applied to SE and social entrepreneurship studies. Embeddedness and social networks have been fruitful veins for both quantitative (Buckingham et al, 2012) and qualitative studies of SE creation, and the related processes of accessing and converting resources (Amin, 2002; Steinerowski, 2012; Munoz et al., 2014; Steiner and Teasdale, 2018;

Jenner, 2016).

Both empirical and theoretical studies of SE and social entrepreneurship that have been directed or informed by economic sociology have highlighted important features of how SEs access and convert resources. These include features of the institutional context including intermediary support (Biggeri et al., 2017), local culture (Mazzei, 2017; Vestrum and Rasmussen, 2013; Vestrum, 2014, 2016) and social norms (Peredo and Chrisman, 2006; Pret and Carter, 2017) . Common themes in the literature identifying different features of the embeddedness of SEs in different contexts include the crucial role of the local public sector (Healey 2015), reliance on philanthropic and public sector grants (Bull, 2008; Haugh, 2007; Healey, 2015; Child, 2016; Robinson, 2015), reliance on groups of embedded local volunteers bringing together multiple skills (Nicols et al., 2015; Robinson, 2015; Steinerowski and Steinerowska-Streb, 2012; Healey, 2015; Haugh, 2005) and reliance on, or absence of, different sorts of human capital (Allinson et al., 2012). Notable in these accounts is the importance of local knowledge and gaining local legitimacy via two-way processes of embedding (Munoz et al., 2014; Steinerowski and Steinerowska-Streb, 2012; Healey, 2015).

The following paragraphs help to provide background to this study focusing on some different types of embeddedness as they relate to SEs in the literature – on institutional, sectoral, spatial and geographic, and local community embeddedness.

The institutional and socio-economic embedded nature of SE creation rates, at national and regional levels, is evidenced by Buckingham et al.'s (2012) quantitative UK study of SEs, and Ute et al.'s (2015) study of social entrepreneurship with survey data from 106,484 individuals in 26 nations. Buckingham et al. find:

> *"regional populations of SEs are the product of often countervailing forces in supply and demand that act to level out the degree of regional variations. These totals are also likely to mask significant differences in their characteristics in different places and more pronounced spatial variations at smaller spatial scales (e.g. between inner city, suburban and rural areas)"(Buckingham et al., 2012, p83)*

Ute el at find:

> *"joint effects on SE [social entrepreneurship] of formal regulatory (government activism), informal cognitive (postmaterialist cultural values), and informal normative (socially supportive cultural norms, or weak-tie social capital) institutions" (Ute et al., 2015, p215)*

The importance of institutional context to starting and sustaining SEs is not surprising and is reflected in the emphasis on institutional context in definitional debates.

One subtype of embeddedness identified in the literature is sectoral embeddedness, that is the effects of a SEs' sectoral origin or relationships with different sectors of the economy, for example SEs' reliance on public and non-profit sectors for ongoing sustainability. This has also been a feature of the definitional debates and, relates directly to theories of hybridity discussed in the last subsection. In the UK sectoral embeddedness is particularly pertinent given that many SEs are transitioning from the public sector, and the third sector (Ridley-Duff, 2007; Seanor et al., 2013, 2014; Sepulvida, 2015; Sepulveda et al., 2018; Spear et al., 2017), and because the delivery of public sector contracts is critical to many SEs' business models and sustainability (SEUK, 2017).

In his qualitative study of two international SE industries, Child (2016) draws on Granovetter's concept of embeddedness to develop an emergent finding, arguing that SEs, specifically fair trade and socially responsible investment, are enabled and sustained by relationships with civic society and non-profits, specifically:

> *"what appear to be market-based social welfare initiatives are, in the contexts I examined, actually dependent on an institutional scaffolding grounded in civil society … rely fundamentally on elements of civil society*
>
> *(a) for credit and other financial support … , (b) for trustworthiness … , and*
>
> *(c) for obtaining difficult-to-access information … In addition, non-profits aid in service delivery and provide publicity and legitimacy to social enterprise businesses, which ultimately increases the likelihood that the businesses will become financially viable. All of these are resources that have been overlooked or addressed only peripherally in prior research."(Child, 2016, p218)*

This existence of sectoral embeddedness, and the fact that this finding was emergent rather than explicitly sought, is interesting in the context of this UK-based study. In the UK the SE rhetoric of market-based solutions to social welfare problems remains strong (British Council 2015), yet SEs are often found to be dependent on non-market scaffolding – grants and volunteers for example (Steinerowski and Steinerowski-Streb, 2012).

Studies of spatial or geographic embeddedness evidence how geography, and for example rurality, mediate how local social and economic capitals affect the activity of SEs (Smith and Stevens, 2010;

Steinerowski,and Steinerowska-Streb 2012). Eversole et al. (2014), drawing on an in-depth study of three Tasmanian SEs finds:

> *"The case study social enterprises .. are strongly embedded in their local places and local communities ... [and] mobilize multiple resources and assets to achieve a range of development outcomes" (Eversole et al., 2014, p245)*

Going further and arguing,

> *"What makes social enterprises distinctive is not the sector they belong to, but their relationship with the particular social contexts that give rise to them (Somerville and McElwee, 2011). Social enterprises thus appear to have a particular relationship to local places and communities." (Eversole et al., 2014, p246)*

> *"Despite differences in size, industry, mission, lifecycle and resourcing models, the case study social enterprises were all leveraging a range of assets and resources in close reciprocal relationships with local communities. (Eversole et al., 2014, p254)*

Reciprocal relationships and two-way embeddedness at a local community level is the focus of Munoz et al.'s (2015) qualitative study of four Scottish rural community SEs in which four stages and processes of facilitated community SE start-up are identified. Features of embeddedness they identify as important to accessing and converting resources in these examples are establishing legitimacy with the local community, and group coalescence – essentially, the creation and facilitation of local social capital, thus shifting attention from the external relationships to internal processes.

These findings and the shift of emphasis are mirrored in studies of social entrepreneurship. For instance, Spear's (2006) small scale study of co-operative SEs finds embeddedness at multiple levels which in turn leads him to bring into question fundamental theoretical premises of entrepreneurship as an individualistic activity:

> *"entrepreneurship was not of the "heroic individualistic" type in any of the cases, but joint, leader + supporters, or team based;*

> *[and] there was distributed entrepreneurship – circles of entrepreneurial activity, with central roles played by the entrepreneurs within the organisation, but with a wider group of external stakeholders sometimes quite closely and essentially involved – including customers, and distributed across public/private boundaries" (Spear, 2006, p408)*

Similarly, Montgomery et al. (2012) assert that much social entrepreneurship is collective, stating:

> *"we contend that a better understanding of much social entrepreneurship behaviour and theory emerges from examining the social relationships, social capital and necessarily collaborative actions on which effective social change relies …*
>
> *social entrepreneurs require a broad array of material and non-material resources, including support networks, mobilization, financial assistance, and knowledge, as well as important cultural institutional resources. Filling those resource needs requires collective and collaborative action and results in what we define as collective social entrepreneurial work" (Montgomery et al., 2020, pp376-377)*

Montgomery et al. (2012) make use of organisations literature about collective action to inform their research into collective social entrepreneurship and identify different types of collaboration within collective social entrepreneurship that enable 'harnessing of necessary resources'. They point to the important role of networks, and to key activities and strategies, including:

> *"Framing processes …how ideas are interpreted and socially constructed by the collective in order to mobilize collective action …*
>
> *Convening ... convenors [are] champions of projects who navigate complex obstacles and boundaries in inter- and intra-organizational domains, convening social networks and groups of individuals or organizations in order to allow for collaboration to occur and to tap resources, knowledge, and expertise … drawing on collective intelligence…*

Multi-vocality … the ability to combine these numerous voices as well as speak to stakeholders in an accessible manner and straddle audiences" (Montgomery et al., 2012, pp382-383)

The significance of community and community building as a process supporting SE has, unsurprisingly been prominent in the subset of SE literature that researches community enterprise (Peredo and Chrisman, 2006; Vestrum, 2016; Sommerville and McElwee, 2011; McElwee et al., 2018). It again highlights the importance of social networks as resources, and collaboration and reciprocity. For instance, Vestrum and Rassmussen's (2013) study of Norwegian community ventures evidences examples of how these ventures 'adapted to and altered their environment' (p283) to mobilise community resources. Implementing strategies of persuasion and 'soft power' to increase their embeddedness. They claim:

"to fully understand resource mobilisation of CVs, we need to take account of reciprocal relationship between the community entrepreneurs as innovators and other actors in the community as resource providers" (Vestrum and Rassmussen, 2013, p285)

While different forms of embeddedness have been studied however, there is a gap in our understanding across different types of SEs (Spear, 2006) and, how different forms of embeddedness are interrelated. Smith and Stevens (2010) state:

"An increased understanding of how the various forms of embeddedness shape the activities of different types of social entrepreneurship and how these forms of embeddedness are inter-related may be beneficial to a greater understanding of the motivations and strategic influences on social entrepreneurial behaviour." (Smith and Stevens, 2010, p592)

They suggest multi-level analysis of social entrepreneurship, building on individual and organisational level characteristics linked to embeddedness, offer future opportunities to research. In the next sub-section calls for academic approaches to be more critical and for the study of SEs which take a more alternative view of embeddedness are reviewed.

2.2.4 Critical and 'Alternative' Approaches to Understanding SE

To understand these social characteristics and multi-level nature of SEs some academics draw on alternative theoretical approaches to classical economic and managerial approaches, to better understand how types of SEs access and convert resources (Bull 2008; Curtis, 2008; Bull et al., 2010; Kay et al., 2016; Child, 2016;). Some of these alternative more critical stances taken to understanding and constituting SE and social entrepreneurship parallel shifts in enterprise and entrepreneurship studies. Steyeart and Katz (2004) call for entrepreneurship to be conceived as primarily a societal rather than economic phenomenon (p179), for a broader conception to be adopted that privileges the processes of entrepreneurship and recognises entrepreneurship happens in "multiple spaces", including neighbourhoods and communities. They ask:

> *"what spaces/ discourses/ stakeholders we have privileged in the study of entrepreneurship and what other spaces/discourses/ stakeholders should we consider? … entrepreneurship is a matter of everyday activities" (p179).*

> *"if we want to value and safeguard new possibilities brought in by such new entrepreneurial practices as civic or social entrepreneurship, then we need to develop a more varied discursive repertoire and develop the very dimensions of civic and cultural" (p188).*

Partly in response to the call for studying the social components of entrepreneurship, and social entrepreneurship (Steyaert and Hjorth, 2006), theories from disciplines beyond the traditional core of economic, management studies and psychology has informed and deepened understanding. In part this shift is due to the recognition of the social construction of the concepts of entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship. In 2010 Steyaert and Dey, for example, call for more a more critical stance in Nine Verbs to Keep the Social Entrepreneurship Research Agenda 'Dangerous' and for a

> *"theoretical view of research as 'enactment' .. research as a constitutive act" (p 231).*

In other words, highlighting that social entrepreneurship does not exist until it is named as such. And, that this being the case, it the responsibility of researchers to be mindful of the assumptions and biases they bring to the process. They go on to argue that as a constitutive process, social entrepreneurship research should remain dangerous, critical of inherited assumptions and models and actively open new ways of 'doing' of new ways of making the world, should leave open the possibility of change and not blindly follow ontologies, ways of seeing the world.

Though divisions remain, there is growing consensus within a subsection of the discipline that SE cannot be studied using only established business theories and conceptual approaches alone (Bull, 2008, 2010; 2016; Kay et al., 2016; Roy and Grant, 2020). For example, moving beyond and adapting standard enterprise and business management assumptions which emanate from foundations of individual profit maximisation, assumptions and theories built on free market economics, like self-interest and profit maximisation above all else (Santos in Zeyen et al., 2013)

In the UK critical and alternative contributions to the literature have a strong history. A special issue in 2008 edited by Michael Bull highlights the importance of understanding the social of SE, concluding that the unquestioning union of social and enterprise is problematic,

> *"and represents a challenge for theoretical development and highlights a lack of empirical understanding of the organisations" (p271)*

Contributions to the special issue highlight the importance of social relations and what Ridley-Duff identifies as the social rationale – as opposed to economic rationale - behind those relations, asserting:

> *"Theorising about social capital [in enterprises] without linking the process to identity building, relationships and obligations, denies the extent to which organisations are complex centres of community-building where we satisfy a wide range of economic and social needs" (Ridley-Duff, 2008, p301)*

Ridley Duff (2008), from this critical perspective, views social capital as dynamic. And, recognising that because human beings are motivated by social rationale, proports human relationships are an end in themselves and need not be a means to economic gain. From this perspective strong social capital bonds need "reciprocal emotional exchanges" (p302).

Also in this special issue Curtis (2008) provides a critical re-reading of his own SE case study research, calling for honesty regarding the complexity of the data produced in field research and finding that:

> *"the theoretical perspectives of "contractualism", "managerialism" and "agencification" are good explanatory frameworks for the data produced in the research but so too are "militant decency", "social movements" and "post-liberal" theories … illustrating the limits of knowledge, … also … evidence of a "recalcitrance and resistance" that is essential to the emerging identity of the social enterprises." (p276).*

Different critical, alternative, approaches from UK-based academics open different windows, alternative views, and reveal layers and complexities within SE contestations and explanations. Academics in the field who repeatedly spark and fuel the fires of alternative perspectives include: Rory Ridley-Duff, Mike Bull and Roger Spear who enter the field with their experience and knowledge of the ethics and practice of the co-operative movement (Spear, 2006; Ridley- Duff, 2008, 2010; Bull et al., 2016; Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2016; Bull and Ridley-Duff, 2019); Pascale Dey and Simon Teasdale who utilise critical theoretical accounts and alternative methodological approaches to reveal nuanced perspectives of practitioners and complexities of multiple, coexisting SE identities (Steyeart and Dey, 2010; Teasdale, 2010, 2012; Dey and Teasdale, 2013, 2016); Michael Roy whose recent work on SE as an exemplar and signaller to wellbeing economics builds on academic interest in SEs as alternative delivery mechanisms for health and social care (Roy et al., 2014; Kay et al., 2016); Helen Haugh, Bob Doherty (Haugh, 2007, 2012; Doherty and Haugh, 2020) and Fergus Lyon (Doherty, Haugh, and Lyon, 2014) whose interests in ethical and fair trade, sustainable and international development, and SEs, link with their interests in developing critical management theories.

In contrast to prior descriptions of the US paradigm in previous subsections of this review, which are admittedly reductive, a recent approach to the study of SEs argues for a fundamentally different understanding of these organisations, and of economics and economic actions, going forward. This alternative approach builds on the foundations of the EMES paradigm, building on the theories of Polanyi, as described in The Great Transformation (1944, referenced in Roy and Grant, 2020):

> *"Polanyi argues that all economic systems have always been organized, at least up until relatively recently in history, on the principle of reciprocity (commonly via household/community/civil society), redistribution (most commonly via the state), or on the principle of exchange (via the market), or some combination of*

all three." (Roy and Grant, 2020 p181).

Roy and Grant (2020) argue that presenting SE as somewhere along a continuum between pure market exchange and pure philanthropy, and to some extend the related notions of hybridity, serves to dis-embed economics from society, which is a fallacy. And, similarly to Ridley-Duff's (2008), they assert:

> *"unquestioningly accepting the assumption that the social-economic relationship is dyadic, we would argue, potentially narrows our focal lens and reinforces neoliberal assertions about the dichotomy between economy and society."(Roy and Grant, 2020, p181).*

As this second half of the review has evidenced, academic approaches to understanding SEs has often been conducted using predetermined, top-down, externally set, theories and constructs, often concepts imported from, or founded in enterprise and entrepreneurship studies. While these have seemed to have relevance, the process has been accused of circularity (Dey and Steyaert, 2010). Researchers approach a topic looking for certain features or patterns, they find some evidence of those, and hence those features or patterns are deemed important to understanding SE activity.

In addition to the fundamental issue of circularity, this approach has also meant aspects of SE have been compartmentalised. Academic silos have been generated which represent and consider components of the practice of SE in isolation. These academic theories also come with their own ontological and ideological baggage. And being open to new ways of research includes giving priority to practitioner experiences and viewpoints (Dey and Steyaert, 2010). Haugh (2012) similarly calls for SE research to rise the challenge and states:

> *"to ensure that we raise the profile of theory development in social enterprise research, and communicate clearly the connections between our theoretical contributions and the practice of social entrepreneurship." (p13).*

More broadly, Haugh (2012) argues that SE research offers a rich vein of opportunity to extend social science research, developing existing theory and building new theory, and further, generating research with practical relevance in the process.

Explicit in the grounded ethnographic methodology developed in the next chapter, is the requirement for practitioners' words and actions to identify and prioritize resources and processes, rather than an existing theoretical framework to guide questioning and analysis.

2.2.5 Conclusion

This literature review sets the context for the study, it critically reviews key contributions that have steered the study and identifies deficits in our knowledge. It introduces how conceptions and knowledge of SE have been understood in relation to different international and regional contexts, from different perspectives, and have changed over time. And how academic understanding of SE has been informed by different approaches to their study. The notion of organisational hybridity is juxtaposed with alternative approaches including those which do not assume competing logics. This focuses attention on the need to better understand external and internal, multi-level, social aspects of SEs.

This review identifies gaps in knowledge and sensitising concepts and themes which informed the evolution of the research questions and approach to data collection and analysis. It identifies both the need to leave space for the priorities of practitioners to come to the fore and for processes of SE to be understood afresh, having identified a gap in understanding the everyday actions and processes of SEs from practitioner perspectives, a justification for the approaches to data collection and analysis. Three important features have been brought into view which will inform the next chapter - the collective nature of efforts to enact SE, two-way processes of embeddedness, and the importance of multi-level frameworks to understand processes within and outside organisations.

As this chapter has evidenced, authors have presented different academic perspectives on SEs that have contributed to knowledge of the sector and of individual SEs. It is mainly the UK-focused literature, understood in the context of the international paradigms, that informs data collection and analysis described in the next methodology chapter, for example, by providing sensitizing concepts which include 'transitioning', 'social enterprization', 'dis/identification' and 'tactical mimicry'.

In a recent review by Saebi et al. (2019) an overview of some of the relevant enterprise and SE literature points to a need to understand the processes of SE from a different perspective and to join-up components and processes of SE practice. A growing subsection of SE academics argue understandings of SE have been limited because of the reliance on theories of business and management. Instead, they argue for new theories founded on different understandings, more critical, and practice and practitioner-led research approaches, and approaches that reflect fundamental shifts in how we understand the place of business in relation to society. These critical and alternative approaches to SE study represent an important perspective, one which informs the approach taken to the methodologies of data collection and analysis in this study and which encourage and help to maintain reflexive, open approaches to different sources of data and of explanations of that data. These are described in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the methodology and methods used in this study and explain why these were chosen. This first section (3.1) introduces the research questions and the structure of the research design, the research context and collaborators, and presents the pragmatist research paradigm adopted. The next two sections present and explain the two stages of data collection and analysis, and how they are linked. The second section (3.2) outlines the ‘immersion in the field’ stage, to answer the first research question. The third section (3.3) outlines the processes of data collection and analysis using SE case studies and an adapted capability framework to answer the second research question. Finally, in the fourth section (3.4) issues of ethics, positionality and bias, and obstacles encountered during data collection, are presented and considered.

This study builds on a foundation of qualitative studies of SEs. Of particular importance is work from Seanor and various co-authors (2007, 2008, 2013, 2014) which provided third sector practitioner perspectives: firstly, using qualitative methodologies to understand local SEs and their interaction with local infrastructure support in the northwest of England (Seanor and Meaton, 2007); then, investigating lived experiences through “narratives of transition”(Seanor et al., 2013, p324), transitions to SE, from the perspectives of third sector and support organisation practitioners (Seanor et al., 2013, 2014).

Where this thesis differs is with the broader perspective taken on the local ecosystem, including a wider range of SE intermediary support, and the typology developed which is founded in local expertise. Furthermore, this study adds to existing knowledge of SEs with the selection and comparison of a broad range of SE types, and through its multi-level, multi-stage data and data analysis. To facilitate this multi-stage, multi-level analysis I adapt Sen’s Capability Framework to include data from multiple members of each SE organisation, and to evidence how resources are accessed and converted to SE activity at different stages of each SE’s development. The result is a Collective SE Capability Framework for each of the ten cases.

3.1.1 Research Questions and Design Overview

Stage one of data collection and analysis answers the first research question, and emergent sub-question:

1. How is ‘social enterprise’ used and understood in the local ecosystem?

   i. How do individuals providing face-to-face support manage the ambiguity of the language of social enterprise?

Stage two answers the second question and sub-questions:

2. How do individuals and groups start and sustain social enterprises?

   i. What resources are used?

   ii. Where do those resources come from?

   iii. How are resources converted to social enterprise activity?

This research is founded in real-world practice. It takes a collaborative and pragmatic approach (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006; Creswell, 2009, p. p751), and data collection and analysis extends over seven years from 2015 until 2022. It is inductive (Bryman, 2012) and emergent in nature (Bryant, 2017). The design of the two stages was developed in the field as new literature was reviewed, as data was analysed and findings emerged, and as sensitizing concepts (Patton, 2015) were noted and developed.

The study benefits from a formal collaboration with Durham Community Action, the county- wide VCS infrastructure support organisation. DCA was formerly known as Durham Rural Community Council, established in 1935 (Durham Community Action, 2018). The study also benefits from an informal collaboration with Social Enterprise Acumen CIC which is based in County Durham and which provides support and advice to ‘existing or would be’ social entrepreneurs (Social Enterprise Acumen, 2018).

The first stage of the research focuses on the local ecosystem of support for SE and aims to determine what the concept of ‘a social enterprise’ means in the locality. The design of this initial stage evolved as data was collected, via reflexive cyclical processes of observing, interviewing, reading and memoing (Bazeley, 2013). What is revealed is a complex and layered ecosystem (Amadei, 2015; Auspos and Cabaj, 2014), which simultaneously holds multiple, subtly different, and contested experiences with, and understandings of the concept of SEs (Bazeley, 2013). These have developed over time in relation to individuals' current and historic roles, responsibilities and beliefs, and shift in response to top-down policy interventions and bottom-up lived experiences.

In the second stage of data collection and analysis, which answers the second research question, I build information-oriented (Flyvberg, 2006) case studies of the different types of SEs identified in stage one and discover how these cases are started and sustained and, if this relates to their SE type, how. In this stage SE case selection is theory-based (Patton, 2002), based on the mid-level theory of SE types developed in the first stage of the study, and is information- oriented, selected on the basis of expectations about their information content and to maximise the utility of the findings (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p230). The aim is to gather and compare a diverse set of social enterprise narratives. Data is gathered in interviews, observations and from desk research, and analysed using Gioia coding method (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2013) and using a conceptual framework which was developed as I began to make sense of the individual SE narratives (Leshem and Trafford, 2007) The conceptual framework uses Bourdieu's capitals and theory of practice (Grenfell, 2008; Medvetz and Sallaz, 2018) in an adapted Capability Framework (Robeyns, 2017).

3.1.2 Research Context

County Durham in the northeast of England provides the context for this study. County Durham covers an area of 862 square miles. It is a predominantly rural county, a third of which is accessible green space, 40% of which is protected for its special habitats and species. The total resident population is 533,149. The county offers a range of rural/ urban classification types, which is particularly significant because the socio-economics of much of the county are the result of its industrial heritage. The context presents many of the challenges of post-industrial geographies which characterise areas presented in the current political rhetoric as 'left-behind', and which the current conservative government policy seeks to 'level-up' with targeted economic support and development. As Table 1 evidences, County Durham's population and economic statistics, and IMD classifications reflect this historical legacy with comparatively high levels of unemployment and disability, and relatively low levels of enterprise, qualifications, in-migration and out-migration.

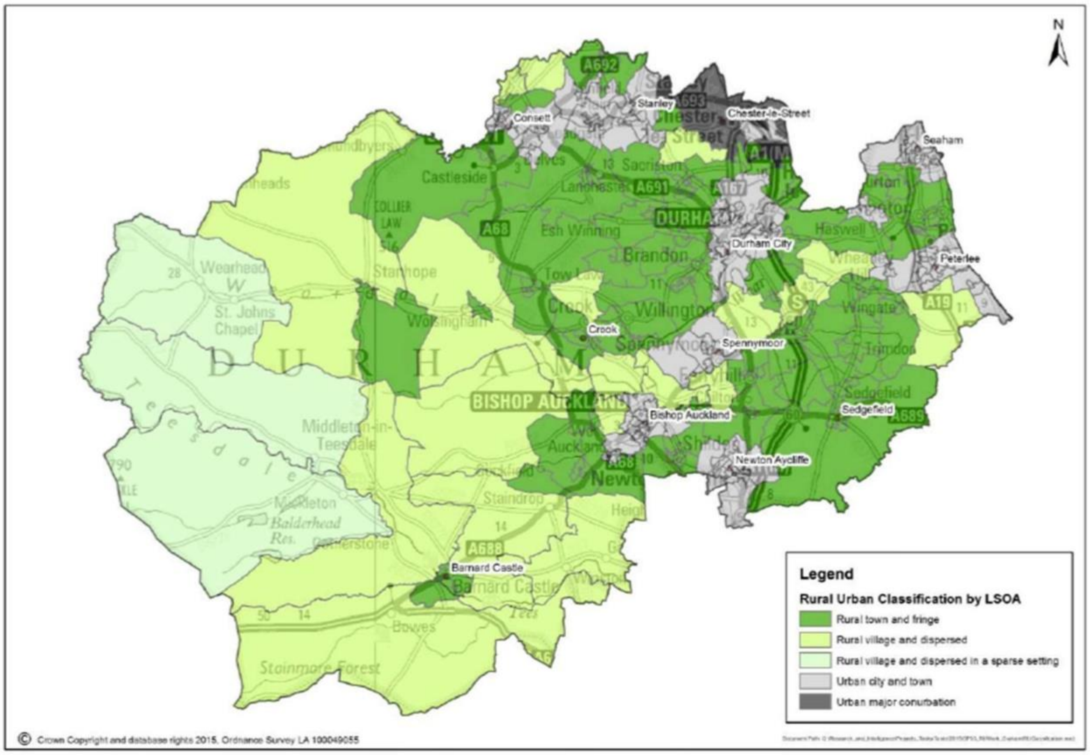
The county is categorized as 'largely rural' (see Figure 4), with 61% of the total population classified as living in an area classified rural and town hub (Defra, 2011; Defra, 2017). And the types of rural represented can be divided into three main sub-categories: the first, in the central and eastern areas, are former coal mining areas, less sparsely populated areas characterized by former mining villages; the second, to the west of the county, are the more sparse rural areas - Weardale and Teesdale - characterized by agricultural economy and landscapes, small market towns, with some historical reliance on iron and coal mining; the third, are areas closer to urban centres and with greater employment opportunities which include commuter villages around Durham and to the south east of the county feeding into Middlesbough and North Yorkshire (CURDS, 2011).

Table 1: Population and Economic data for County Durham, North East England, and Great Britain at the start and toward the end of the research project

		County Durham	**NorthEast England**	**Great Britain**
% Self-employed adults	2015	7.5	7.5	10.2
	2021	8.6	7.4	9.3
% Workless households	2015	24.5	21.3	15.3
	2020	16.5	17.8	13.6
% adults with qualifications NVQ 4 and above	2015	29.0	30.7	37.1
	2021	32.4	34.4	43.5
% adults with no qualification	2015	13.2	10.4	8.6
	2021	7.7.	8.1	6.6
Total population by ethnicity white		98.2	95.3	85.4

Sources: Office of National Statistics 2011 Census Data (2011) and NOMIS, Labour Market Profile County Durham (2020)

Figure 4: County Durham Urban/ Rural classification by LSOA



(Durham County Council, Rural Proofing Report 2018, p8)

On entering the field and meeting research participants initially I was keen to make clear that while I had very little experience of working in County Durham I had worked for a number of years in the nearby rural county Northumberland. Each time I made any comparison I was swiftly and repeatedly told ‘Durham is different’. That sense of difference was often related to the heritage of mining and the consequences of that industry’s decline, to the effects of this former reliance on waged work from large employers on the levels of enterprise, and more recently, the economic dependence on the welfare state, and to what is repeatedly described as a ‘paternalistic’ approach from local government.

County Durham was also described by participants as having a relatively under-developed SE ecosystem. In fact, the region as a whole is recognised as having low levels of SE creation, and low take up of social investment funding in comparison to the rest of the country. In one local report the proportion of third sector organisations (TSO) in the county describing themselves as

SEs was only 3.4% - this was the lowest in the region, the highest was Northumberland with 8.1% (Chapman and Robinson, 2014). These results can be debated, for example, based on who was sampled and what the respondents' understanding of SE. However, the relatively low response is indicative of the reports during introductory interviews of an under-developed SE ecosystem, and anecdotal evidence from local SE practitioners and SE support who reported low levels of SE activity and lack of knowledge of, and aspiration to, SE.

County Durham's relatively low level of SE activity offers a different perspective than, for example, studies from more metropolitan areas, and from rural areas of Scotland – which is reported to have a well-developed ecosystem of SE support and activity (Roy et al., 2015). Instead, County Durham presents an embryonic ecosystem developing in the context of austerity, with the resultant rapid fragmentation and marketisation of local public services.[11]

This study provided the opportunity to understand the dynamics of social enterprization in a largely rural, 'left-behind' local authority area. The research context provides examples which cover a broad range of developed-world rural experience – from commuter communities in rural towns and fringes, to aging populations in sparsely populated agrarian and tourism- dependent economies, to rural villages experiencing the legacies of their industrial heritage in a post-industrial economy.

3.1.3 Justification for Design

> *"Dynamic reflexivity is central to enabling flexible and emergent qualitatively driven inductive mixed-method and multiple methods research designs. Yet too often, such reflexivity, and how it is used at various points of a study, is absent when we write our research reports" (p751,* (Cheek et al., 2015)

The thesis is a collaborative piece of research from which I aimed to produce insight and utility. The path I have followed in the field has been directed and determined by the knowledge I had almost everything to learn about SE in County Durham. However, I brought with me experience of establishing community-run, charitable childcare companies in the neighbouring county of

[11] During the course of the study examples of fragmentation included the youth services losing their funding, and adult social care provision being rationalised and centralised

Northumberland and so brought some expertise of SEs, and preconceptions and biases.

My aim in the process of writing is that the reader will have a picture painted for them of the confusing and ever-changing context in which the dynamic term 'SE' is being used and as a result better understand the realities and reasoning of different people's daily lives.

While this chapter reports a narrative of data collection and analysis which is structured and flows, it is important to emphasize that the process has been inductive and grounded in its approach. This chapter reports the elements of the research design which flow into each other as I made sense of the data. The rationale for the choices made and descriptions of the paths taken does not report the paths that led to dead ends. The narrative makes it seem that the journey was pre-determined, deliberate even. This is because it is the successes that are reported, the paths which led somewhere. It seems the path was straighter, and the journey less messy, than was the case.

Having said this, although the questions and design adapted over the course of the project, the aim to better understand what enables SEs in the field remained a constant throughout – from the proposal stage. The requirement for novelty, and my wish to produce something of interest and of use demanded, however, that specifics of the research questions and methods changed after I entered the field. I only began to know what the interesting and novel questions were, when I began to know their answers. It was only in the field that it become possible to determine problems, issues or subjects worthy of interest and investigation. Insights have been gained from following my nose and opening my ears. The extended timeframe allowed the pragmatic, collaborative approach, requiring and involving an extended period of snowball network ethnography. That was the gentle but purposive process of my immersion in the field of SE and in the geography of the locality being studied. In the second stage the extended timeframe, in part as a result of the pandemic, allowed for the processes of analysis to be flexible and more creative.

Like the process of rolling a giant snowball the connections and relations that have developed and been included in this research have been added through deliberative network building, by attending events and meetings, by talking to people, and by asking participants to recommend others to talk to. In contrast to methodological snowballing, this approach has refined, concentrated and focused the topic of enquiry.

I have sought to establish and maintain productive and reflexive relationships with the research topic, different collaborators and participants. By listening actively, maintaining an open and reflexive approach, and by recording, analysing and reporting dependably expressed beliefs and actions I have sought to reveal a genuine picture of SE in County Durham.

3.1.4 Evolving, Emergent Design

Originally the thesis aimed to map the prevalence of, and types of, SEs against cultural, socio-economic and demographic variables to identify any geographical patterns. However, as data was collected it became clear that changes to more inductive, iterative, and emergent design were required, firstly because of the dynamic and subjective nature of the SE concept in the field, and how underdeveloped understanding of the concept was locally, and secondly because of reports in the field of the relatively underdeveloped nature of the local SE ecosystem and population. Because of these beliefs, these initial findings, and because it was important to me to aim to develop research of some utility and insight, the design of the research shifted - from mapping to understanding. The study evolved from a mix of quantitative and qualitative data to a mix of qualitative data.

Throughout the seven years of data collection a mix of qualitative research methods at each stage were integrated into the design, to collect and interrogate a range of data, and triangulate findings (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). Alongside gathering different types of data, triangulation also took place using multiple participants and SE case studies, and multiple interviews of the same participants.

By anchoring this research in the ‘real’ world inhabited and experienced by the intermediary organisations supporting SEs, and their beneficiaries/clients, and in the ‘real’ experiences of their founders, managers, staff and volunteers, the research aimed to inform future support for SE; particularly, in communities where the concept of SE is less well understood or accepted. It is this ‘real’ world and utility-oriented position which justifies the inductive, iterative and emergent approach to the research design founded in a pragmatic worldview. The research refines understanding of current conceptions of what a SE is and, identifies and differentiates resources and processes enacted to start different SEs.

To answer the research questions two stages of qualitative data collection were conducted and integrated. These stages of data collection and analysis are presented sequentially in this chapter to better reflect their general chronology and because the first stage provides the foundations for enquiry in the second stage of case studies. Each of the two phases described produces discrete outputs, and findings are presented sequentially in chapters 5,6 and 7. However, research design, data collection and analysis was both sequential and concurrent. Concurrent data collection is inevitable given the topic, the nature of the questions, and the 'real-world' collaborative qualities of the project. This design also made the most of the extended period of study

In stage one data from participant observation and interviews with local stakeholders answer the first research question and emergent sub-question, producing an understanding of complexities of the key components of the local SE support ecosystem, and producing the Vocational SE Typology of SE journeys. Stage One data collection, analysis and research outputs are outlined in Figure 5:

Figure 5: Summary of Stage One data collection, analysis and outputs

Field Familiarisation, Ethnography and Collaboration

Data Collection: Literature review in parallel with introductory interviews, participant observations, typing and mapping interviews

Analysis: Iterative thematic analysis (Morgan and Nica, 2020), iterative qualitative thematic coding and analysis using participant snapshots, reflexive memoing and vignettes

Outputs: an understanding of the effects of the contested and fluid nature of 'SEs' in one SE support ecosystem, and conceptions and types of SEs and SE start-up - including transitions to SE.

In stage two data from ten SE case studies answers the second question, and its sub-questions. Case study selection was guided by the pragmatic approach, by the typology of SE developed in stage one, and by the objective to inform SE support. Multiple methods of qualitative research build each case. And the extended period of data collection allowed me and participants time to engage with the research processes and to reflect on the dynamics of starting-up and sustaining SEs. Stage 2 data collection, analysis and research outputs are outlined in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Summary of Stage Two data collection, analysis and outputs

SE Case Studies

Data Collection: In-depth interviews (using visual methodologies where appropriate), observations and desk research. Multiple interviewees per case study, including founders/ managers/ trustees/ directors/ staff/ volunteers/ partner organisation representatives

Analysis: Gioia method of grounded coding, integrated into an adapted Capability Framework using Bourdieu's capitals, aided by Nvivo software

Outputs: identifies and differentiates the resources and processes enacted to start and sustain different types of SEs, integrating the contributions of multiple individuals and resourcing at multiple levels.

3.1.5 Why a Pragmatist Philosophical paradigm

The philosophy of pragmatism fits with the approach taken to knowledge and the search for knowledge in this project. That is, the design and therefore the research findings assume an understanding of the world in which the researcher and participants are making meaning and beliefs with their actions - whether that action is the choice of data collection methods, or the ways they are running their SEs. These individual beliefs are connected, are essentially social, and therefore reinforced and challenged by actions - by individuals' own actions and the actions of others around them, including the researcher. Further, all individuals involved in the research and in the running of SEs are making sense of others' actions and their own, through the prism of their beliefs; these processes are cyclical, feeding into each other, so emotions, beliefs, actions and consequences of individuals and those around them have to be understood as cyclical and interconnected:

> *"pragmatism presents a coherent philosophy that goes well beyond "what works"... pragmatism points to the importance of joining beliefs and actions in a process of inquiry that underlies any search for knowledge, including the specialized activity that we refer to as research ... Pursuing this new agenda requires examining not just what researchers do but why they do things the ways they do. Research never occurs in a vacuum, so how it influenced by the historical, cultural, and political contexts in which it is done?" (Morgan, 2014, p. 1051)*

Pragmatism has been identified as the appropriate approach to this research topic and questions for two reasons. The first is that the research is collaborative and solution-oriented, aiming to provide better support for SE organisations. The second reason is the fluid and contested nature of what are defined as ‘SEs’. Features of the topic ‘SEs’ include, for example, that SE organisations have no single legal structure that delimits and identifies them, and that what is a SE is determined by beliefs and political ideology, and organisational expediency (Ridley-Duff, 2011; Teasdale, 2012a). Accepting these features of SEs demands a degree of flexibility and reflexivity to the topic and to the research design and methods (Morgan, 2007). The subjective and cyclical nature of participants’ beliefs and action concerning the central concept make pragmatism the apt research paradigm choice.

Pragmatism is a philosophical paradigm, an alternative to positivist and interpretivist worldviews. Instead of the duality of these, pragmatism offers a different way of understanding the world in which both positivist and interpretivist worldviews and approaches make up reality as we live it (Creswell, 2009; Morgan, 2020) and can seek to understand it. The basis of the Pragmatic world view is that beliefs are consequences of actions, and actions are decided on by our imaginings (our beliefs) of the consequences of our choice of action in the given context. As Morgan (2020) explains, using the work of the Pragmatist John Dewey:

> *“For Dewey, experience is built around two inseparable questions: What are the sources of our beliefs? And, what are the meanings of our actions? The answers to these two questions are linked in a cycle, in which the origins of our beliefs arise from our prior actions and the outcomes of our actions are found in our beliefs. Experiences create meaning by bringing beliefs and actions in contact with each other ... From Dewey’s standpoint, experiences always involve a process of interpretation. Beliefs must be interpreted to generate action, and actions must be interpreted to generate beliefs” (Morgan 2020, p. 1046)*

Thus, I enter the field and interactions with the research participants with the understanding that: the concept of a SE is a highly politicised, fluid, social construct; and that research participants engage with the concept for different purposes in their daily lives, and how they engage with the construct has real world impacts on how aspects of their lives are resourced. They bring to this construct and their use and understanding of it, as reported to me, their own life story and beliefs, and their current job role and responsibilities. And the context in which the participants live and their social relationships, and others' beliefs and interpretations of the construct, also affect their own beliefs and actions. In other words, if the people they work with don't understand or agree with the concept of SE or identify their values and actions with the values they assign to SE, this in turn affects the participants actions and beliefs. Further, that context includes me, the 'outsider' researcher conducting a research project about SEs:

> *"Pragmatism... does not insist upon antecedent phenomena but upon consequent phenomena; not upon the precedents but upon the possibilities of action. And this change in point of view is almost revolutionary in its consequences [W]hen we take the point of view of pragmatism we see that general ideas have a very different role to play than that of reporting and registering past experiences. They are the bases for organizing future observations and experiences." (Dewey, 1931, p32-33 quoted in Cherryholmes, 1992, p. 13)*

The social and emotional components of pragmatism are especially pertinent in the case study phase of data collection and analysis, and the consequent, cyclical and social nature of beliefs and actions are clearly mirrored in the findings presented in chapters 6 and 7.

> *"Dewey argued that experiences always have an emotional, embodied element, in which feelings provide an essential link between beliefs and actions. From this standpoint, feelings are often both the sources and the outcomes of our experiences. … Experiences for Dewey are always social in nature … shaped by others ... Consequently, all beliefs and all actions are social …[So] rather than metaphysical discussions about the nature of reality or truth, Dewey and other pragmatists called for a different starting point that was rooted in life itself—a life that was inherently contextual, emotional, and social"(Morgan, 2014, p. 1047)*

Pragmatism also demands honesty from the researcher and assumes the existence and effects of bias and positionality.

> *"Once again, it is important not to confuse inquiry with a purely rational or*

disembodied process of logical reasoning. Emotions and preferences operate throughout the inquiry process, starting most notably with a feeling that something is problematic in a situation. Our feelings color every aspect of the inquiry process … , we make our choices according to what we believe is good or bad, right or wrong, and these choices clearly involve preferences between likely outcomes as we ask what difference it would make to do our research one way rather than another. Following Dewey, it is also essential to recognize that any process of inquiry is always social in nature. Even when an inquiry is based solely on our individual thoughts, those thoughts and the standards that we use to apply them have social origins" (Morgan, 2014, p.1048)

The practical consequences of the pragmatic philosophy are that multiple, individual 'truths' - beliefs and ways of understanding and acting in the world – exist. So, multiple meanings of SE can be held, even within the same interviewee and presented in the same interview. And that beliefs impact on each other in a complex system. As such there are many historic and contemporary reasons for these beliefs, and these can change depending on the action of others and the social consequences of that. Further, while recognising other beliefs exist, individual participants can maintain their belief that their way of seeing the world is the correct one. This belief is reinforced, and can be contradicted, by individuals' own current and future actions, and by the beliefs and actions of others.

The emergent nature of the research design and the ultimate mix of qualitative methods is also a consequence of the pragmatic worldview described above. Given the solution orientation of the research questions this mix offers a greater chance of deeper understanding of the phenomenon of SEs in the locality. The next subsection of this chapter (3.2) considers and presents the ethnographic methodology adopted to answer the first research question in the first stage of this study.

3.2 Stage One: Immersion - Network Ethnography in Dispersed Field Sites

Data and findings presented in chapter 5 are the result of five years of part-time ethnographic research - interviews, participant observation and collaborative working, conducted between 2015 and 2020. Research was conducted across a network of organisations and individuals supporting SE, volunteering and community development, and economic and business regeneration - in one local authority area in the northeast of England, County Durham.

Data collection, literature review, and data analysis were conducted in parallel, and in cycles of inductive research design and analysis. Sites and opportunities for data collection built as the researcher ‘followed the concept’ (Marcus, 1998) of SE. As the network grew, connections - between people and between ideas – were made. The extended data collection and analysis, and collaborative working, provided opportunity to reflect on observations, conversations, and interviews, and to develop more connections and data collection opportunities (Cheek et al., 2015). Figure 7 lists key characters in the immersion story.

Figure 7: Immersion stage main characters

Snapshots

- Researcher, part time researcher based at Newcastle University, with VCSE experience - setting up community businesses in a neighbouring county
- Voluntary and Community sector (VCS) and Social Enterprise (SE) support management and staff, representing local VCSE infrastructure support organisations, each with longstanding political and economic understanding of the county, experience as entrepreneurs or social entrepreneurs, and with a wealth of experience of working with local community groups, volunteers, and social entrepreneurs to draw on. (VCS & SE support)
- Key officers within the local County Council, and members of Durham Partnership, with community development, economic and business development roles, including strategizing and commissioning, economic regeneration & business support, and community development support roles
- Local social science academics with topical or regional expertise (Academic)
- Social entrepreneurs based in the research locality (Local SEs)
- Volunteers working in the research locality (Volunteers)

Data collection was facilitated by formal collaboration with Durham Community Action (DCA), a county-wide, long established voluntary and community sector (VCS) infrastructure support organisation. DCA has a long tradition of working closely with local and regional VCSE organisations and government, in partnership with other local and regional VCS infrastructure support and, is a member of the national Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE) network. As the project progressed, an informal collaborative relationship developed with Social Enterprise Acumen CIC (SEA), a relatively new organisation set up in 2010 to support social entrepreneurs and SE activity. Collaboration and immersion facilitated access to a broad range of SE stakeholders, and to relevant written material and grey literature.

Ethnographic methodologies – in particular, participant observation and interviews - ground the findings in the lived experience and expertise of key stakeholders in one SE ecosystem. The approach taken with the stakeholders builds on the concept of vernacular expertise, introduced by Lowe et al. (2019):

> *"the expertise that people have and develop that is place-based but crucially nourished by outside sources and agents .. a fusion of field/place generated and field/place focused knowledge" (p. 28)*

In this study vernacular expertise describes the expertise of individuals working across different economic sectors to support SE in the locality.

Iterative cycles of research design and analysis began with careful consideration of my positionality and biases inherent in collaboration. Initial data collection in the field included informal conversations, participant observations of network meetings and shadowing DCA staff away days to SEs in a neighbouring rural county, Northumberland. This data and the literature review were used to stimulate and inform interview questions for an initial round of semi- structured stakeholder interviews with key stakeholders funding and, or, providing support. Informal chats with stakeholders preceded formal, recorded stakeholder interviews which were semi-structured in design, and tailored to the interviewee depending on their positions and roles e.g. local authority officer, intermediary organisation support staff, business support manager. Each meeting and interview added another layer and dimension to my understanding. These were audio-recorded and transcribed. Alongside interview transcripts, extensive notes from conversations and observations, I also recorded reflections and kept a research journal of ideas, key insights, memorable quotes, and reflections on the data and the literature.

Iterative processes of analysis developed themes as described by Morgan and Nica (2020). Processes of analysis included: identifying sensitizing concepts from the literature and the data, reflexive memoing, comparing data collected from different participants, identifying divergent views, relating data to participant characteristics, and writing topical vignettes to evidence and test the internal validity of the sensemaking and therefore of the research findings (Bazeley, 2013). In the analysis of stakeholder interviews and participant observations, one characteristic which emerged as critical in relating conceptions of SE were participants' job roles and responsibilities.

A second set of interviews took place with a more focused set of stakeholders, vernacular experts, local SE experts, individuals working day to day, providing face to face support to VCS organisations and SEs, and running local SEs themselves. These 'typing interviews' were informed by the academic literature, specifically the publication "Fundamentals for an International Typology of Social Enterprise Models" (Nyssens and Defourny, 2016), and by stakeholder interviews and data from participant observations. These interviews were semi- structured. The final set of findings from these typing interviews are SE journey types.

In ITI the analysis process begins before examining the data. My own work experience, the literature and the short, informal chats with stakeholders were used as a first stage of analysis to assess existing beliefs and preconceptions – theirs and my own, and to generate initial themes. The second stage of analysis occurred during data collection, when initial themes were considered and reviewed. Reflexive memoing and methodological memoing after the interviews revealed important insights and themes (Morgan and Nica, 2020). For example, the theme of 'SE journeys' emerged as an initial theme. This theme was developed and interrogated with the typing interviews which ran concurrently to analysis of the stakeholder interviews. Writing and coding of vignettes was a third phase of analysis during which codes were applied to the data. This coding was done by hand using highlighters. The final stage of ITI is the writing up of themes, compiling the results to communicate their meaning (Morgan and Nica, 2020). In this study write ups of the first stage of data collection and analysis were discussed with, and sent to, key participants as another means of triangulating.

What follows (3.2.1) is a retelling of the messy process of learning through repeated processes of reading, reviewing, observation, participation, conversation and interviewing, recording, reflection, and deliberative analysis.

3.2.1 Immersion - Collaborative network ethnography

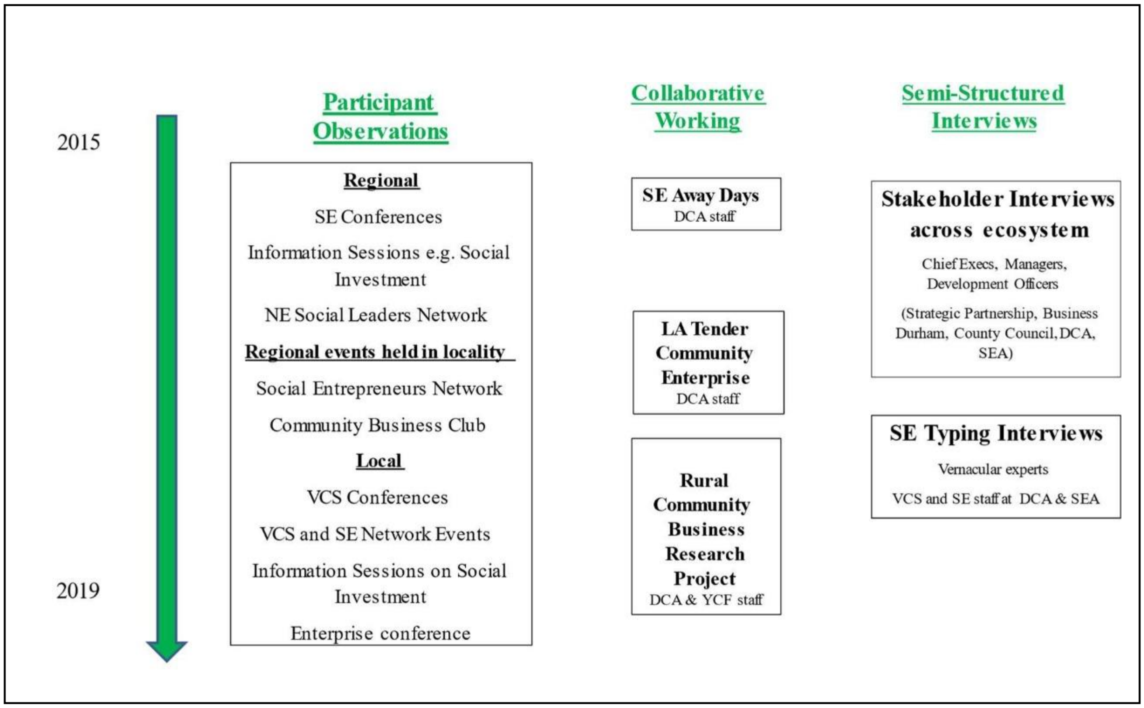
The immersion stage is best understood as a series of immersive dips into the work of organisations and individuals supporting economic development, community development, and SE activity in one county in Northern England. Data collection was focused on the provision of support for self-declared SEs and social entrepreneurs, organisations in the third sector engaging in activity to run organisations in a more business-like manner, and organisations transitioning from the public sector to deliver services previously funded and, or, organised by local authorities.

The immersion stage in the field aimed to provide a sound understanding of the social, economic and political context from which SEs are emerging and developing, and to thereby gain greater understanding of the opportunities and challenges for establishing and sustaining SEs. Concurrently immersion in the literature provided an academic framework and resonating sensitizing concepts for understanding and conceptualising experiences in the field.

In the field a 'network ethnography' approach was taken meaning that opportunities for learning have developed and been exploited as I have made connections with people, and as my network of relationships and opportunities for data collection have grown by building on and sparking off each other (Burrell, 2013). Figure 8 presents a summary and timeline of the key data collection methods, opportunities, and participants .

The process of network ethnography began with the initial meetings with the collaborative partner organisation Durham Community Action (DCA) and attending advertised SE conferences locally. The network was then built by asking participants to signpost and introduce me to other relevant organisations and individuals in the ecosystem, and by encouraging diversity of opinions, explaining the purpose was to understand different perspectives.

Figure 8: Overview of Immersion Stage Data Collection Methods and Participants



The first two conferences attended were the HEFCE funded Big Social event in Durham and the Village SOS event in Darlington which juxtaposed the professional-run voluntary and community SE sector with the volunteer-run, small scale, and typically more rural, examples of the sector. These were regional events. While the focus of data collection was one local authority area, I also linked into regional and national networks and expertise for different perspectives, and a more holistic account of the political and economic context of the social enterprization that was found in the one locality.

Collaborative working with DCA was critical to establishing relationships of trust and building my understanding of the context for SEs. One of the first of these was shadowing DCA staff on two Aways Days visiting social enterprises in the neighbouring county of Northumberland. These days were especially instructive, at each SE we visited there was a presentation by the founder or manager explaining how the organisation had developed over time. These presentations and the reactions of County Durham-based staff in private discussions following the visit to the SEs provided a foundation for understanding possible SE types and enablers, and importantly an understanding of perceptions of the County Durham-based staff on the differences between the two counties and the SE capabilities. As the project progressed and the ‘network’ developed the formal collaboration with DCA was mirrored by an informal collaborative relationship with Social Enterprise Acumen. Attending networking events organised by both these organisations opened the window on other distinctions and groupings in the SE population.

DCA has traditionally worked with voluntary management groups in communities, and when the research began the organisation was funded partly by core voluntary sector infrastructure funding from the local authority. DCA also had funding from the local authority to support asset transfer and SE development in the county. DCA employed local social entrepreneurs to support communities and individuals to engage with SE and established a virtual Volunteer Centre of volunteering expertise and opportunities. SEA was a relatively newly established SE set up to support and network local, regional and national social entrepreneurs, and would-be social entrepreneurs. SEA’s income came from a range of sources – from consultancy work, local authority European funding, and Community Business funding from a national organisation Power to Change.

During the course of the extended project collaborative research relationships have been developed and maintained amidst an ecosystem of organisations evolving, competing and coexisting and surviving in a shrinking pool of resources. While this has presented challenges, and at time I have observed tensions between different individuals and organisations in the ecosystem, I have maintained personable relationships with the participants, whilst maintaining professional distance and respect. For example, by maintaining confidentiality in what was a competitive environment of limited funding opportunities. The single most important example of this was when both DCA and SEA were competing for the county council’s Community Enterprise tender in 2017.

In this first stage of immersion, the two primary methods used for data collection were participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The next two subsections introduce these methods in detail.

3.2.2 Participant Observation and Ethnographic Interviews

The value of participant observation in this study is that theory can be generated from ‘real’ life. Observations of and chat with individuals providing SE infrastructure support and social entrepreneurs - at conferences and as they go about their lives and run their businesses - are used to develop the research questions, to help build cases for study, and to triangulate semi- structured interview data. Particularly in the first stages of the study its value rests in the opportunity it provides for participants to co-construct the research questions, to include and value vernacular (Lowe et al., 2019) knowledge, and to challenge my positions:

> *"being there" forces our ideas and assumptions to be resisted by the actions and words of those in the setting" (Becker, 1970 referenced in (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010) p15)*

At this stage of the study participant observation provided the opportunity for impromptu and informal chats with a whole range of different stakeholders, many of the opportunities for data collection were events convened by DCA and SEA (see Table 2). Stakeholders included community development staff, elderly volunteers on community building management committees, professional development workers working to support a mushroom growing enterprise within the YMA, would-be social entrepreneurs:

> *"Ethnographic interviews are short, in situ, and impromptu conversations that take place within the constraints of the field site. This type of interviewing might require more emergent design, and more spontaneous questions tailored for each observed moment to make the best use of time and space restrictions." (Arsel, 2017, p. 94)*

Table 2: Participant Observation opportunities: convening organisations and participants

Convening Organisation	Data Collection Opportunities	Participants
Durham Community Action	Staff Meetings Staff Away Days Share and Learn Network Meetings Shadowing (Community Business research and Community Enterprise bid) Annual Conference	VCS support staff VCS, SE and Public sector staff VCS volunteers
Social Enterprise Acumen	Social Entrepreneur Network Meetings Community Business Club Meetings	SE and Community Business support staff Social entrepreneurs and aspiring social entrepreneurs Community Business leaders and staff
Yorkshire Community First	Collaborative Community Business research	VCS and SE support staff

The principal value of participant observation is that it removes a series of subjective filters from the data collection process and produces 'naturally occurring data' (Porter, 2002, referenced in Silverman, 2013). Ideally the observer is the mirror to the 'real' world. (Sampson, 2004). Silverman (2013) decries the proliferation of semi-structured interviews in social science inquiry deeming the data it produces 'manufactured'. He claims the method records the world only via questions determined by the researcher, which in turn invite "socially appropriate response[s]" (p17). Instead, he proffers ethnographic methods including participant observation.

No method is without bias however, and no recorded data completely 'natural'. Our assumptions and categories impregnate our observations (Sacks , 1992 cited in Silverman 2013, p6). Firstly, analysis and interpretation has inevitably begun before a researcher begins her observation. The researcher chooses where, when, who and what to observe and record; in the case of my research the observation has predetermined foci of the inquiry. Secondly, the ethical requirements that participants know they are being observed in turn influences their actions. And thirdly, access to observe beyond public spaces is generally limited and controlled, and what is observed is influenced by power. Development organisations and social entrepreneurs acting as gatekeepers can influence and manage access, and their future influence over participants exerts power over what can be observed.

The value of participant observation relies heavily on the skill, intellect and judgement of the researcher. As Silverman (2013) implicitly acknowledges, the data collected depends on the skills of the eyes observing:

> *"seeing the remarkable .. in everyday .. also .. mundane elements of the remarkable events and contexts" (p9)*

Reflecting on and acknowledging potential limitations due to the researcher's skills and abilities is crucial. Mead (1970) (referenced in Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011) encourages the observer to carry out a skills audit prior to starting observations. To improve the value of participant observation as a tool Dewalt and Dewalt (2011) recommends detailed field notes – including a diary, descriptive notes, diagrams, plans, an audit trail of all the data collection decisions made, and notes on insights and issues. Personally, my health condition means sometimes I have to account for a poor short-term memory and balance the intrusion of note taking while observing, and the impact on the participants, with the danger data would be lost. In the field, one consequence of my condition, the need to use a walking stick, probably had a positive effect on my rapport with participants, subtly reducing perceived power indifference between researcher and those being researched.

One practical limitation of participant observation as a data collection method in a time limited research project is the time required for data collection, transcription, and analysis. Added to this is the time it took to travel to venues, often on public transport. Weighing the benefits of time spent observing against the time pressures of a PhD was an important practical consideration when assessing its worth. However, it was decided that this time getting to know the concept in the field in multiple contexts with different cohorts of research participants was worth the time cost. That I was a part-time researcher was an advantage as a greater range of opportunities for learning were able to be taken because of the extended timeframe. Further, reliance on public transport meant time in stations and on trains was often well-spent recording observations and reflecting.

3.2.3 Reflexive Interviewing

> *"[I]n qualitative research traditions there is a long standing emphasis on, and approval of, the idea of reflexivity and, in particular, that the research process should be constructed out of situated and contextual decisions and actions … [W]hat we should do … is to ensure that we make sensible and informed decisions whose products will constitute a meaningful, coherent, intellectually compelling and practicable research ." (Mason et al., 2008, p165)*

Semi-structured or semi-standardized (Arsel, 2017) interviews provide a critical subset of data throughout the study (see Table 3). Beyond their practical value to planning and time management, they allow individuals the opportunity to respond to questions beyond the gaze and hearing of others, to present their point of view. This contrasts with participant observation. As a result, the primary value of interviews to this study is they offer individuals the opportunity to undermine and, or elaborate normative discourse about SE. Michell (1999) records how interviews in her study allowed the less vocal in focus groups a voice and opportunity to convey issues in a way not possible amidst the power dynamics group. In this study I aimed to do the same. SE is a term and activity heavily weighted with socially and politically prescribed meaning. My objective was that semi-structured interviews, conducted well, enabled participants to present their own conceptions of SE, their beliefs, and their SE narratives and biographies.

Table 3: Immersion Stage Interviews and Interviewee details

Interviewees' Organisation	Research Stage and Number of Interviews	Number of Interviewees	Organisation's role
Durham Community Action	Introductory & Stakeholder Overview: 2 x semi-structured Typing: 2 x semi-structured Mapping: 2 x semi-structured	5	County Durham (CD) Voluntary and Community sector (VCS) and SE
Social Enterprise Acumen	Introductory & Stakeholder Overview: 2 x semi-structured Typing: 2 x semi-structured Mapping: 1 x semi-structured	1	Regional Social Enterprise support
Public Sector	Stakeholder Overview2 x semi-structured	2	Community Development Durham Business Regeneration
Business Durham	Stakeholder Overview: 2 x semi-structured	1	Business Support and Regeneration
County Durham Strategic Partnership	Stakeholder Overview: 1 x semi-structured	1	CD and Regional Economic Regeneration
Village SOS	Stakeholder Overview: 1 x semi-structured	1	National rural community enterprise support

In my study I needed to be aware of the dangers of biasing interviewee selection, as a result of collaboration with a local rural development organisation and as a result of managed access to stakeholders in SEs. This bias can only be partially mitigated against with conscious effort, but like participant observation much of the value and limitation of semi-structured interviews depends on the skills of the interviewers and approach taken during the interview.

Semi-structured interviews enable the researcher to focus questioning and thereby the data on the research topic and specific questions. The researcher sets the agenda. This method therefore has great practical value within the constraints of a predetermined research topic and questions, and a time and resource limited research project. Given the researcher's power over data collected in semi-structured interviews it is particularly important to be alert to bias (Diefenbach, 2008).

The approach to interviewing has been reflexive and adaptive. Data analysis and review of research design has taken place during interviews. As a result of this approach the questions and questioning have been adapted to suit the context and the interviewees, and in response to my own judgement as to whether the questioning is successfully addressing the core research why and how research questions. Prior to interviewing I attended interview training as part of a Research Methods postgraduate certificate, this required I interview and be interviewed. This was informative and presented opportunities to experience good and bad interviewing techniques. It also gave me opportunity to understand unsettling, longer-term impacts of being interviewed by a stranger. A formative learning experience.

The skills required for interviewing also depends on what you understand an interview to be. Oakley (1990) in her seminal work ‘Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms’ contends that the traditional ‘textbook interview’ paradigm does not work in practice. She claims the interview should be understood as a ‘social space where a relationship develops between the interviewer and interviewee - not as a value-neutral space, in which a dispassionate scientist collects data from a passive participant (Oakley, 1990). With this understanding, the interviewee’s skills at establishing meaningful relationships – for example their capacity for empathy - are crucial to the value of the method, and the quality of the data.

Oakley (1990) states the interviewer needs to:

> *“be prepared to invest … own personality into the relationship” that there is “no intimacy without reciprocity” (p41)*

However, reciprocity is potentially leading and biasing. What to reciprocate needs consideration prior to interview as part of reflections on positionality.

Positionality has practical implications before interviews begin and how the research and the researcher are presented by written material and verbally by gatekeepers. How an interviewer presents herself visually and how she speaks will also position her in the minds of the interviewee and could be judged to have different practical implications when interviewing civil servants and when interviewing SE stakeholders. I tried to maintain the same smart casual appearance throughout but much still relied on demeanor.

As a mature student I brought to interviewing my life experience, working in community development and with small community businesses, volunteering as a trustee for a charity, raising two children and the wealth of experience that has given me. This has meant I have been able to establish relationships with people easily and have learnt to have a balance of personal and professional relationship building to put interviewees at ease and to keep conversations focused and flowing.

In this immersion stage of the study, I had to be aware of both 'interviewing-up' and of the power I held as the researcher. How I presented myself was a fine balancing act dependent on my relative power in the room, on the need to express gratitude for the interviewee sharing their time, on the need to sometimes encourage frank opinion, and on the need to sometimes challenge expressed opinion by pointing out inconsistencies. Interviewing some stakeholders twice and repeated contact with others presented opportunities to build rapport and opportunity to revisit controversial, surprising, or interesting data.

> *"A reflexive approach means you should be mindful of the intersubjective nature of your encounter with your research participants (Wilk 2001), the power relations between you and your participants (Kvale 2006), and your own biases and preconceptions."(Arsel, 2017, p. 940)*

Elwood and Martin (2000) highlight issues of positionality and power as they related to interview location. Given that the objective of this research is to gather multiple accounts and perspectives, and where appropriate to unsettle normative SE discourse, the impact of interview location on interviewee responses was an important practical consideration during this study. In line with Elwood and Martin's findings my collaborative relationships meant formal and informal interviews took place in many different locations. For example, in interviewee offices, on car journeys, in community buildings before and during meetings. The variety of locations facilitated understanding of SEs as it relates to the variety of identities interviewees draw on.

While some interviews took place in and amongst groups involved in running the SE some were one to one. The downside of the privacy of some of the one-off semi-structured interviews was that the opinions and narratives collected could not be contested within the interview, and the dynamics of groups could not be observed, though this was mitigated to a degree by opportunities for repeated interactions. In the immersion stage collaborative working presented opportunities for some triangulation (Bryman, 2012). For example, I interviewed some of the same key stakeholders during the community business research project and so was able to generate more nuanced understandings with some key stakeholders. Watching stakeholders interact, engaging with them more than once, for example with follow-up interviews provided the opportunity for positionalities to be disrupted.

"each interview takes its own form but follows a specific research question around a series of themes" (Arsel, 2017, p940)

These interviews were reflexive and semi-standardized, which meant each interview was conducted differently but around the same themes, because each offered opportunities for new learning. So, though the same core set of themes were taken into all the stakeholder interviews these were developed as immersion progressed and the research questions developed.

"While situated in the context of each interviewee's life world, the interview should have an overarching purpose that persistently and progressively seeks new knowledge around an ever-evolving research question. Each data point and each iteration within the research process should compel you to reconsider your understanding and the motivating research questions."(Arsel, 2017, p940)

The interviews, with participant observation, aimed to build an understanding of the local ecosystem of support and to answer the research question. Layers of understanding were slowly built over the extended timeframe, as the data was analysed the design emerged. The emergent sub-question 'How do individuals providing face-to-face support manage the ambiguity of the language of SE?', and the typing interviews were a direct result of this ongoing process of analysis.

"Interviews, like all data sources in interpretivist approaches, are a part of an iterative circle that continuously moves back and forth between conceptualization, data collection, data analysis, and theory building." (Arsel, 2017, p940)

3.2.4 Cycles of Data Collection and Analysis

During this immersion stage literature review, data collection, and data analysis were conducted in parallel, and in cycles of inductive research design and iterative thematic data analysis. So, with the knowledge of the contested and fluid nature of the concept of SE I began the process of data collection with open interviews with key stakeholders asking what their definition was of SE, and what role or place SEs have in the county. However, in response to my own frustration with the omission from much of the academic literature on SEs to delimit the concept by reference to specific types of organisations, I also made sure to ask interviewees if specific organisation types would fit with their views. For example, I would ask 'does asset transfer of local authority buildings fit your definition?'. By doing this it was possible to unpick some of the rhetoric and often to find consensus where participants' stated views could be interpreted as in conflict. As data collection progressed and the design evolved, I came to typing SEs in the field using the expertise of the SE support practitioners.

Having developed an understanding of some of the complexities of the SE support ecosystem, the first emergent sub-question developed – abducted via a developing understanding of the empirical data and the academic literature. This question was 'how do individuals providing face-to-face support manage the ambiguity of the language of SE?'. The emergent objective of data collection for this phase 1 research question became 'to identify features and types of SEs' to inform phase 2 SE case selection. The timing of the emergence of this research question coincided with the publication of Defourny and Nyssens's (2017a,b) ICEMS papers proposing international SE models. By learning from the field and from the literature, particularly these 2017 papers, interviews were designed to understand how support practitioners make sense of SE in the field.

In these interviews specific examples of types, individual SEs that represented each subset, were crucial to developing the typology. These 'SE typing interviews' were framed around Nyssens and Defourny's publication (2016) in which they identify the need to focus on origins and processes to better understand types and evolutions of SEs.

In the final stages of the immersion phase 'mapping interviews' were conducted with SE support practitioners. The data from these interviews did not ultimately get mapped, however. These interviews served the purpose of supplementing and triangulating data from previous interviews, and internal validation of findings, as these interviews were structured around lessons learnt from immersion in both the literature and the field. The mapping data was also used when selecting case studies for Stage Two. (Appendix 1 details key data collections events throughout the course of the immersion, methods used, purpose, examples of insights gained and examples of reflection and utility).

3.2.5 Collaboration, Ethics, Delimitations

By working with DCA as formal collaborative partners the research benefits from insider expertise in community and rural development, and County Durham. The relationship has also maintained the focus on providing impactful outcomes which will be of benefit to local communities. Given the complex and contested picture of SEs in the UK, and the shifting political and financial sands on which these organisations evolve, the day-to-day expertise from DCA provided an invaluable resource.

On the other side of the coin is the voluntary sector bias DCA holds, the opportunities provided for the researcher to observe for example and the inevitable sampling bias incurred due to their own organisational culture and contractual responsibilities. Yet, the informal collaborative partnership with SEA mitigated this bias to a large extent.

As well as enabling a more reflexive and flexible approach the collaborative nature of the research, combined with the change to part time, allowed for more action-oriented research design. The seven-year relationship with DCA, and its staff and trustees, also naturally meant a deeper relationship of reciprocity was built. This relationship of reciprocity required me to be more aware of my own biases. It also required I was very careful to maintain confidentiality across the different organisations I worked with and assert my independence. This was particularly pertinent in increasingly competitive, funding context in which organisations were competing with each other, and because I had to be aware I might be understood by some organisations to be embedded in one of their competitors.

Increasingly it seemed local intermediary organisations are working in a less collegiate and co-operative context, for example competing for local authority contracts to provide SE support. Where interviews have been conducted with staff from the local authority, and from intermediary organisations serving the same geographical area and potentially competing for funding, issues of confidentiality have been pertinent and have required deliberate and careful action and thought. The relationships between organisations and representatives of those organisations, working in the same geographical area has also been a consideration when interviewing. And they have been considered when analysing the data. Both what is said and what is not said will have been affected by my stated collaboration with Durham Community Action.

Due the naturalistic approach I have taken in this first stage of data collection participants were not given the opportunity to answer the same questions in comparable controlled environments, however repeated opportunities were taken for data collection. The naturalistic conversational approach was taken to reveal any contradictions, to reveal beliefs underpinning meanings attached to terms and actions determined as SE by themselves and others, and to shed light on local relations, tensions and interests. Interview topics were planned but differences in approach were determined by the very different roles of interviewees. Community development and SE support workers were approached differently to people with more strategic economic development positions.

The final limitation of the approach taken is that whilst I have attended some relevant regional events and spoken to individuals with more regional and national interests, I have focused on individuals and organisations with county-wide remits. The data and findings are therefore limited to this geographical area.

One strength of the extended period of study has been the time it has allowed to build relationship with DCA and with individuals who have worked there. This phase has inevitably strengthened the design, highlighted likely data and bias issues. It has also generated professional relationships of respect which I value very much and which I will take with me beyond this project.

3.3 Stage Two: SE Case Studies

This subsection presents the methods used in the second stage of the research, to answer the second research question: How do individuals and groups start and sustain SEs? It presents and justifies the processes by which the cases were selected, and the SE case study data collected and analysed. The objectives of using these methods were:

- To collect and analyse individuals' and organisations' narratives of starting and sustaining different types of SEs

- To thereby identify: resources and processes used to establish, maintain, and where apt grow, these SEs; sources of resources; and processes of resource collation and conversion

- To identify and understand relationships between SE types, stages, and their context.

Case studies were chosen as an appropriate method of understanding and comparing the different types of SE journeys identified by the vernacular experts, as Yin (2003) states:

> *"The case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as … organizational and*

managerial processes..” (p2)

“A case study is an empirical inquiry that .. investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when .. the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident “ (p13)

Hence I decided the case study approach is well suited to the dynamic concept of SEs and context-specific nature of the resources and processes involved in starting and sustaining these organisations. The range of in-depth cases selected offered opportunity for learning to inform SE support, as it was founded in the knowledge of the vernacular experts and on the range of leaning from the immersion phase.

Ten case studies have been collected. Case selection was based on the typology developed with the vernacular experts in stage one. The design of data collection and analysis has been directed by the range of theoretical and empirical findings that have emerged from reviewing the literature. The design therefore tests whether different institutional logics are managed, balanced, and negotiated in these hybrid organisations, and if so, how this affects the processes of starting and sustaining. Further, it explicitly seeks to develop and compare models of starting and sustaining different types of SEs that are both based on practitioners’ priorities, and that allow for the inclusion of resources and processes from and at multiple levels - of the organisation, and the local and institutional context (Saebi et al.,2019). Further, the design explicitly left open opportunities for social resources and collective and interpersonal processes to be revealed, noting theoretical debates as to whether hybridity is the appropriate way to frame SEs (Ridley-Duff, 2008; Bull et al., 2010; Bull and Ridley-Duff, 2018; Bull et al., 2018).[12]

3.3.1 Case Study Selection Rationale

SEs are defined here as trading organisations which exist explicitly to create social value, rather than organisations established and run to capture financial value (Santos, 2012). Though, as this

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[12] Bull et al. (2010) and Ridley-Duff and Bull (2018) suggest that it is the economic emphasis which has understood these organisations as hybrid, they propose instead conceptualising these organisations through an alternative paradigm, using the lens of ethical capital (2010), reciprocity and benevolence (2018).

section will elaborate, the process of selection inevitably required some judgements to be made as to what was and was not a SE. Learning in stage one, in particular the pragmatic acceptance of ambiguity by the vernacular experts, informed these decisions. And ultimately, the selection of case studies aimed to provide a range of organisations representing the types identified in the immersion stage, and from across the county's socio-political geography.

The unit of analysis is the organisation because the research aims to understand how different SEs are started and sustained (Patton, 2002). Organizational narratives were garnered through interviewing founders, managers, staff and volunteers, and asking about organisation's internal and external dynamics, for example the relationships between these individuals, and between the SE organisation and its contexts. This multilevel approach to data collection and analysis is an embedded multiple case study approach (Yin, 2003; Fletcher and Plakoyiannaki, 2011) in which the diversity of the cases seeks the greatest opportunity for learning in context, rather than formal generalizability, generating knowledge via falsification (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

In practice, case selection was inevitably dynamic and emergent due to the difficulties defining and labelling an enterprise as a 'SE'. Ultimately selection aimed to generate a set of SEs for analysis that represented the diversity of SE journeys, across a range of business sectors, whilst also representing a range of different geographical and socio-economic contexts. Given that the process of case selection, and deselection, was emergent, the extended time frame of this research project was particularly useful and meant that time could be taken to make enquiries into potential cases to determine if it would offer relevant learning. This timeframe meant that case selection could be iterative, as priorities and themes emerged and knowledge of the previous cases and potential future cases grew. One example of the former, is the deselection of one potential case study when it became clear from initial enquiries that the enterprise was really a group of community members who wanted to sustain their friendship and the conviviality of the small group of fellow local drinkers. They did not seek growth or innovation, or to create social value for others, bar the odd newcomer. They wanted to capture rather than create social value, so did not fit the heuristic definition of a SE I had developed from reading the literature and working in the field.

The process of case selection builds on the data gathered from surveying and mapping interviews with the practitioner experts at DCA and SEA which were not ultimately used in the immersion stage. In these interviews with SE support staff were asked to identify and give details of organisations they had worked with, or who were on their databases. This data was supplemented with a list of organisations interviewed for a DCA community business (CB) research project conducted in 2016-17. This focused on the most sparsely populated parts of the county - the rural Durham Dales area. In addition to these lists, organisations considered for case study included those discovered during the period of immersion, which were logged and filed as potential case studies. In total 116 organisations were sifted.

The primary selection consideration was initially that the organisation be trading for social value, that the proportion of their income garnered through trading should be 50% or more, and that they be identified as a SE by individuals working within the local ecosystem, though volunteers and staff need not self-identify their organisation as a SE. In the first instance the focus was organisations identified by the SE support staff in the mapping interviews. Organisations identified as transitioning to SE were also considered in the short list using both mapping interviews and CB research lists. The sifting process for the CB list began with desk research to prioritise organisations being run as businesses and which were not largely grant dependent - using Companies House and Charity Commission data, and any additional information available on the web.[13]

Once SE were identified initial efforts to allocate each to a SE Journey type began. The process of mapping SEs to types shifted as data on each organisation built. Whether the organisations were new or had transitioned was a consideration, as was the coverage of social issues the SEs were trying to address. For example, one note during selection was ‘too many adult social care providers’. Following initial selection of the cases to be studied, the choices were shared with SE and VCS development practitioners for comment and query, to inform the selection process. As a result of these conversations some social enterprises shifted between types.

Other considerations identified from immersion stage findings also affected case selection. Selection deliberatively aimed to include larger, and arguably more business-like SEs. The potential for a community development bias was highlighted as problematic by business support staff and strategists in the immersion phase. Therefore, SEs which had not sought support from

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[13] Though some of these were enterprises being run by individuals deemed to be social entrepreneurs by SE support staff this was neither sufficient or necessary criteria for inclusion as the unit of analysis in the organisation, the SE.

DCA or SEA were included using a search on the Companies House website for local CICs. Selection included established, transitioned organisations who were identified as having recently shifted into SE. Cases that were newly established or had newly transitioned to SE model were prioritized. SEs incorporated since 2011 were prioritized as new as it was felt that individual founders and staff were likely to recall important resources and processes within the past decade. The CB research list provided thirty organisations in the sparse rural geography of the county. This area was not as well represented in the Mapping interview data from DCA and SEA[14] and I had hoped the CB research would provide the opportunity to include a greater diversity of SEs. Ultimately however most of these organisations were not newly established or transitioned, they were generally village halls which had traditionally been run by communities and charities.[15]

Geographical spread across the county was considered in the selection process with the aim of representing diverse geographies. For this I mapped the initial potential cases onto an Ordinance Survey map of County Durham by hand, using a different colour to denote who referred that SE to me. Then I used spatial areas segmented into the five delivery areas generated by County Durham Economic Partnership in their 2011-2014 Altogether Wealthier Delivery Plan 2011-14 which takes 'labour, housing, and travel to learn markets' into account (p6); and the four Functional Economic Market Areas (FEMAs) mapped by the CURDS (2011) report. I also mapped the cases using the Rural Urban Classification LSOA data 2015 (Defra, 2011) and Index of Multiple Deprivation data mapped onto Lower Super Output Areas to try to provide as diverse a selection as possible. Alongside the geographical spread of the organisations the spread of types of SE Journey was a critical criterion for selection.

Geographical mapping of potential cases was done in iteration with typing SEs against the Vernacular SE Typology , this was a dynamic process because as I learnt more about each case their type would often change and so selection choices shifted as coverage across geography and

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[14] Note one of the support staff said at the very start of the research project that the rural west 'tend to look after themselves'.

[15] Though ultimately excluded from the case studies studied, it is important to note that over time these village halls are run by different generations of local community members and could arguably be understood as new to each new committee member

the typology were considered. The aim was to generate a sample diverse across type and geography. The SE cases ultimately selected represented all the five different types of SE journeys identified in the immersion phase by the vernacular experts (see Table 11 in Chapter 4), coverage across the geographical contexts, included new and transitioned SEs, and included a broad range of sizes so as to avoid bias to either very small or very large organisations.[16]

3.3.2 Case Study Data Collection Methods

Once a case had been selected a key contact was identified, asked if they agreed to participate, and if yes, they were sent an Information sheet and Consent form (Appendix 2). Data collection began. The purpose of the case study data collection was to understand the resources and processes at play in each organisation to maintain and sustain these SEs. To this end interviews with founders, staff, volunteers and partners (sector partners and/or household partners) were conducted. The number and range of interviewees per case was deliberate to identify social resources and processes. To this end understanding people's motivations to be involved and what they brought to the SE was important. As well as interviewee responses and observations of the SEs at work, data was collected via desk-based research. Companies House and Charity Commission documents available online were supplemented by data from each case study's website, and results from Facebook searches, from Google searches for newspaper articles, and from LinkedIn details of staff and trustees where appropriate.

As data collection progressed the number and variety of interviewees was reduced as it became clear that fewer interviewees did not necessarily significantly impinge the utility of the data collected in answering the research questions.

The interviews were conducted as informal guided conversations. Interviewees were not all asked standard structured questions. This was to allow interviewees to reveal their priorities and to describe their enterprises, resources and processes as freely as possible. All interviewees were told

[16] In the final stages of selection three organisations not based in areas classified as rural were included to ensure geographical and typology coverage. Two explicitly state in their mission or on their website that they served rural areas, and the third represents the North area of the county and serves rural populations.

that this purpose of the interviews was to understand how people set up and run different types of SE. This approach was possible because I had opportunity to review interviews and return.

One challenge presented by the range of cases, in particular the size of one of the cases, was in that instance it was not possible to observe the organisation at work, and a smaller range of participant perspectives was accessed. Interviewees from this large case were all either volunteers at charity trustee level or were paid staff from the charity's executive team. However, while the difference in sizes and ages of the cases presented challenges it was deliberate and ultimately informative. The diversity highlighted challenges of survival and growth of a range of SEs at multiple stages. It also provides an instructive view of the local ecosystem, for example different case's relations with funding streams administered by local and national government.

Data collection in this second phase focused on answering the 'how' questions of this thesis. To answer the 'how' question, answering some 'why' questions was necessary. For example, why individuals were involved in each SE, to a large degree, answers how people collate and convert resources like unpaid labour. Data collection was designed and conducted in line with what Holliday (2007) describes as core 'beliefs' of qualitative research:

> *"Conviction that what it is important to look for will emerge. Confidence in an ability to devise research procedures to fit the situation and the nature of the people in it, as they are revealed" (p6)*

In this study the first case study provided the opportunity to pilot methods which were honed and flexed in subsequent cases. For example, one informal conversation with a beneficiary was so effusive in its praise of the enterprise I was reminded of the warning I had had from staff at DCA – 'beneficiaries are not likely to be able to add anything to answering the questions' and instead would simply be very positive. Ultimately the range of interviewees and the range of data collection methods, in particular the inclusion of observations and social media, generated sufficient data.

The mainstay of data collection for each case are qualitative interviews. To prepare for founder interviews I piloted a pair of semi-unstructured interviews with a social entrepreneur local and known to me, using only the main research questions jotted down as a guide, with some additional questions about the methods to help inform my choice of some additional data collection techniques I was considering using. These pilot interviews anchored the research questions in my memory, informed the ‘natural’ flow and wording of the questioning, and gave me opportunity to reflect. For instance, reflecting on how to leave space to allow interviewee answers to develop and for important themes to emerge - rather than me leading with my own theoretical baggage (Arsel, 2017). These also gave me an indication of the time it takes to cover the breadth of questions with the depth I wanted and confirmed the benefit of two interviews with the primary interviewee from each case.

The advantage of two interviews with the same interviewee, conducted on different days, is this gave the interviewee time to reflect on my questions and the narrative they provide in the first interview. It also gives me the opportunity to ensure any interesting emergent themes are investigated and any gaps in the first interview are addressed.

Having piloted a less structured founder interview, I prepared an Interview Protocol (Appendix 3) using learning from the pilot to inform the order, the questions and the flow. These interview questions and their order aimed to introduce the research, myself, to acquire informed consent to interview and to audio record, to provide background and detail of the interviewee and the SE, and to address specific research questions.

My interviews paralleled the technique of the Problem Centred Interview (PCI) developed by Andreas Witzel (2000) (referenced in Scheibelhofer, 2008).

> *“The PCI combines an open approach with minimal interviewer structuring in the first phase of the interview with a semi-structured part of the interview that allows for a focus set by the researcher” (Scheibelhofer, 2008),p404)*

They included narration-based interviewing to allow participants to set priorities and leave the structure of the interview up to them, alongside topical interviewing to ensure gaps in the data were filled. Topical interviewing was founded in the conceptual frame and in theory from the existing literature on SE.

> *“your interviews should reflexively and purposefully be designed around existing theory, challenging it, and seeking to revise or extend it.”* (Arsel, 2017, *p. 940)*

I used Arsel’s tutorial on reflexive interviewing as a guide to my own intuition on how best to engage interviewees and draw out data and themes prioritised by them, remaining cognisant to my own biases and ‘theoretical baggage’.

> *“theoretical baggage .. [drawn from] particular frames of understanding and particular ways of seeing ..*
>
> *Treat[ing these] as an advantage, but be[ing] reflexive regarding [my] own theoretical blind spots.” (Arsel, 2017, pp939-940).*

After the first interview the question proforma was honed down to headings written alongside the original proforma. This process of honing down continued as the interviews proceeded and as patterns and key themes were identified. Ultimately by the end of the process the questions were condensed to a mind map of key conversation prompts which I took into interviews. The mind maps differed depending on who in the organisation I was interviewing, for example a volunteer compared to a founder, a volunteer chair of trustees compared to a senior manager. Additional mind maps were developed when multiple interviews with the same interviewee were conducted. The aim of these prompts was to facilitate a conversational approach, to establish a natural flow so interviewee priorities emerged, to encourage interviewees to describe their SE narratives in their own words, and to ensure key topics and questions were not forgotten. This flexibility also served a practical purpose as very often interviews were conducted during business hours and so interviews could be interrupted, or in several instances were conducted with other staff and sometimes with clients or service users present.

Using mind maps offered flexibility. It also meant I could take notes of interviewee responses on the mind map, highlighting interesting points to develop once the respondent had finished answering the initial question, or later in the interview. Though the aim of the conversational approach was to allow interviewees to direct the interviews as much as possible, interviewees who had been in correspondence with me prior to interview – mainly founders/primary managers – understood the purpose of the research and the type of questions I would be asking with the information sheets I provided with the consent forms when organising the interviews (see Appendix 2) However, very often staff who had not organised the interviews had to be told immediately before the interview commenced what the purpose of our conversation was. In summary I described the purpose of the research and the interviews: *‘to get lots of different* *perspectives on how and why individuals and groups set up organisations and businesses that trade to create social value/ organisations and businesses that are set up to benefit others'*.

In all bar one case study the founder was the primary interviewee and in all bar one case study, multiple interviews provided the opportunity for both me and the primary interviewee to reflect on the questions and answers. Interviews were conducted with different individuals involved in each of the SEs. The methodologies of previous SE studies reviewed have not taken this approach, however it was deemed necessary to reveal and understand features of any collective effort and action in the processes, and the different contributions of multiple individuals. Table 4 outlines the participants interviewed for each case study.

Table 4: Case Study Governance and Interviewee details

Case	Governance	Interviewee	Interviewee	Interviewee	Interviewee	Interviewee	Interviewee	Partner Interviewee
1	Community Interest Company	Founder’s husband	Project Manager	Project Co-ord	Client Support x2	Tea Room Staff		Partner org
2	Company	Founder Manager	Founder Manager Staff x2				Vol Staff x1	Client Parent
3	Company	Founder Owner Manager	Assist. Manager staff	Founder partner staff	Founder son staff	Staff x1	Neighbour flexi staff x2	Support org
4	Charitable Company	Founder Trustee vol	Founder Trustee	Manager x2			Vol Staff x2	Partner org
5	Community Interest Company	Founder Director			Vol Staff x2			
6	Charitable Company	Trustee Chair	Trustee VC	Founder Chief Exec	Treasurer	Exec Team staff member	Exec team staff member	
7								
8								
9								
10	Community Interest Company	Founder Director		Staff x2				Original Founders

Timelining and SWOT analyses

As noted in Table 4, in six of the cases the interviews with the primary interviewee were supplemented by using timelining and or Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats (SWOT) analyses focused on critical instances in the SE's development through time, or current SWOTs. These were to focus interviewees' thoughts and encourage them to prioritise different features of the SE and it's context through time or currently. Both techniques were used to facilitate dynamic reflexivity (Cheek et al., 2015) by the participant during data collection.

Where possible and deemed necessary, timelining was used as a mechanism to augment the narration-based interviewing, and subsequent topical interviewing, a technique of augmentation and triangulation (Bryman, 2012). Timelining involved mapping key moments of the organisation's life, for example, when premises, important people, or financial resources were accessed.

> *"It is through time that we can begin to grasp the nature of social change, the mechanisms and strategies used by individuals to generate and manage change in their personal lives, and the ways in which structural change impacts on the lives of individuals. Indeed, it is only through time that we can gain a better appreciation of how the personal and the social, agency and structure, the micro and macro are interconnected and how they come to be transformed." (Neale and Flowerdew, 2003, p190)*

These methodologies aided memory and provided another opportunity to answer the research questions if the narrative or topical questioning had not elicited sufficient detail. They also helped to get interviewee 'off their script'. As founders or primary managers, they have a story they tell – to funders or press for example. I had two interviewees explicitly state this fact saying *'which version do you want?'* or *'this is what I normally tell people.'*

The temporal, multi-stage, perspective taken in this study and the use of timelining reflect growing interest in quantitative and qualitative longitudinal research of third sector organisations (Macmillan, 2011). Timelining was intended to open a window to the multiple stages of the SE. It is understood that any retrospective account is done through prisms of learning, hindsight and current context. Neale and Flowerdue's (2003) paper discusses the conceptual foundation for longitudinal qualitative methodologies. They highlight the importance of recognising temporal dimensions of the social world, the methodological consequences that arise from that way of seeing and understanding the world. As researchers we are interested in interplay of structure and agency. How these interactions change over time is usually critical to our understanding. They state that although interviewing is the mainstay of qualitative enquiry, from our own understanding of ourselves and the world when we communicate our thoughts of anything it is from the standpoint of ‘now’. Any retrospective enquiry is through the lens of our current state, our current beliefs and context. That is inevitable. My research questions seek to answer *how* individuals and groups have established different social entrepreneurs, what resources those individuals consider to have been important, and what they prioritise in retrospect. Partly for this reason all the initial interviews I conducted with the founders and/or managers of each case were face to face, traditional oral interviews. Also, to put them at their ease, to establish a rapport, for me to establish a greater understanding of them and how best to interact with them and get the most out of the time we had together. Once I had asked those open interview questions to establish their priorities, I then used the timelines to try to get beyond this current perspective.

I asked interviewees to build timelines with me after the first interview I conducted with them. The aim of building the timeline after the first interview was to give interviewees the opportunity to lead that initial interview with their own priorities. The strength of using a timeline became apparent as they were used. Because interviewees forget critical instances and their contexts, timelining helps to make connections. For example, in one case the founder stated *‘o yes that was when my niece was 15, there were some suicides at the school which started me thinking about young people’s mental health’*. Timelines provide visual prompts and visual anchors. Having visual anchors means the interviewee and the interviewer can go backwards and forwards and are not limited to trying to tell the story chronologically (Pell et al., 2020). This supports the memory of both the interviewee and interviewer in the process (my purpose was to collect data on what happened i.e., dates when they learnt how to access local authority contracts, to build up those important episodes, but then to also ask questions about what resources enabled that to happen e.g., that particular social worker who explained the system to them. Visual anchors, whether in the mind maps, the timelines, or the SWOT analyses were sometimes critical to facilitating natural flow while also keeping us both on track, on purpose, but were not necessary or appropriate in all cases.

3.3.3 Case Study Data Coding and Analysis

The data collected and analysed from the SE cases were transcribed interviews, photos, and notes – observations, impressions and reflections during and after visits. This was supplemented by data from desk-based research, for example SE websites, LinkedIn profiles of directors/staff, accounts and documents from Companies House, screen shots and impressions of social media from each case (see Table 5).

The aims of processes of coding and analysis were two-fold:

- To understand each case in detail, on its own merits, and answer the research questions for each.
- To compare cases according to their type and elements of context which emerge as important

Data for each case was collected sequentially and compared and analysed as data was collected. To answer the main research question and sub-questions several rounds of coding and analysis were conducted, several iterations which eventually culminated in the Collective SE Capability Frameworks and key themes. These rounds overlapped.

The first process of coding was after data collection for each of the first two cases. This was by hand and used Bourdieu's capitals and theory of practice as a priori codes which I mapped to free codes that emerged from the data (see Table 6). Analysis using Bourdieu's theories has been cited as offering Entrepreneurship and Small Business research useful concepts for understanding the interplay between structure and agency, multiple levels of entrepreneurial processes. And offering relational perspectives which support theory building, bridging the psychological and sociological approaches to entrepreneurship research.

> *"Bourdieu's theory can be seen as an endeavour to explain the kinds of varied resources (capitals) that individuals draw on in order to enact their strategies and how their strategies are both negotiated in and shaped by their habitus and the logic of the field, i.e. the social structures, which in turn is altered through enactments of human agency ... Within Bourdieu's framework, field denotes the*

universe of partly pre-constituted objective historical relations between positions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 16). Utilising the notion of field in the ESB research is useful for introducing and operationalising the structural forces that are in play at social institutional and organisational levels ... the concept of habitus brings the subjective dimension of human agency into the analysis" (Forson et al, 2014 p62)

In this thesis capitals and theory of practice were used to disaggregate and conceptualise the different resources at play in the social entrepreneurial processes. The utility of Bourdieu's theories stem from the conceptual clarity (Pret and Carter, 2017) of the different capitals Bourdieu identifies, material and non-material resources, economic and symbolic capitals. Economic capital is financial and includes assets such as land. Non-material resources include social, symbolic and cultural capital. which individuals use with the aim of accumulating more capital (Shucksmith, 2012). Social capital is family, networks, and relationships, it is exchangeable and can be accumulated. Symbolic capital includes qualifications, awards, and reputation. Cultural capital includes knowledge, tastes, and cultural dispositions. In the first attempts of coding, concepts of habitus and field seemed to offer some utility in conceptualizing sociological components of the narratives being presented by the interviewees and the data more generally. For example, conceptualising the legitimacy apparently assumed and embodied by the founder family in the first case which seemed to facilitate more favourable terms and conditions from their grant provider during start-up stage.

Table 5: Data collected for each SE case study

Case	My writeup(s)	No. of Interviewees	No. of Interviewees	Photos	Timeline (T) SWOT (S)	Governance documents	Facebook & www// references	Other	Other	Participant Observations
1	1	9	7	20	T & S	8	45	1	Lionmouth history file in café	SE @work x2
2	1	7	5	9	S	3	5	1	Local newspaper article	SE @work x2
3	2	9	8	28	T & S	-	7	2	Local newspaper article	SE @work x1
4	1	7	8	24	T	2	-	1	Weardale stats	Project @work x1
5	2	4	4	30		8	18	2	LinkedIn x2	SE @work x1
6 **7** **8** **9**	2	5	5	4	S	37	30		¤ LinkedIn x 1, newspaper articles	(Sen, (No PO but, 2 interviews held @ subsidiary SEs)
10	3	4	3	46	S	2	25	2	LinkedIn x 2,	SE @work x2

Though Bourdieu is explicit in the theory's purpose being to extend our understanding and models of human action beyond which economic theory's focus on economic capital and mercantile exchange, and thereby negating other forms of exchange (Bourdieu, 2006), one criticism of his theory is that it remains too economistic (Lebaron, 2003). As such it is criticized for reducing motivations for human behaviour to the accumulation of capital (Moore, 2008). In this study initial attempts to code the data using these concepts, though fruitful to an extent, did not seem to reflect the stories being gathered in the field accurately and entirely. My decision to use Sen's (Sen, 1999) Capability approach could be deemed an affirmation of this critique. And ultimately, I chose to use Sen's Capability Approach because I assessed Bourdieu's theory was less useful in understanding and communicating the processes as play in the *conversation* of different resources, which this study theorizes are often collective and non-economic in nature and motivation.. The Capability Approach offered a heuristic device for identifying themes and thereby understanding the processes on conversion presented by the case study. data

The Capability Approach was originally developed by Amartya Sen in the 1970s in response to what he considered the normative inadequacies (Robeyns, 2003) of neoclassical models of human development and wellbeing which focus on financial income and, exclude consideration of factors affecting individual's freedoms and ability to choose – notably values and capabilities, which are explained and examined in more detail below. Rather than a theory however, the approach is

> *"primarily and mainly a framework of thought, a mode of thinking about normative issues, hence – loosely defined – a paradigm" (Robeyns, 2003, p.8).*

The approach has been developed and adapted since Sen first introduced it (Sen, 1999; Nussbaun, 2000; Robeyns, 2017). In this thesis it is used as a framework to map the conversion of resources, via individuals' capabilities, values and choices in societal and political context, and thereby to understand how collectively these individuals facilitated each social enterprise.

In the second round of coding and analysis using Sen's Capability Approach, the analysis focused on answering the second sub-question. Bourdieu's capitals and theory of habitus and field had to adapt to be fitted to concepts from the capability approach. Ultimately I deemed this necessary to accurately represent and communicate the data collected in the way it was expressed to me by the interviewees. The capability framework also had to be adapted to include the collective and temporal components of the data and analysis. At this juncture I returned to the data for the third round of coding using Gioia et al. (2012) coding method to build theory and hone the key themes (Table 7). The fourth and final round of analysis took place to conceptualise the collective and multi-level nature of the processes of resource collation and conversion. The capability framework had to go through several iterations before it could successfully visually represent the multi-level, collective and temporal components of the SE cases' data, to understand how resources were converted to SE activity and to integrate the case data into a single capability framework for each case. The results are the Collective SE Capability Frameworks (see Appendices 4-11). These processes of analysis outlined were another messy component of the research project, but multiple iterations between the data, themes, research questions, concepts and frameworks meant I gained detailed understanding of the cases and their data.

The rest of this section will describe and illustrate in detail the analysis processes. Ultimately all the data was uploaded into NVivio 12. Hand coding of the data, and multiple iterations of analysis and visualisation also served to develop the findings. The following paragraphs introduce in detail how Bourdieu's concepts and Sen's capability framework were integrated to answer the second research question and sub-questions:

How do individuals and groups start and sustain SEs?

i. What resources are used?

ii. Where do those resources come from?

iii. How are resources converted to SE activity?

First round coding with Bourdieu's theory of practice

First, inductive hand coding was conducted on the first two cases, to develop a sense of important codes relating to resources and processes, the 'what' and 'how' questions. This used emergent codes and lightly applied Bourdieu's capitals and theory of practice (Grenfell, 2008) to make sense of resources participants prioritised, grouping where appropriate, using as a priori codes, the different forms of capital conceived by Bourdieu - economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. Subsets of these different capitals facilitated fine-grained coding. For example, types of cultural capital, includes disposition, formal education and expertise. Symbolic capital facilitates the inclusion of prestige, status, and positive reputation (Pret et al., 2016). Interesting free codes were also noted. As data was collected for each case, transcripts of interviews were hand coded using the initial codes developed from the first two cases. And as new codes and themes emerged these were cross checked by considering their application to cases that had already been coded.

It was evident early on social capital as understood by Bourdieu - as the resources accessed through social connections - was not helpful in answering how resources were accessed. While Bourdieu conceives of social capital as all resources that can be accessed via a social network and social relations, in this analysis social capital is understood as Granovetter (1973, 1983) presents it - as the network, of weak and strong ties, the relations, the social ties themselves. Ultimately this also proved insufficient to understanding the social processes involved in starting and sustaining the SEs, however Granovetter's conceptualisation had greater initial utility.

At this stage it was not clear that Sen's Capability Framework (Robeyns, 2017) could be usefully applied to frame the data using the different capitals. However, it became clear that Bourdieu's theory of practice and capitals had limitations in differentiating resources from processes in a way that made sense of the data, and in a way that could be easily represented and understood. It was also noted theory of practice had limitations when communicating results beyond an academia audience.

Transcripts were initially hand coded, as data built, transcripts were uploaded to NVivo 12, data was coded using free codes and Bourdieu's capitals (see Table 6). Economic capital, cultural and symbolic capitals mapped well onto the types of resources identified in interviews. Economic capital references all money, savings, property, contracts, loans and grants. Free codes that were mapped to economic capital were Labour and Household Labour. Cultural capital is closely related to what is commonly labelled as human capital, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of cultural capital includes disposition, life experience, qualifications and objectified forms. Distinguishing between these subtypes of cultural capital added an important level of nuance to understanding different resources.

Cultural capital and symbolic capital proved especially useful at disaggregating important components of the resources. Symbolic capital is presented by Bourdieu as legitimacy, reputation, awards and so is closely associated with what Granovetter would conceptualise as weak ties of social capital. When coding symbolic capital I coded not only the different signifiers of reputation and kudos, for example logos of partner organisations and funders used on SE websites, but also data I chose to map to ethical capital (Bull et al., 2010), that is reputation and legitimacy gained through other people's experience and knowledge of you as a 'good' 'moral' person, enterprise or organisation. Social capital was used to code all instances of networking and social connection, and the resources/ capitals accessed via networks and social connections that are non-familial.

Concepts of field and habitus, understood as the rules and routines of a profession or group of people, and as the rules imbued by an individual, the result of their upbringing and socialisation were also used for coding. Though concepts of field and habitus were initially coded these concepts did not prove particularly relevant to understanding the data in relation to the research questions. In part this was the result the direction in which the interviews were guided by the questions.

Capitals mapped well to the foci of the first of the research sub-questions ‘What resources are used?’. However, understanding the SE cases and their journeys ultimately required repeated iteration between free codes, concepts from Bourdieu, and application of these to the constructs of Sen’s Capability Framework to build a Framework for each case.

As data for the cases accumulated it was loaded into NVivo12 and coded, it became clear an additional level of the conceptual framework was required to adequately answer the second and third sub-questions and frame the multiple levels of resourcing and processes of starting and sustaining SEs.

Table 6: Round One Case 1 and 2 data coded to capitals and concepts

Bourdieu's Capitals & Concepts	**Bourdieu's Capitals Subsets**	
A priori codes	**A priori**	**Free codes**
Economic Capital	Money savings property	Labour = time and effort -Paid -Unpaid
		Household labour -Paid -Unpaid
		Household money
		Volunteers
		Premises
Cultural capital	Disposition	
	Life experience	Occupational Expertise
	Objectified form	
	Qualifications	
Symbolic Capital	Legitimacy	Ethical &/ Green Capital
	Reputation	
	Awards	
Social Capital		Friendship
		Local
		Online
		Occupational
		Retirement & pensions
		Public sector marketization
		SE Family
		Collaboration
		Extended SE Family
Field and rules of game		Occupational Expertise
		Sectoral Expertise
		Rural norms
		Third sector legislation
		Adult Education
		CSR
		Explicitly stated motivation
		Implicit motivation
		Learning as a Return
		Reciprocity
		Quality
		Green Therapy
		Quality Social Care
		Lifestyle

3.3.4 *Second Round with Sen's Capability Framework*

The second research sub-question is 'Where do those resources come from?' To begin to answer this question data coded using 'social capital' and 'household family' was initially considered but this wasn't addressing the question sufficiently. It was at this stage Sen's Capability Framework was used in the analysis, and Bourdieu' capitals were integrated into categories borrowed from Sen's Capability Approach.

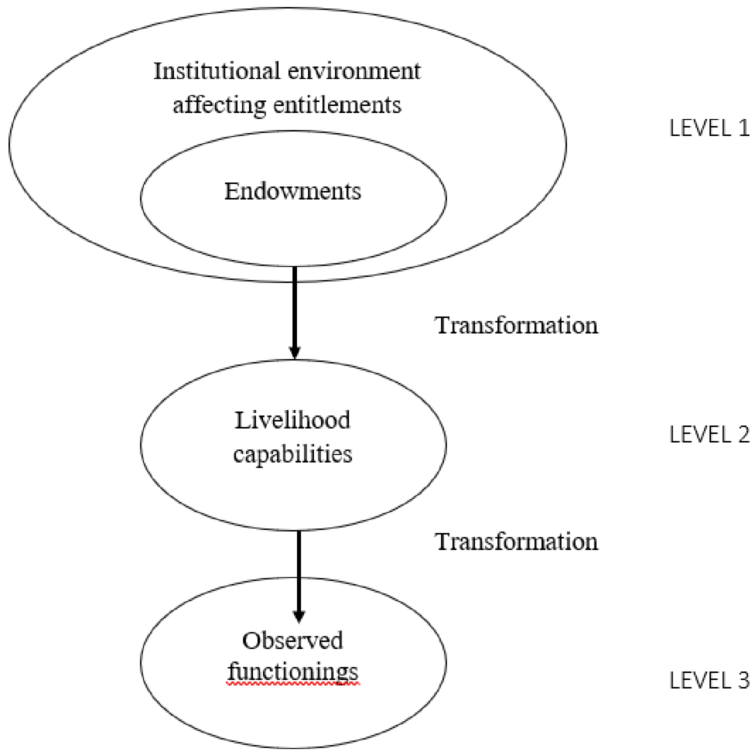
Some codes remained independent of themes generated in the conceptual framework integrating the theory of practice and the capability approach (see Table 7). Integrating Bourdieu's capitals into Sen's approach is not without challenges. Bourdieu's 'capitals' do not map directly into Sen's 'resources' for example. However, Sen's Framework proved an effective way of delineating key aspects of the resources and the processes used to access, collate, and convert them. Table 7 shows data coded to Bourdieu's capitals aligned with components of the CA. Free codes and some codes for analysis remain separate. The codes used to answer 'What processes' are pertinent examples of free codes.

This second stage involved several iterations of visualisations to understand how to combine Bourdieu's theories and the CA approach. My inspiration to use Sen's Framework as an analytical tool for SEs was Oughton and Wheelock (2003) 'A Capabilities Approach to Sustainable Household Livelihoods', in which they use CA to critique conventional theories of entrepreneurship and to the understand individual enterprises as embedded in social norms, and in gendered household relations (see Figure 9). Initially in the iterations of visualising the Collective SE Capability Frameworks I used their adaptation of Sen's Framework. The frameworks then underwent multiple iterations to build a comprehensive understanding of each case and enable data analysis of processes across multiple levels and multiple individuals and their households in the final iteration (see Figure 13).

Table 7: Codes mapped to Research Questions in Nvivo12, Bourdieu's capitals merged with Sen's Capability Framework and free codes

Resources and Conversion Factors		Processes of Conversion			Values / Motivation		Various other
First order	**Second order**	**First order**	**Second order**	**Third order**	**First order**	**Second order**	
Resources	Labour	Collating	Collaboration		Motivation	Motivation explicitly stated	Quotes
	Economic Capital		Rules of the Game	Sectoral		Motivation implicit, derived	Rural or Geography
Social Capital (relations, networks)	Online			SE rules		Learning as return	SWOT
	Local links	Converting	Teamwork		Values		Case Narrative
Cultural Capital (qualifications, dispositions)	Qualifications		Reciprocity				Methodology
	Life experience		Community making	Othering			Gender
	Disposition – embodied			Storytelling			
	Objectified form			Identity making & maintaining			
Symbolic Capital (legitimacy, awards, reputation)	Ethical capital			Future Planning			
	Green capital	Combining Capitals					
Entitlements Societal Institutional rules and context		Other processes	Transformational Leadership (adaptive, emergent, elicit collective)				
	Family, Household						
	Barriers Challenges						

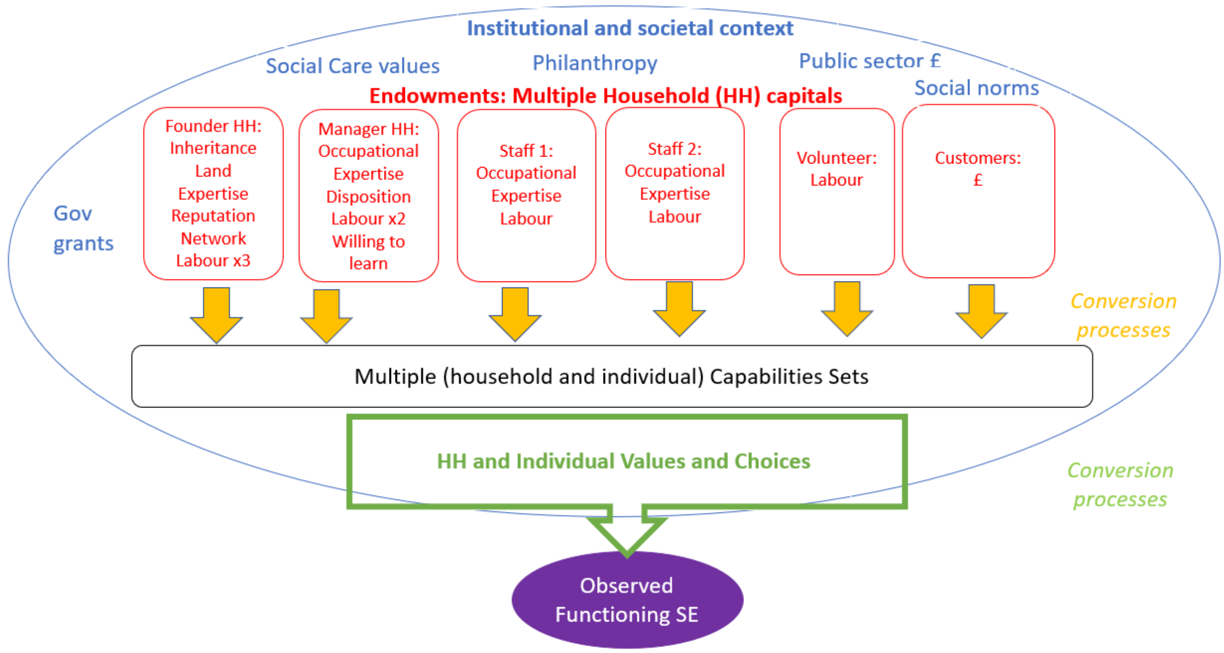
Figure 9: Adaptation of Sen's Framework as a Model of Household Behaviour, Oughton and Wheelock (2003)



Source: Oughton and Wheelock, 2003, p10

The first visualisation of Sen's theory applied to the SE data draws on Wheelock and Oughton (2003). From this process *Human Time and Labour* and the choices made about where that labour will be placed reveal it as a critical capital, and *Motivations* of key individuals and *Values* of different households and individuals at play in the processes involved in a Functioning SE come to the fore. Though seemingly intuitive, even patent, highlighting the choice that individuals and households make - to forego alternatives, the CA reaches the heart of the processes involved in SE. That is processes of foregoing alternative financial gains, for example a quiet retirement, or the opportunity to make more money and work less time.

Figure 10: An iteration of Oughton and Wheelock's model disaggregating components using different colours and including multiple households



After several iterations using Wheelock and Oughton's (2003) model, I refined my conceptualisation of the capability theory using Robeyns' visualisation of the core concepts of capability theories (see Figure 11 and 12). These initial visualisations and multiple iterations, though a necessary part of the process of data analysis, didn't adequately capture the data and reflect the processes identified, and prioritised by the participants. Combining Oughton and Wheelock's model with the visualisation developed by Robeyns (2017) progressed the process.

Robeyns' (2017) visualisation of the core components of the Capability Approach disaggregates *Resources* (in the SE frameworks these are economic capital and labour) and *Conversion Factors* which in the SE frameworks result in the *Observed Functioning SE*. Conversion Factors in Robeyns' framework are – personal, social and environmental factors affecting the individual (these include elements of cultural capital, social capital, and features of place), and *Institutional and Societal Context* (social norms and influences, and other people's behaviour). The effect of *Values and Choice* are also included in the Capability Framework. Values are identified as critical in their positioning and their effects in the conversion processes in the SE case study frameworks. The next subsection expands on this stage of the analytical process. Table 8 shows case data conceptualized using Capabilities Approach. These are colour coded, this colour coding is carried through into the final SE Capability Frameworks (see Figures 12-13 and Appendices 4-11).

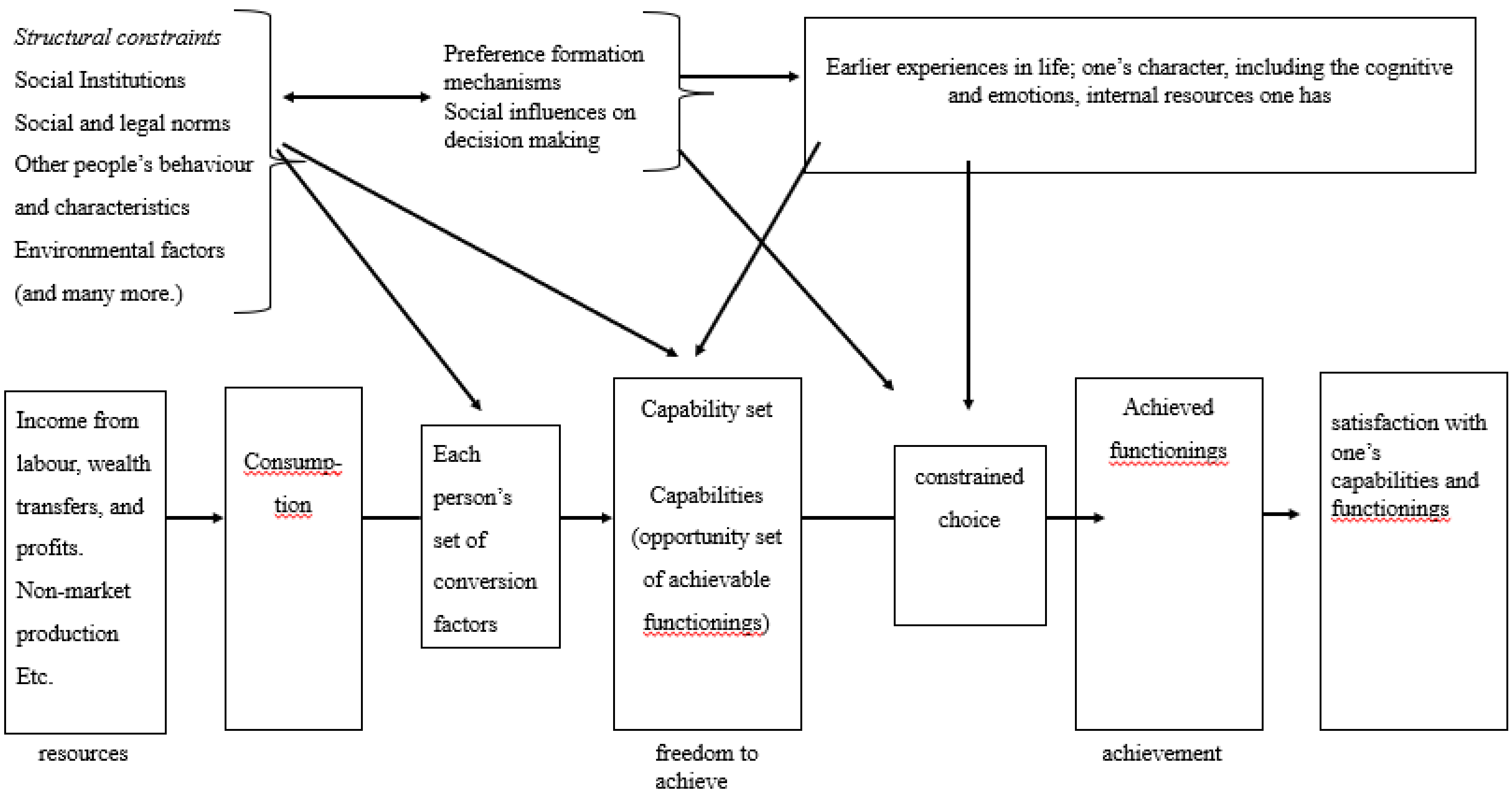
To capture this study's data, the resources and processes involved in converting those resources to SE activity, each SE's Capability Framework includes: collective effort – multiple individuals' resources and conversion factors, including multiple households' resources; multiple levels of conversion factors – institutional context, individual and group behaviour and activity, and environmental factors; and represent different stages of the SE's journey – most including a timeline of the relevant resources, conversion factors, and values through time, represented across the framework from left the right (see Figure 13).

The values component in the SE case study frameworks also diverges from Robeyns' (2017) model. Values in the capability analyses presented in each of the Collective SE Capability Frameworks are conversion factors, they convert resources into the capabilities sets that are the prerequisites for the observed SE. Because the analyses take in multiple individuals' and households' resources how the values and choices of one individual/household affect the values and choices of other individuals is also included in most of the SE Frameworks.

Each of the elements of Sen's Capability Framework offers heuristic utility in understanding how SEs are established and maintained. The SE frameworks allow for the resources, capability sets, values, and choices, of different households and individuals and how these interact affecting each other's sets, choices and to a degree whether people enacted their values. By repeatedly using Sen's Capability Framework to visually map those components that enable functioning SE cases I distilled critical ingredients in each case – resources, then processes of conversation and collation.

In this round I explored the Resources Codes in NVivo12 for each case's data. I grouped the relevant endowments, capitals, from each of the individual household's involved in each case. These groupings prioritised different household's endowments, and then I placed these into a timeline. Several rounds of mapping were necessary. In this way the visualisations, the SE Capability Frameworks, were built and findings answering the first two sub-questions become clear. To answer the sub-question - 'How are resources converted to SE activity?', a further stage was required.

Figure 11: Robeyns' stylised visualisation of core concepts of capability theories (2017)



Robeyns, 2017, Figure 21 p83

Table 8: Case data conceptualised using Capabilities Approach

Capabilities Concepts	Data Categories	Data Examples
Resources	Institutional Finance	Grants, contracts, social investment
	Individuals' Labour Individuals' Finance	Paid and Unpaid labour, Volunteers' labour Inheritance, personal savings, pensions
Contextual conversion factors	Legislation Embedded third sector Public sector markets Adult Education Pensions	Charity/ Community Interest Company governance arrangements Public sector grants, third sector grants, social investment, CSR, societal understanding of 'charitable' etc. Contracts, PIP accounts Further education Pensioners = healthy free time
Individual (personal) conversion factors	Expertise Social connection/s Disposition Other	Occupational expertise – horticulture, social care Sectoral expertise – governance, grant application, business planning Familial, friendship, weak ties into other sectors Persistence, willingness to learn, leadership, amenable Gender, in-migrant, single parent, physical healthy
	Values	Environmental sustainability, green therapy, horse care
	Enabled choices	Unpaid labour, collaboration, reciprocity
Social Influences		Other's unpaid labour, philanthropy, reciprocity, flexibility, leadership
Observed SE		SE making money & social value

Figure 12: Simplified SE Capability Framework based on Robeyn's (2017) Framework

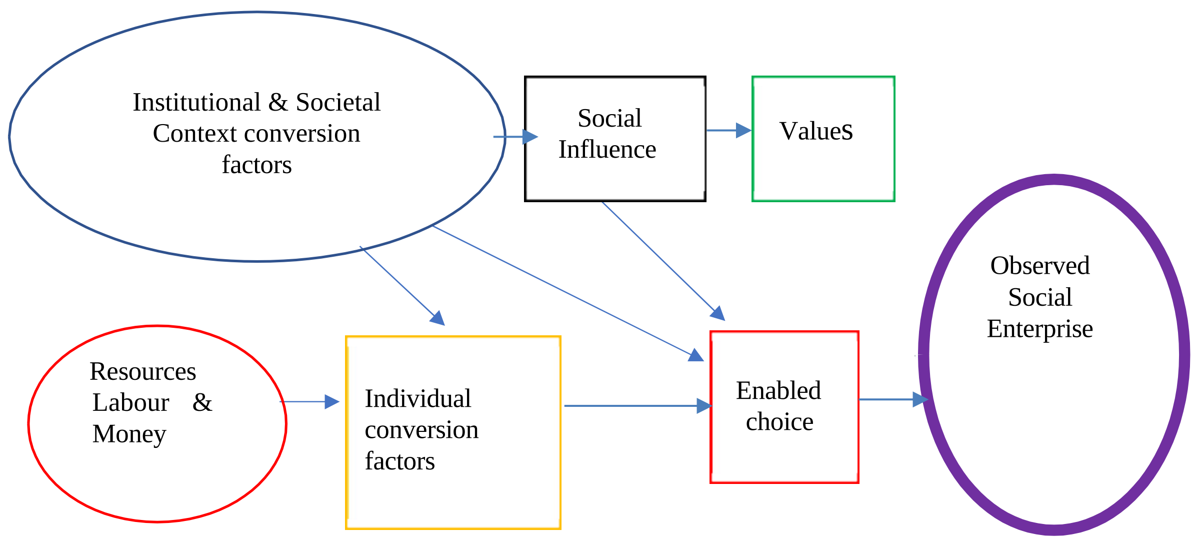
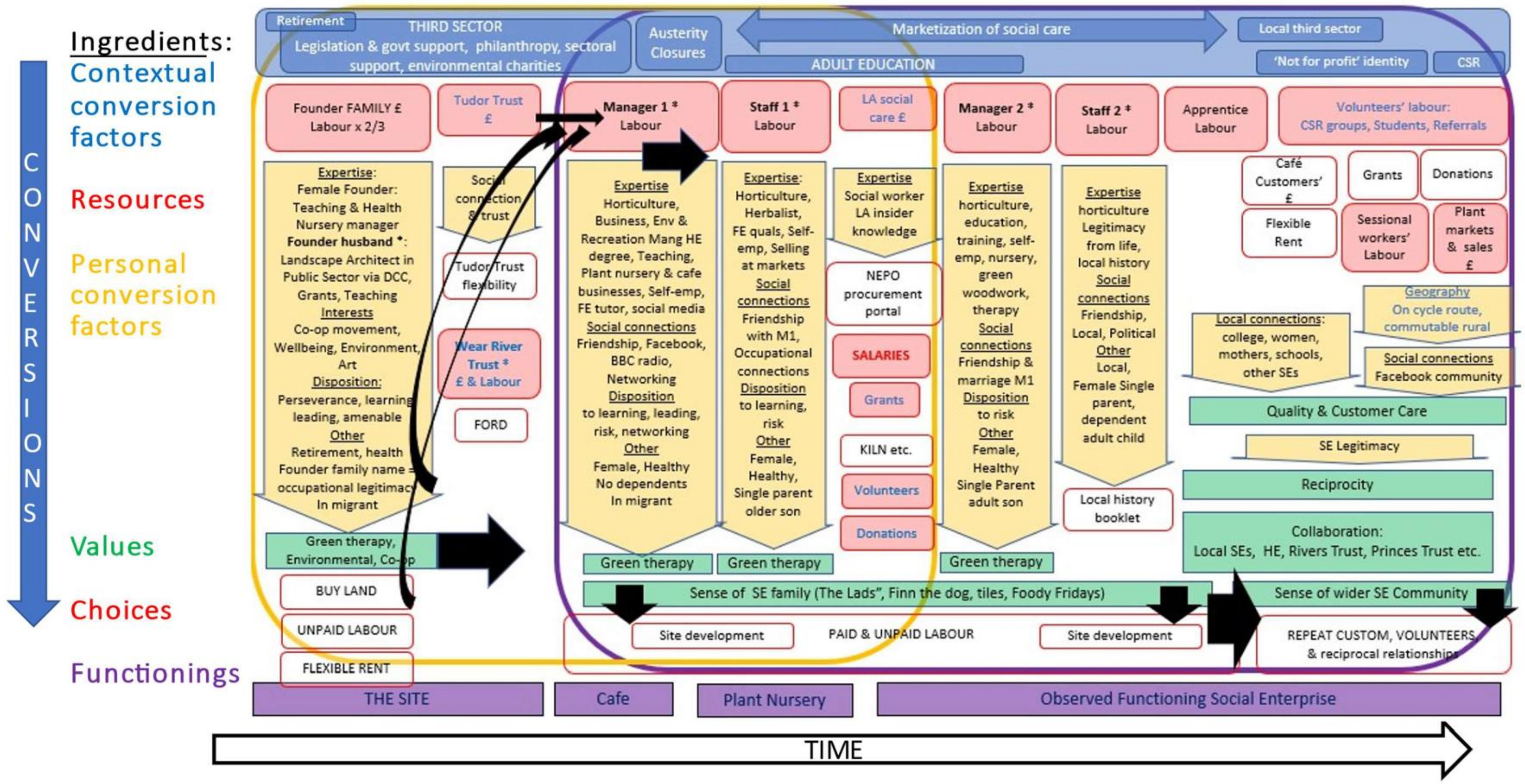


Figure 13: Exemplar SE Capabilities Framework with ‘conversion’ arrows



3.3.5 *Using Gioia et al.'s method to build new theory*

Understanding the processes of converting resources to SE activity required an additional stage of coding and mapping different combinations of ingredients which meant returning to the data. At this stage recoding was used to check findings to for the first and second research sub- questions and to develop themes and build new theory answering, in particular, the third sub- question.

Table 9 lists the a priori and free codes, themes, concepts and constructs used in the process of answering the research questions. The stages mirrors the method described by Gioia et al. (2012). It is particularly productive for generating new constructs to answer Q3 'how do social entrepreneurs convert resources to SE activity?'. The codes identifying how capitals are collated and converted are both constructed via coding and analysis of all the cases. Understanding the different cases at start-up and sustaining stages required coding, analysis, comparison and interpretation of all SE cases, comparing the data multiple times in multiple ways using tables and generating Collective SE Capability Frameworks.

According to Gioia et al. (2012)

> *".. we often design and execute theory development work according to the precepts of the traditional scientific method, which often leads us to engage in progressive extensions of existing knowledge as a way of discovering new knowledge. This venerable orientation, however, most often trains our attention on refining the existing ideas we use to navigate the theoretical world. Such an approach is appropriate much—and perhaps even most—of the time and, in fact, has dominated the conduct of theory and research in the field for many years. Yet these time-honoured precepts, as widely applicable as they might be and as undeniably useful as they often are, do not encourage the kind of originality we would most like to see in our theorizing (Corley & Gioia, 2011). Our concern with this traditional approach is simply this: Advances in knowledge that are too strongly rooted in what we already know delimit what we can know." (p15)*

What is described in Tables 10 and 11 are the processes over time of inductive concept development – the development of what Gioia et al. describe as 'precursors of constructs'. The method below describes the stages used to identify processes of conversion to answer the third research sub-question.

The 1st order codes and impressions listed are some codes applied to the first stage of coding interviews and observations from Cases 1 and 2. Only a selection of the codes are listed to provide an indicative map of the coding and analysis process. 2nd order codes were used to code interviews and observation data, these are a priori codes (built using Bourdieu's capitals) and were also used to thematically group 1st order analysis codes. As more cases were built the next column of 2nd order theory- centric themes was developed – this list adds detail specific to the SE cases e.g. labour (paid and unpaid). This is a pertinent example of an important theme which emerges from the data, but which is themed under 'resources' in the Collective SE Capability Frameworks – as indicated in the 3rd order column (themed using Sen's Framework). The 4th order constructs listed represent new ways of understanding how social entrepreneurs convert resources to SE activity, new labels that emerge from the data, analysis, and interpretation. In further analysis these constructs were applied, 'tested' and 'developed' across the different cases.

Table 9: Stages of Coding and Theming to build theory informed by Gioia et al. (2012)

1st order analysis codes – informant derived – "informant -centric terms" (Gioia et al. 2013, p26) From Case 1 & 2 data	1st order codes – observer derived terms Case 1 & 2	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Built on Bourdieu's capitals and sub-groups	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Developed within the cases and as more cases are built	3rd order (conceptual framework-centric) Developed to build SE Case Study Frameworks (Q1 & 2) and to generate 4th order themes	4th order themes (key themes identified in answering Qs 1, 2 and 3) Derived from researcher observation, analysis & interpretation
Previous attempt			Failure		Perseverance
	Second attempt	Cultural capital: Disposition			
Husband	Family		Labour (unpaid)	Resources	Founder family
			Labour (paid)		
Wife			Labour (unpaid)	Resources	Unpaid Labour
			Labour (paid)		
Son			Labour (paid)	Resources	
Inheritance	Philanthropy	Economic capital		Values	Individual Social Responsibility (ISR)
Family name		Symbolic capital	Legitimacy		
Land/ site		Economic capital Cultural capital	Occupational expertise	Choice Resource	
Horticulture Plants	Nurturing	Cultural capital Symbolic capital	Occupational expertise Legitimacy	Conversion Factors	Shared expertise Identity
Green therapy		Cultural capital: Disposition	Expertise	Values	Shared Values Identity
Green woodwork		Cultural capital	Expertise Disposition	Conversion Factors Values	
Seasons	Cyclical				Shared expertise Identity
Mental health				Values	ISR
Sustainable		Symbolic capital	Green capital Legitimacy	Values	Shared values Identity
Landscape architect		Cultural capital Social capital	Occupational Expertise Occupational connections		

Table 9 continued: Stages of Coding and Theming to build theory informed by Gioia et al. (2012)

1st order analysis codes – informant derived – "informant -centric terms" (Gioia et al. 2013, p26) From Case 1 & 2 data	1st order codes – observer derived terms Case 1 & 2	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Built on Bourdieu's capitals and sub-groups	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Developed within the cases and as more cases are built	3rd order (conceptual framework-centric) Developed to build SE Case Study Frameworks (Q1 & 2) and to generate 4th order themes	4th order themes (key themes identified in answering Qs 1, 2 and 3) Derived from researcher observation, analysis & interpretation
Teacher		Cultural capital			Shared expertise Shared Values
Radio presenter		Social capital			
Training		Cultural capital			Shared expertise
	Customer service	Cultural capital: disposition			Shared values
Visitors		Economic capital			Extended SE Family
Walks					
Local community		Economic capital Social capital			Local Embedding
Single mums					Shared experience
Schools		Economic capital Social capital			Local Embedding
Women	Women Single parenting				Shared experience
Café	Décor, menu	Economic capital		Choice	Site development
	Café décor, menu		SE Home	Values	SE Family maintenance Identity
Homemade			SE Home	Values	
	Décor e.g. homemade tiles		SE Home	Values	SE Family maintenance
	Pride	SE Home	SE Home		

Table 9 continued: Stages of Coding and Theming to build theory informed by Gioia et al. (2012)

1st order analysis codes – informant derived – "informant -centric terms" (Gioia et al. 2013, p26) From Case 1 & 2 data	1st order codes – observer derived terms Case 1 & 2	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Built on Bourdieu's capitals and sub-groups	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Developed within the cases and as more cases are built	3rd order (conceptual framework-centric) Developed to build SE Case Study Frameworks (Q1 & 2) and to generate 4th order themes	4th order themes (key themes identified in answering Qs 1, 2 and 3) Derived from researcher observation, analysis & interpretation
Nursery		Economic capital			
	Customer service & education			Values	SE Community building and maintaining
Donated plant shelves			SE Home	Choices	SE Family Site development
Kiln				Institutional context Resources Values Choices	Site development
	Grant money	Economic capital		Resources Institutional context	
	Defensive				
Local authority employment		Cultural capital Rules of the game Social capital		Sectoral expertise	
				Occupational connections	
	LA Prof development	Cultural capital			
Training	Adult education			Institutional context	
Grant application training		Rules of the game		Sectoral expertise	
NEPO Portal explained		Rules of the game			
Social worker			Insider Knowledge	Insider knowledge	Building relationship
Councillor					Sharing Values

Table 9 continued: Stages of Coding and Theming to build theory informed by Gioia et al. (2012)

1st order analysis codes – informant derived "informant -centric terms" (Gioia et al. 2013, p26) From Case 1 & 2 data	1st order codes – observer derived terms Case 1 & 2	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Built on Bourdieu's capitals and sub-groups	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Developed within the cases and as more cases are built	3rd order (conceptual framework-centric) Developed to build SE Case Study Frameworks (Q1 & 2) and to generate 4th order themes	4th order themes (key themes identified in answering Qs 1, 2 and 3) Derived from researcher observation, analysis & interpretation
Grant application training			Sectoral Expertise		
work placements		Labour			
Land/Site/Premises	Pride	Economic capital			
Rent flexibility		Economic capital			
Communication					Maintaining relationships
	Future planning	SE Home			Maintaining relationships
Friends as colleagues	Friendship	SE Family			
Family	Family economic support	Personal Family			
Home	Home	SE Home			
Daily routine					SE Family Maintenance
Foodie-Friday					
Pet					
The lads					
'Talk to them' donations				Storytelling	
'We are'	Defensive	Identity		Storytelling & retelling	
'We did'	Belonging			Enact Identity	
'We could do better'	Quality				
NOT 'networking'					
NOT 'money'					
Not commercial	Social value				

Table 9 continued: Stages of Coding and Theming to build theory informed by Gioia et al. (2012)

1st order analysis codes – informant derived – "informant -centric terms" (Gioia et al. 2013, p26) From Case 1 & 2 data	1st order codes – observer derived terms Case 1 & 2	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Built on Bourdieu's capitals and sub-groups	2nd order (theory-centric) themes Developed within the cases and as more cases are built	3rd order (conceptual framework-centric) Developed to build SE Case Study Frameworks (Q1 & 2) and to generate 4th order themes	4th order themes (key themes identified in answering Qs 1, 2 and 3) Derived from researcher observation, analysis & interpretation
"not fluffy officer"	Unpaid Labour	Othering			
Self-employed	Risk	Identity			
"not scared"					
Belief					
Lifestyle	Unpaid labour				
Contracts		Economic capital			Resources
Grants				Storytelling	
Salaries					
Tearoom					
Kiln & Pottery	Social value				
	Unpaid Labour				Resources
Volunteers	Unpaid Labour				
Facebook	Relationship-building/maintaining	SE Extended Family			Web-based Storytelling
Commercial					
Government legislation					
Rural location					
Local schools	Other SEs				Embedding
Work placements					
Wear Rivers Trust					Partnerships
Princes Trust					Collaboration
Northumbria Water			CSR		
Rotary					
University					

The final stage of data analysis brought the Collective SE Capability Frameworks and the new understandings of the processes of collation and conversion together.

Once themes had emerged through this process, the final stage of visualising and analysing took place. In this final stage I incorporated colour coded components of the simplified Capability Approach outlined in Figure 12, colour coding critical components of each SE at start-up and sustaining stages to populate tables, one for each case study, incorporating the colour coded data and the bottom-up themes to facilitate comparison of these SE cases (see Table 10)[17].

The final results of the multiple processes of iteration of the Frameworks meant that different levels of conversion had been identified. How these were combined with the understanding of the new processes of conversion identified using the Gioia et al. (2017) method is illustrated in Table 10 which distinguishes, Interpersonal, Inter institutional & societal, Interlevel (between personal and context) ingredients and identifies the Results of these conversions.

This final process shifted the analysis and understanding of these organisations to another level. This required the depth of understanding of the cases which the different rounds of coding and framework iterations had provided. The results are outlined in Chapter 5.

[17] This process of analysis was facilitated by my understanding the conversion of Bourdieu's capitals in Pret et al.'s 'Painting the full picture: The conversion of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital' (2016) which I combined with the visualisation on the SE Frameworks to identify important types of processes

Table 10: Themes: How Ingredients are mixed

	INGREDIENTS	RESULTS (CHOICES & FUNCTIONINGS)
Interpersonal	Familial connection; Multiple Expertise; Finance; shared ISR; failed attempt & persistence; leadership; amenable Friendship, shared expertise, leadership, accepting of risk Failed attempt; Strong friendship connection; loyalty to clients; loyal client base; family finance; persistence; leadership; shared ISR Familial connection, land, family finance, friendship, sharing values & interests, amenable, & weak ties	Land and idea, Unpaid family labour, Tudor Trust Grant Paid and unpaid labour Unpaid labour Guaranteed income, Premises Idea, Unpaid labour
Inter institutional & societal	Governance legislation, embedded third sector, philanthropy, Third sector support Marketization, PIPs, Austerity, Service Transfer & other local examples, Business support, governance legislation SE support, business networking, marketization	Tudor Trust Grant Business Income & Ltd with not for profit clause Sparked idea and possibility
Interlevel (between personal and context)	CIC, amenable, storytelling & weak tie; TT flexibility & individual choice Quality provision, value sharing, storytelling & weak tie; individual social worker insider knowledge & individual choice Public sector training, Not-for-profit; amenable, value sharing, storytelling & new weak tie; Landlord flexibility & individual choice Legitimacy & Storytelling & local public sector grantors' flexibility & individual choice	Initial grant flexibility NEPO – social care portal Quality provision Premises, & Flexible rent Pilots & Evidence

Table 10 continued: Themes: How Ingredients are mixed

	INGREDIENTS	RESULTS (CHOICES & FUNCTIONINGS)
Interpersonal	Friendship, Occupational expertise, Paid Labour, Environmental & Green Therapy Values, Shared Identity, flexible labour Reciprocity, Collaboration, Volunteer Labour, Quality Provision, Sense of Extended SE Family Friendship, Reputation & Legitimacy, Quality Provision, Loyal customers, Sense of SE Work Family, SE Extended Family Strong family connection, paid committed expertise, flexible paid labour	Site developed, Quality provision, SE Family Repeat customers & volunteers, donations, legitimacy, Extended SE Family Profit invested accessible bikes Repeat customers, reputation, relatively high day rates
Inter institutional & societal	Adult education, Local third sector support, Marketization of social care, Austerity, National grants, Volunteering, CSR Public sector occupational training, adult education, marketized social care, other examples social care spinoffs Local third sector advice, market for Alt Ed, national grants	Expertise, Market & Income Expertise Possible social investment
Interlevel (between personal and context)	Willingness to learn, facilitated sectoral networking and support, quality provision, individual choice of social worker with sectoral insider knowledge Social care markets, values of participation, quality provision, flexibility, reputation, dementia care social worker choices Church norms, reciprocity, adult education (WEA), Sense of (SE) Family, volunteer's individual choice Quality high intensity provision, Alt Ed funding, National grants,	Grants, improved provision and customer offer, NEPO contracts Dementia care referrals 2. Regular expert volunteer labour 3.

Table 10 continued: Themes: How Ingredients are mixed

	INGREDIENTS	RESULTS (CHOICES & FUNCTIONINGS)
Interpersonal	4. Friendships, place-based identity, time to volunteer, church identity & values, local social connections, third and public sector expertise, flexibility Pensions, healthy,	4. Expert voluntary trustees, Flexible unpaid staff labour
Inter institutional & societal	4. Governance, Govt funding, local govt, local grants, MTI, local third sector support, Community Transport support, NHS funded bus, National Lottery, SLA buses	4. Buses, Funded Start-up, Office Manager, Transport manager salary
Interlevel (between personal and context)	4. Culture of volunteering, Church norms, Pensions, Place-based identity	4.
Interpersonal	4. Friendships, place-based identity, time to volunteer, church identity & values, local social connections, third and public sector expertise, flexibilityPensions, healthy, 5.	4. Expert voluntary trustees, Flexible unpaid staff labour
Inter institutional & societal	4. Governance, Govt funding, local govt, local grants, MTI, local third sector support, Community Transport support, NHS funded bus, National Lottery, SLA buses	4. Buses, Funded Start-up, Office Manager, Transport manager salary
Interlevel (between personal and context)	4. Culture of volunteering, Church norms, Pensions, Place-based identity	4.

This chapter has outlined the data collection and analysis processes across the two halves of this study, and references the literature informing the small toolbox of theoretical approaches the researcher carried into the field from her experience of rural enterprise study and some I gathered when designing and conducting the research. The next two chapters present and evidence the results of these processes.

Chapter 4 SEs: Ambiguities and Realities

This first results chapter addresses the question:

> ‘How is ‘social enterprise’ used and understood in the local ecosystem?’

And answers the emergent sub-question:

> ‘How do individuals providing face-to-face support manage the ambiguity of the language of social enterprise?

The findings in this chapter make sense of SE in the context of this study. They are based on iterative processes of analysis, interpreting data from an inductive, emergent, collaborative study. This chapter is divided into three sections and provides the foundation for the results presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

The first section introduces the different institution-led initiatives observed in the field connected with the concept of SE and discusses the language they use. Initiatives are generally institution-led and funded support for social enterprization. It presents these initiatives as mechanisms of change, under an umbrella of social enterprization (Sepulveda, 2015); and as multiple pushes and pulls on local public, and voluntary and community sectors to be more enterprising and marketize. Some also focus on individuals, but all target those motivated to create social value and encourage them to do by engaging in markets and trading services and goods.

The second section reports the controversy the study finds around the different language of these initiatives. It aligns the controversy expressed by local stakeholders with responsibilities of their work as it relates to the initiatives. It also reports evidence of an acceptance of the ambiguities of the language of these initiatives from stakeholders providing face-to-face SE support to the different target groups of social enterprization.

In the third section these more accepting responses are considered and the emergent concept of journeys to SE is highlighted and developed. This concept of social enterprization journeys, the movement of individuals, groups, and organisations from different starting points toward being a SE, or being more enterprising, is expanded. And a theory of different social enterprization journeys is developed, with critical features of how these happen explained.

4.1 Multiple, top-down, institutionally resourced, social enterprization initiatives

During the extended period of participant observation, the researcher became aware of different national, regional and local initiatives related to SE, these are listed in Table 11. Whilst many of these initiatives explicitly reference 'SE' in their publicity, others do not, these others became of interest and are included here because staff within the collaborative organisations highlighted these as relevant. Though these do not all reference SEs, each initiative included is identified by the researcher as an instrument of social enterprization, generally focused on social enterprization of different components of the third and public sectors. Social enterprization is a term coined by Sepulveda (2015) to refer to marketization of the UK public sector. Here the concept is broadened and refers to the array of pushes and pulls, mainly on the public sectors and VCS, to engage with trading.

It is interesting the publicity for many of these initiatives do not include the term 'a SE'. A strong and controversial theme emerging from observations and the stakeholder interviews is their language, and specifically the terminology they do and do not use. Table 11 lists the range of different initiatives at play in the locality identified between September 2014 – August 2018, alongside are the different terms these initiatives use for the ventures they seek to encourage and support, and the different audiences and groups they are observed targeting. In many of these initiatives the language of civic life, for example 'volunteering', and particularly the term 'community', is welded with language of business and the private sector.

Table 11: Initiatives/ Projects in the field September 2014 – August 2018 relating to SE

Initiative/Project	Data collected	Scope of initiative/project	Data source	DCA and SEA involvement (to the researcher's knowledge)	Target groups observed
Village SOS	2014	Regional (NE) delivery of National – rural	Event observation	DCA is member of ACRE, one of the national partners administering Village SOS	Voluntary and community groups Community members
The Durham Ask	2015	Local, County Durham	Interviews and observation	DCA supported SEA supported	Voluntary community groups
Centre for Volunteering and SE	2015	Local, County Durham	Delivery Plan documentation and discussions	DCA delivery in partnership	Public sector workers Social Entrepreneurs
SE Network	2015-16	Regional (NE)	Event observation	SEA founded and delivery	Individuals and groups with SE ideas and plans
The Big Social UnLtd	June 2016	Regional (NE) delivery of National	Event observation	DCA attended SEA attended	Stakeholders in the local Higher Education Stakeholders in the local SE Ecosystem (business support, VCS support, SE support)
Social Investment Surgery		Regional (NE) delivery of National	Social Media and Event observation	SEA publicized and supported DCA publicized	Individuals and groups with SE ideas and plans
North East Social Investment Fund		Regional (NE)	Social Media and Event observation	SEA publicized and supported DCA publicized	Large charities
Let's Talk Good Finance		Regional (NE) delivery of National	Social Media and Event observation	SEA supported and publicized DCA supported and publicized	Individuals and groups with SE ideas and plans
Mutuals Support Programme	2016	National	Interview	SEA delivery in partnership	Public sector employees
Rural Community Business research	2016-2017	Regional (Durham Dales and North Yorkshire) research of National	Participant Observation	DCA delivery in partnership with Yorkshire Community First	Community building's voluntary management committees
NE Community Business Club	Sept 2017	Regional (NE) delivery of National	Event	SEA delivery	Social Entrepreneurs SEs Charities VCS
SE Places		National	Interview Application form	SEA-led, County Durham application	Na
Community Enterprise Durham	2017	Local, County Durham	Invitation to Tender documentation and discussions	DCA tendered (with Local Enterprise Agencies) SEA tendered	Local enterprises and entrepreneurs Traditional charities Community groups

The national initiatives include Village SOS, The Big Social UnLtd, the Mutual Support Programme, and NE Social Investment Fund - evidencing multiple, top-down, enterprization pushes.

Village SOS aimed to support rural communities to be more enterprising, for example run their village shop, pub and community building. It is funded with over £1.4million from The National Lottery Community Fund to support rural community enterprises. This is in addition to over

£10million awarded from The National Lottery over previous four years via Village SOS to 161 'innovative community projects'. In this booklet, distributed at the observed event, the definition of a community enterprise is described as:

> *"a sustainable business that meets a need in a community by relying on people buying what you're selling – whether that's products or services ….a community [enterprise] can get by on lower profit margins and cut costs by using volunteers.*
>
> *… [a] defining factor of a community enterprise is that its status is set in stone, as working for the community good. In some community co-operatives or community-owned enterprises, the ownership and authority is held directly by the community … in other types of enterprise .. the company is restricted by its constitution .. it must always work to further social purpose, or ensure all the profits gets reinvested in the business or the wider community"*

Boyle, Village SOS booklet, p9

The Big Social North East UnLtd was a regional event attended by over 200 representatives of local SEs, public sector organisations, higher education institutions, VCS organisations and VCS, SE and business support. Funded through Higher Education Funding Council for England, national government money, to strengthen the local ecosystem to support SE, supported by UnLtd – The Foundation for Social Entrepreneurs and the region's five universities. The event sought to gather key regional stakeholders to support their work to strengthen a supportive ecosystem across the region. It also ran a fayre of exhibitors – five local examples of SEs and five local and national SE support organisations. UnLtd is the sole trustee of the Millennium Awards Trust, which was endowed by the Millennium Commission with a National Lottery grant of £100 million. Another initiative identified as relevant is The Mutual Support Programme 2, being delivered by a consortium including Social Enterprise Acumen.

> *"The Mutuals Support Programme 2 (MSP2) is a £1.7m government programme that offers support to both aspiring and growing Public Service Mutuals."*
>
> *Mutuals Support Programme https://ep-uk.org/fund/mutuals-support-programme-gomutual/*

> *"our definition of a Public Service Mutual which is an organisation that: has left the public sector (also known as 'spinning out')*
>
> *continues to deliver public services and aims to have a positive social impact has a significant degree of staff influence or control in the way it is run."*
>
> (DCMS, 2018)

As well as programmes to support social enterprization via financial capital and human capital – grants and sharing business and VCS expertise, an important mechanism in the list is social investment. At the events to promote social investment organisers reported low uptake of social investment in the region.

These initiatives spotlight multiple social enterprization pushes and pulls - in the context of austerity – to direct and support new individuals and groups, and existing organisations and groups of volunteers and employees from within third sector and public sector, to engage with the concept and activity of SE. These aim to encourage and support existing constituted and non-constituted third sector organisations and voluntary groups to be more entrepreneurial - to start and grow their trading, and new individuals and groups to set up businesses - independent of direct control of the local authority, which address social issues and generate social value.

All bar one of the initiatives is the result of national legislation and funding from governmental and government funded institutions to resource social enterprization: particularly in the third sector, to support trading in and beyond public sector markets; and to support efforts of national and local government to facilitate moving components of the public sector out of direct local authority control. The exception is the Social Enterprise Network run by Social Enterprise Acumen, an organisation whose entire focus is on supporting SEs and social entrepreneurs. They are a SE which uses income generated from consultancy work with private sector companies to support its work running initiatives like the Social Enterprise Network. However, traded income from SEA's consultancy work was also supplemented by income derived from public sector and institutional contracts and grant funding. They evidence forces being exerted across sectors – on the public sector, larger charities and on small groups and individuals in the community some working in a voluntary capacity, to tender for public sector contracts or be more sustainable through private sector trading.

Stepping back and looking at the big picture, these top-down initiatives assume and assign legitimacy to the language, tools and values of the private sector. The language in their publicity – for example on websites, and in printed handouts at events and invitations to tender – presents the language of business, enterprise and finance to audiences of charities, volunteers, and public sector workers with 'efficiency' and 'investment' sitting alongside 'local control' and 'community'. A common feature of the initiatives listed in Table 11 is the movement of the language and tools of the private sector into sectors previously the territory of community development and community regeneration. This is evidenced in part by the nature of the private sector's direct involvement in the national initiatives, in which they are generally working as facilitators and advisors. In the Village SOS scheme, NE Social Investment Fund, and Mutuals Support Programme private sector companies are all directly involved in managing the tools and facilitate support.

In these national, regional and local initiatives the language of the private sector – 'enterprise', 'business' and 'investment', 'trading' – is repeatedly used in conjunction with the work of individuals and groups for whom local community and public service and development are the assumed motivation. Individuals and groups who previously would have been the focus of community development work and the language of community regeneration and volunteering. The language of these initiatives attributes legitimacy and an inherent value to the methods and values of the market and appears unquestioning of its efficacy, and its contextual applicability.

As well as national forces, Table 11 evidences regional and local pressures on the local public sector and on communities and groups to be enterprising. One example is Durham Ask, intended to support asset and service transfer from the local authority to local communities. There is also the Community Enterprise invitation to tender for European Regional Development Fund funding. These initiatives are both administered by the local county council. In the stakeholder interviews, presented in 4.2, the language of each of these local initiatives is linked with local stakeholder controversy.

Durham Ask was a council-led program to support asset and service transfer. It does not explicitly reference SE in its community-facing publicity though it is repeatedly linked to SE in observations and interviews. The scheme is funded via the national government's Transformational Challenge Award to reform public services, aiming to improve public sector financial efficiency.

> *"Durham Ask is empowering people to take control of services that matter to them. It aims to transfer the ownership and management of some council-run assets – such as community centres and libraries – to local organisations where there is community interest. It supports groups and volunteers to ensure they have the necessary skills, experience and resources to take on these important public services."*

(Durham County Council, Transformation Challenge Award 2015-16 – Successful bids https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/381902/141201-_Table_of_successful_bids_-_Final.pdf Accessed July 2022

> *This pot of national funding resources the local-led Centre for Volunteering and Social Enterprise, run by the local VCS infrastructure support organisation Durham Community Action. In a booklet available to the public the scheme is described as:*
>
> *"an exciting opportunity for local communities to become involved in or take over the running and management of local facilities, land and services previously managed by the council .. gives you opportunity to control your own community facility and also access funding that the council is unable to*
>
> *... makes sure community assets are there in the future ... looking for interest*

from community groups including town and parish councils, local voluntary and community groups"

Durham County Council (2014)

On the opposite page to this description an invitation for expressions of interest from community groups appears this quote from the leader of the county council:

"Delivering and defending frontline services while making savings of £224m means we must consider new ways of working in partnership with our communities"

Durham County Council (2014)

It is notable that in the contrast to the national initiatives, the initial funding administered and distributed by the local authority via DCA places 'volunteering' at the forefront in the title of the support program for the Durham Ask Initiative. And in the second large scale resourcing of social enterprization administered by the local authority, the language used is 'community enterprise'.

In the same way that the local authority led initiatives shifted their language to 'community enterprise', appearing to move away from both 'volunteering' and from 'SE', a new national initiative entered the local scene again seeming to conjoin the language of the third and private sector using 'community' to demote the social component of their work supporting community business. Thus, another term enters the arena of social enterprization and 'community business' becomes more prominent as money for support and research available from the national government-funded body Power to Change became more available:

"The four key features of a community business are .. they are rooted in a particular geographical place and respond to its needs .. Trading for the benefit of the local community: They are businesses. Their income comes from things like renting out space in their buildings, trading as cafes, selling produce they grow or generating energy local community …They are accountable to local people, for example through a community shares offer that creates members who have a voice in the business's direction ...They benefit and impact their local

community as a whole."

https://www.powertochange.org.uk/what-is-community-business/ Accessed September 2019

4.2 Multiple Reactions and Motivations within One Ecosystem

The initiatives identified in the last section require local stakeholders to engage with the concept of SE through their different professional roles and responsibilities. In this section, to understand how individuals representing different components of the ecosystem are engaging, the results of analysis of interviews with key stakeholders are presented. Four themes are identified as important to understanding the concept in the field, demonstrating the effects of the ambiguous language. These themes derive from reactions to the language from the different stakeholders. These interviewees all have different professional connections with the resourcing of support for SEs and social enterprization, a subset have roles involving face-to-face contact and the delivery of support to the individuals and groups experiencing enterprization.

The themes are founded on one central observation. That a 'SE' and the different associated terminology, for example a 'community business' and a 'community enterprise', are ambiguous terms. They refer to organisations which are inherently difficult to define and to measure. As the findings evidence, this ambiguity causes confusion and frustration. Data from participant observations evidences multiple language used to relate to the different resourcing of social enterprization work strands. Of the thirteen initiatives listed in Table 11 six different terms were used to refer to SE activity. This central theme and the different degrees of controversy and confusion around the concept of SE and the different language of these initiatives runs through the four themes presented in this section.

The four themes reflect the four sets of reactions to SE and the language of social enterprization initiatives. First in 4.1.1, reactions from public sector workers evidence how different components of the ecosystem are aligning themselves with social enterprization, reflecting observations that the language of existing business support and VCS support organisations are shifting to include SE. Second in 4.1.2, reactions of stakeholders with responsibility for accounting for funding spending are evidenced, though these reactions differ in the degree to which the interviewees are frustrated with the ambiguity, it is notable their reactions are framed by this professional responsibility. In the third subsection, 4.1.3, findings of the suspicions generated by the ambiguity are evidenced.

These findings are novel and are critical to understanding relations across the ecosystem. The fourth set of reactions, identified as important to understanding the concept in 4.1.4, are those from VCS support workers without named responsibility for SE support but charged with explaining the concept to the individuals they work with. Their frustrations with ill-defined terms are mediated through the perceptions and understanding of the local communities. Finally, evidenced in 4.1.5 are reactions from stakeholders with named responsibility for supporting SEs. These identify a pragmatic acceptance of the ambiguity of the language.

4.2.1 Aligning with the concept

The first set of reactions to SE in interviews which are identified as important to understanding the concept in the field, are those that signal a claiming of the 'new' territory of SE support work, and the resources, current or envisaged, that territory – and aligning with the concept and language of SE – offers. For example, in one interview a public sector worker describes how he started to recognise his role was shifting:

> *"we recognised that actually we were working with communities to create social enterprises. None of the communities that we were working with actually recognised themselves as community enterprises or social enterprises, but actually everything they were doing - they were having to get more income, were beginning to employ people, were having to run their facilities in a way that both viable and sustainable moving forward, were having to build up sinking funds for future repairs and maintenance - everything they were doing is business basically."*

Public Sector Community Development Interviewee 8

Below another public sector employee, whose work previously focused on economic regeneration and business support, describes where she sees SE aligning with her responsibilities. And uses the language of business-focused economic regeneration to discuss the progression of local volunteers to business people, and how social enterprization of the VCS facilitates this shift.

> *"it's about recasting the volunteering side of things as well, … in terms of my*

mainstream activity … everything is a progression. So, … looking at how volunteering can progress into … employment and, within social enterprises, how we can actually grow and look at the business idea that starts as a very locally anchored community and voluntary idea. .. setting aside the social enterprise tag. Is it a viable business idea? … If there is an inflow and outflow of cash and resource, there it is an enterprise."

Public Sector Business Regeneration Interviewee 6

Notably both interviewees with responsibility for economic regeneration and business support provision stated that though there were complications with different governance structures, essentially the needs of SEs were fundamentally the same as those being supported by the day- to-day work of business support already working across the county:

"[SEs are] just like any other business"

Business Support Interviewee 4

4.2.2 Accounting for SE support

In the second group are those with responsibility for reporting on funding outcomes, but at different levels of the ecosystem, VCSE sector interviewees with strategic responsibilities for applying for reporting on their work with the VCSE sector, and the LSP Interviewee with responsibility for reporting on funding outcomes of organisations delivering support, up to funders.

To VCSE sector interviewees with strategic responsibilities mimicry (Dey and Teasdale, 2016) was presented as part of a game of smoke and mirrors. In the response below the Chief Executive of the local VCSE infrastructure support organisation reacted with raised eyebrows to the concept of SE and indicated a degree of cynicism for different reasons to the LSP interviewee, relating the SE concept more generally to what she called 'the sustainability game' of funding applications:

"it's like they needed to always say projects will be self-sustaining after the initial period of grant funding, even when this is unlikely, and when both applicant and funder understand as much"

VCS Support Interviewee 1

In response to this comment her colleague seemed to agree with this cynicism, indicating to the researcher that the concept of social enterprise is akin to another wardrobe of emperor's new clothes:

> *"if there was money to be made a private business would be making it"*

VCS Support Interviewee 2

In contrast, the LSP interviewee expresses enthusiasm for the concept per se, explicitly linking it with a belief in the value of business and enterprise, and with a stated necessity to be realistic about shifting funding landscapes - limited grant funding available, and limited finances of the public sector in the context of austerity:

> *"the whole thing has come to a head because the grant awarding bodies have less and less grant to award and .. 'even if we have got it we're not giving it to you' because you know there a word SE, there's the word social in there but there's also the word enterprise in there - so get out and do the enterprise, because other people do it."*

Local Strategic Partnership Interviewee 3

Interestingly, is it this interviewee who expressed most frustration with the ambiguity of the language. This frustration is directly linked to the interviewee's own role – and to issues of measuring and evidencing funding outcomes. Identifying and reporting how many SEs were supported by public funding. Referring to the local authority's invitation to tender to provide Community Enterprise support, he expresses frustrations with ambiguous ill-defined terms like 'community business and SE' in relation to the need to account for public funding:

> *"[community enterprise is] not a measurable output – a measurable output is output like 'businesses supported' but, you can't count them. It cannot stand up to scrutiny, and all public sector funders have to have outcomes that can stand up to scrutiny.*
>
> *For as long as you have woolly interchangeable definitions, where the concept*

is more a picture in somebody's head than a definition on a piece of paper, then you won't be able to count it. And if you can't count it, you won't be able to audit it. And if you can't audit it, you won't be able to fund it"

Local Strategic Partnership Interviewee 3

4.2.3 Othering and suspicion across one ecosystem

What presents, over the course of immersion in the field, is a scene in which different organisations and interested parties are all claiming SE as their territory, and at times degrees of cynicism about the motivations and likely success of different organisations and sectors of support.

The overlap of local sectoral support services, particularly small VCS support and small business support, and competition over these historically bounded and separate territories of work was observed to have important consequences in the study. As the interviewee from the Local Strategic Partnership explains:

> *"there is a strong feeling that 'social enterprises are businesses, and business support is for businesses. Social enterprises are business with a social purpose. It does them no favours to start to differentiate themselves and become the one-legged separatist movement ... there's no need for business support to do anything different either'. That's one school of thought. .*
>
> *There's another school of thought that says, 'social enterprises are completely different and should have a whole new support mechanism.' That tends to be espoused by people who provide social enterprise support. So, I have to say, you know, on one hand it could be said that they are experts, and indeed one would assume there's a certain degree of expertise there. But on the other hand, the turkey's voting for Christmas syndrome kicks in."*

Local Strategic Partnership Interviewee 3

As well as provoking frustration the data shows ambiguities inherent in the language give rise to additional suspicions between sectors, and fuel 'othering'[18] in what is already a competitive environment for funding work of existing staff. So, in addition to roles overlapping, the evidence points to poorly defined terms straining relations between organisations and between different stakeholders. With evidence of the effects of blurring boundaries and shrinking water holes in the local ecosystem of related support – shrinking and shifting pots of public sector funding.

Evidence of perceptions from respondents in the LSP and in Business Regeneration and Business Support indicate they think the VCS and SE support sectors are less strict with who qualifies as a SE; and, that these organisations can and do misappropriate the terminology to justify funding work that should not qualify. As one interviewee put it:

> *"It hits the same brick wall again and again. And people aren't interested ... when you exclude things and money gets involved, they get scared. 'O my goodness I've just excluded this voluntary organisation from this pot of money because we have said they're not a social enterprise' ... that's where it becomes a problem. It's a problem from the social enterprise support sector because, the totality of their organisation exists to support social enterprises and, they need money to do it."*

Local Strategic Partnership Interviewee 3

A stakeholder with responsibility for local business support seemed to agree:

> *"I do think one of challenges is organisations could meet their definition and not doing any trading whatsoever. Operational but not really properly trading for example two coffee mornings a week."*

Business Support Interviewee 4

However, though these concerns are voiced by those involved business support, it is interesting

[18] "Othering is the construction and identification of the self or in-group and the other or out-group in mutual, unequal opposition by attributing relative inferiority and/or radical alienness to the other/out-group." Brons (2015). In this study 'othering' is observed being used by different interviewees to identify themselves in opposition to, for example, more business-like and less social-purpose, or less grant reliant and less efficient

that representatives from VCS support and SE support also expressed concerns about organisations' levels of trading, indicating that they too worry the bar for what constitutes 'a SE' is not always high enough. Notably, although stakeholders with responsibility for VCS support also expressed similar frustration - with the lack of a strict definition and with the different terms in use – the organisations they represent, along with enterprises supporting SEs, and a local private business support consultancy, were all observed applying and tendering for funds to support SE activity. All were observed aligning themselves to the different terminology.

4.2.4 Explaining the concept

In contrast to the interviewee from the LSP, the analysis identifies a third group whose professional roles are to deliver support for the VCS and to explain the concept of SE to those individuals they support. These VCS participants and public sector participants with VCS responsibilities expressed concerns about how the language is perceived and received by their service users and the wider local community. One VCS support worker stated very clearly her frustration with the difficulties explaining the concept to the general public, and specifically to volunteers:

> *"If I don't understand what community enterprise is, or a community business, or a social enterprise, how is a volunteer trustee supposed to know"*

VCS Support Interviewee 5

> *"I need to know what to say. Because the first thing I'm going to be asked is 'what is a community business?' "*

VCS Support Interviewee 7

These reactions often linked the different terminology and its inherent ambiguity with confusions from their service users based on values attributed to different governance structures by the wider public.

> *"The man on the street doesn't understand what a social enterprise is. They understand charity but an enterprise is a business, and that's for-profit, and profit goes to the person running the business."*

VCS Support Interviewee 2

A response from one local public sector employee reflects her position in local government, in between central government and the local community, managing changing terms - communicating locally the language of central government policy:

> *"We have struggled with the language ourselves. Do we say community enterprise? Do we say social enterprise? The language that government is beginning to use is community business, so we are trying to use that, but then .that seems to clash with people.. "*

Public Sector Community Development Interviewee 8

4.2.5 Accepting Ambiguities

Whilst there is evidence of the same concerns about definitions and whether individuals and groups could legitimately be described as SEs two interviewees with responsibility for supporting VCS and SE sector add further nuance to the discussion.

One difference between business support interviewees and those from VCS and SE support seemed to be while VCS and SE support workers acknowledge the terms are ill defined, they are more accepting of the ambiguities. Seeming to accept the need to align with different funding because individuals and groups they work with are managing shifting expectations of them, in a context of social enterprization. A flexibility and fluidity linked to their supportive roles and their concerns with being able to best support individuals, groups and organisations by understanding their motivations and their origins.

In contrast to those in business support and economic regeneration, individuals in roles supporting SE and VCS organisations more often expressed bemusement when I discussed studying and mapping SEs, as if they have been down the road of trying to define them and know where that leads. The apparent naivety of the new researcher stating "then I'm going to map SEs in the county" incited questions and looks of humour and caution from some individuals. Referring to the process of mapping SEs one interviewee responded:

> *"it is a bit like mapping the sky, it is constantly shifting, you know, it is day, it is night, it is cloudy, its sunny, you cannot pin it down. But then there is a n element of you know, where the sky starts and you know where the sky ends, and that's*

very much how it is with social enterprise. It is about you know what the sky is, we know what a social enterprise is, but describe the sky. It's really quite difficult to do."

VCSE Support Interviewee 2

In response to the question 'Do you consider them a SE?' - about individual organisations and enterprises, the two respondents with face-to-face SE support duties repeatedly confirmed organisations they considered to be SEs did not align themselves with the term.

"Yes, I would [say they are a SE], but they wouldn't"

VCSE support Interviewee 9

This disidentification with the language and associated values of business was identified as critical to providing locally relevant SE by all respondents bar the two interviewees in business support, and signals a pragmatism and relevance derived from understanding the local area and local communities.

In a casual, almost throw away, remark from a VCS infrastructure support worker:

"We don't use the term 'social enterprise' we talk about volunteering. In this county people understand volunteering.'

VCS Support Interviewee 5

In their interviews, both the public sector interviewee with responsibility for supporting local small VCS organisations and the SE support worker explained the ambiguous concept of SE by referring to or alluding to a spectrum. A spectrum with charity at one end and business at the other. In both instances this spectrum was seemingly used, not to categorise the organisations, but to identify motivations and to open the discussion to allocate appropriate support and advice.

"There is that tension between what is a community enterprise, or a social enterprise. And, at the end of the day, we really don't care. We said 'right - there is a spectrum .. at this end people have come with their business idea, done their business planning, been to the bank, got their finances sorted out, and then over here at this end of the spectrum you have got people that wouldn't even recognise

themselves as running a business, they just think they are doing something good for their local community"

Public Sector Community Development Interviewee 8

As this support practitioner explains – after drawing a horizontal line with charity at one end and business at the other end:

> *"I start off by saying that people have businesses that have social elements, and charities have business element… depending on what they have said to describe what they are doing, I would ask them whereabouts they would see themselves on the spectrum, and usually if they are social enterprises they would be somewhere across the middle. The people who come through some sort of trauma might be somewhere at this end. Those that have come to us because they have got a business model or that they want to earn a living, but it has got social benefits might be somewhere at this end. But that doesn't mean either of them aren't social enterprises. The definition is really broad. It needs to be support-led, because they are all different, and they all have to develop in their own way."*

VCSE Support Interviewee 10

Whilst this interviewee expresses frustrations with the different language being used, he also pronounces enthusiasm for the concept of SE – understood as the perceived need for social value creation to be more enterprising and business-like.

Whilst many of the reactions presented in 4.1 appear to confirm what Dey and Teasdale (2013) call 'tactical mimicry' - within the ecosystem, it is important to note the study also identifies a requirement from sectoral support organisations to accept ill-defined or ambiguous language to fund work with sectors being enterprized by the same external forces facilitating the funding. In other words, though mimicry was evident it was necessitated by mimicry at policy level, with ambiguous, ill-defined terms written into different funding pot requirements like invitations to tender at the same time as small VCS organisations and VCS infrastructure support services. The language of SE entering the local ecosystem from the top down, from the level of national, regional and local policy and strategy.

This observation can be explained in part by the perception that organisations were ‘on a journey’ to SE. Repeatedly interviewees involved in SE support, when asked if specific organisations were SEs, responded “not yet”. So, though other sectors of the ecosystem worried about VCS and SE mimicry, the evidence from interviewees involved in face-to-face VCS and SE support work was that they had the same concerns. Worried that small organisations on the edges of trading were being included in the SE category.

4.2.6 Social Enterprization Journeys

During this stage of immersion in the field, data collection and data analysis were concurrent, with subsequent data collection building on emergent findings from previous stages. As a result of iterative analysis between the data and the literature, to develop process-orientated subthemes and the concept of social enterprization, another stage of interviews was conducted with the face-to-face SE support practitioners to distinguish types of social enterprization journeys. In these more focused interviews visual methodologies are used to distinguish SE journey types diagrammatically, to clarify different components of the local scene of SE using face-to-face vocational expertise of real-world examples.

The second set of stakeholder interviews with this subgroup of SE support practitioners is undertaken specifically to build a deeper understanding of the ‘journey’ theme and to interrogate SE support practitioners’ acceptance of the SE concept. Two types of interviews were conducted at this stage, typing and mapping interviews. First, participants were asked to classify the different types of SEs. Second, participants were asked to go through their databases and records of contacts, and to describe the individuals and the organisations they had worked with. In the first interviews the interviewee explicitly asked the participants to consider ‘origins of the SE journey’, this was because this subtheme emerged as so important in the previous interviews and during participant observations. The journeys’ origins were repeatedly linked, in these interviews and observations, to individuals’ and groups’ capabilities to start and move forward on their SE journey. So, it is therefore directly relevant to understanding the second main research question of the study

4.3 ‘How do individuals and groups start and sustain social enterprises?’

In 4.2 the iterative process of analysis with the theoretical literature is particularly important. It was pertinent that at the time the ‘journey’ theme emerged from ongoing data analysis Defourny and Nyssens (2017a) published their theory of SEs emerging from different sectors of the economy. Origins – namely economic sectoral origins of SEs’ with different institutional trajectories – are the way that Defourny and Nyssens (2017a) pare SE types in their theoretical and empirical (Defourny and Nyssens, 2017b) contributions the SE literature published as the interviews were being arranged and conducted. This meeting of their contributions to ‘the impossibility of a unified definition’ (Defourny and Nyssens, 2017a) of social enterprise, and this grounded study, founded in the vernacular (Lowe et al., 2019) expertise held by SE support practitioners is serendipitous. And fortuitously this study directly responds to the call that:

> *“conceptualization efforts should now be fed with more contributions starting from solid empirical works bottom-up approaches could first be built upon a hypothesis “the impossibility of a unified definition” (Defourny and Nyssens, 2017a, p2471).*

In 4.2.1 the critical theme of transitioning and of ‘the SE journey’ is identified and the Vernacular typology of SE Journeys is presented. Details of each type are presented in 4.2.2 – 4.2.6, before two sub-themes identified as important to understanding SEs in the field and the Vernacular SE Typology are highlighted. 4.2.7 the sub-theme of dis/identification is identified; in 4.2.8 oscillating – the reality of organisations shifting in out of majority income from trade – is expanded.

Building from the central theme of ‘journey’, mid-level theory of social enterprization is expanded and empirically evidenced. The typology presents SEs emerging from five origins,with an outline mid-level theory of their different characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses based on analysis and interpretation of the data. Each of these components is important in answering the emergent research question: ‘How do individuals providing face-to-face support manage the ambiguity of the language of SE?’. Different origins, motivations and contextual realities are a key component of their sense making.

The subthemes are inherent to the typology and theory of social enterprization journeys presented here. Seemingly central to the practitioners’ sense-making is that different journeys begin with different capabilities, resources and challenges, which present different support needs, which are themselves dependent on contextual realities. Here theory is built on themes emergent from immersion and ongoing analysis and interpretation of conversations in participant observations and from interviews' visual and audio recordings.

4.3.1 Vernacular Experts SE Typology

In answering the first research question the 'journey' theme emerges repeatedly from those individuals with responsibility for supporting existing or would-be social entrepreneurs and SEs, who more often present SE as an aspiration to be worked toward than a state of being for many organisations and enterprises. Interviewees who worked with existing or would-be social entrepreneurs and SEs often presented SE as an aspiration - one that involves 'a journey'. And would then consider the support needed for that journey

The comment, made again and again in the field by support practitioners is:

> *"they are on a journey"*

VCS Support Interviewee 2 and SE Support Interviewee 9

A statement which is often accompanied with knowing glances and wry smiles.

In the following extract from a conversation with one individual the comments are focused on process and differentiating appropriate support needs:

> *"some people jump straight in [at the social enterprise stage]; others start at different places .. [some have] different starting positions … or travelling speeds"*

VCSE Support Interviewee 10

This perspective, of individuals and groups travelling, from different 'starting positions', different origins, toward SE with different support requirements, is implicit throughout the participant observations during the immersion stage. The perspective, of different people requiring different support, provided in ways that are relevant to their individual circumstances, is reinforced at the meetings the researcher attends, and in conversations with members of the public in the different target groups of social enterprization. It is also explicit in responses from VC&SE support practitioners, as one states - when in conversation about what SE means in the locality:

“[what matters] is where people are coming from”

SE Support Interviewee 9

Having identified SE journeys as critical to the way vernacular experts supporting social enterprization made sense of their roles, in the following interviews – the mapping interviews – VCS and SE support were asked to describe different organisations they had supported. This was achieved by going through their lists of contacts, asking for background on each organisation and the support they had received, by explicitly asking them to identify which organisations were SEs, who were the social entrepreneurs, and explicitly answering the question ‘where do you see them on the SE journey?’.

The typing and mapping interviews make explicit that many organisations are transitioning with baggage from previous lives. What these interviews spotlight is that different journeys begin with different motivations, resources, strengths and challenges and these require different support.

The data generated during the interviews presents different individual and organisational journeys, differentiated because they: are started with different motivations; start from different origins, and often transition from other types of organisation; they self-identify as ‘a SE’, disidentify or do not engage with the concept and the language; and, finally, they can oscillate in and out of SE – in other words, be more or less grant dependent at different stages of their organisational journeys.

From the audio recordings and the visual notes five types of social enterprization journeys are differentiated according to their origins and motivations. First are individuals motivated by a personal experience like alcohol addiction or domestic abuse; the Issue/Crisis-led SE; second are the individuals with professional expertise in an issue, for example the environmental consultants or councillors, the Professional/Expertise-led SE; third, there are the Public Sector Spin-outs/offs, interviewees used youth workers, adult social care as examples, with one decrying the fact that there was very little spinning out/off locally at scale. The fourth type are the Larger VCS Organisations for example larger charities who have different governance arrangements enabling them to trade; the fifth type identified are the Small, Volunteer-run SEs, for example community buildings that had historically always been run by volunteers. Analysis of all the interviews and observations throughout the immersion stage identifies the pushes and pulls for each of these social enterprization journeys. Strengths and weaknesses associated with each of the types described by the SE support practitioners are also recorded. These are brought together in the following section with empirical evidence to support the theory of types of social enterprization presented in the Vernacular SE Typology (see Table 12).

Table 12: Phase 1 Vernacular SE Typology

Type	Issue-led	Professional/Expertise-led	Public sector spin outs/offs	Larger VCS Organisations	Small volunteer-run organisations
SE Origin	Issue/Crisis	Relevant Expertise/Profession	Public sector (spin outs/offs)	Larger VCS org	Volunteer-run VCS org
Motivation	Issue/ crisis led/ Personal employment	Expertise/ Profess. Led/ Personal employment/ profit from prof. expertise	Funding landscape shifting; commissioning; mutualisation; public sector marketisation; redundancy	Funding landscape Commissioning Public sector seed funded Grant reduction Public sector marketization	Benevolence, civic responsibility, asset/ service threatened
Examples	Mental Health survivor Social Care Project (SEN child)	Community Artists Environmental consultant Development consultant	Social Care Youth workers Enterprise Agencies	Development Trusts Community Partnerships Groundwork arm's length SE	Community Buildings Village Shop/Pub/ Cafe Community Transport Park Maintenance
Pull	Individual Social Responsibility (ISR) Public Sector (PS) contracts/ commissioning	ISR PS marketisation Access Grant £ Governance Branding	Employment Efficiencies Golden Handshake £ To Access Grants £	Financial independence	Asset/ Service transfer Golden handshake
Potential Strengths	Enthusiasm/ drive Free (private) labour	Enthusiasm/ drive Expertise Free (private) labour	Insider knowledge PS Expertise PS Networks	Charity can bankroll; funding mix; VCS expertise; can access volunteers; size suits procurement; sectoral knowledge/ networks	Volunteer labour (subsidises business) Local accountability Rooted
Potential Weaknesses	Founder reliance Amateur Maverick Burnout/ fatigue	Founder reliance Hybridity (money focus) Too profit orientated	Dependent PS finance PS organisational culture PS liabilities (e.g. pensions) Limited market; Public sector competition (austerity means £ stays inhouse)	Not geog. rooted Legacy	Volunteer reliance; succession, amateur, rooted, slow to react, liabilities, risk averse, local competition; vol fatigue; succession compliance; grant culture

4.3.2 Issues/Crisis-led SE

The first of the types listed in Table 12 are the Issue/Crisis-led SE which one interviewee identifies as a discreet type here:

> *"There is the individual or group wanting to do something about a particular cause"*

VCS Support Interviewee 10

Examples in the field include: a parent of an autistic child who develops online, educational programs for other children with autism, a recovering alcoholic and a mental health survivor whose passion is supporting others experiencing similar crises. Below an example of this type is described, along with the capabilities this founder brings with her one.

> *"she's an ex-veteran with PTSD who experienced a successful therapy and wanted to share that. She has personal experience and enthusiasm, is a trained therapist, combined with expertise from third sector via her personal relationship. They are nearly all grant and donation at the moment, but they are moving into the next space. [They are] nowhere near sustainable at the money they are coming to the end of their big grant money…"*

SE Support Interviewee 9

In these examples the push onto the SE journey is their own experience, the issue or crisis, the pull is wanting to share their success, and might include personal employment. The contextual reality of public service marketization combined with the opportunities different governance arrangements provide them with to access grant funding are also pulls. This group are more likely to be new starters rather than organisations transitioning.

In the interviews SE support practitioners indicated that this group were often individuals with a steep learning curve.

> *"they are developing their business model, they have been grant and donation funded up til now but we are working with them on that"*

SE Support Interviewee 9

These individuals also brought with them passion and commitment, the other side of that coin is the heavy reliance the SE has on them as individuals and the difficulties they can face working with people facing those issues and crises:

> *"The founder is passionate, started grant dependent. [Then] they started a little bit of trading, with crafting, and it's started to grow into a bigger bit of business. But they were very fatigued because of the deaths of three clients."*

SE Support Interviewee 9

4.3.3 Professional-led SE

The second of the types described is the Professional-led SE. These include development or environmental consultants who want to make use of the SE brand, they might register as a CIC, perceiving they have nothing to lose by adopting that governance form. They are generally motivated to a degree by personal employment and individual social responsibility. As one SE support practitioner describes this group can be transitioning or can be a new starter:

> *"There is a bit of self-employed into social enterprise. So, they think 'I have been delivering this social stuff, the fact that I have to have an asset lock and become a 'not-for-profit distribution' [rules of CIC governance] isn't going to change what I am doing' "*

SE Support Interviewee 9

It might also be a group of artists working in their local community whose main drivers are they want to provide art for to communities without access currently, but they also need to be paid.

> *"with quite a lot of the art-based groups, it is artists who are trying to give something back to the community ... their social model is to provide stuff for free, but in order to do that they need to be paid as the directors to deliver because it's so invested with them. The delivery has to be by artists of a certain standard, and they retain control by being the directors."*

VCS Support Interviewee 10

In this group, motivation to make personal income is it seems higher than the first group who are issue/crisis driven it is implied by the interviewees, however while interviewees express some concern as to whether these enterprises should always qualify as SEs by virtue of the status as CICs they were also keen not to delegitimize that individual motivation per se. Their inclusion in the types evidences the porosity of the boundaries of the definitions of SE.

> *"I got the impression she was a professional artist looking to access grants"*

VCSE Support, Interviewee 10

Here the boundary with business support is blurred because by setting up with different governance structures the founders are hoping to access grants, as the advisor explains:

> *"it's the idea of retired musicians, [they] wanted to run community-based workshops in schools, brand new start-up. He was a teacher. I helped them think through the ideas, where their money was coming from. [He planned to do] trading and hoping to get grants, so a social enterprise technically, yes, but he was basically trying to set it up as his own business. "*

VCSE Support,Interviewee 10

The boundary between business support and VCS support is inevitably blurred by this group. However, while the rhetoric seems to question individuals' motivations, the definitional dilemma also brings to the fore the question of what is of social value.

Whilst there is a degree of cynicism around motivation of this group there are also interesting examples of founders whose motivations are not questioned to the same extent. The following is one example, however, as the quote makes clear, the example is of individuals who are well resourced prior to starting their SE:

> *"we have got the ex-director of a city council department running a social enterprise, he has gone in with his mate who runs a big business. Both are really bright, sparky, professional people now probably late fifties, they are sitting on reasonable amounts of money, and they are doing it [the SE] alongside private consultancy and some other stuff. They want to do some put back stuff"*

SE Support Interviewee 9

The pool of individuals who are this well-resourced – financially and otherwise, and whose motivations are therefore not blurred by the need to make personal profit, is small. Not many individuals have the financial resource to do SE purely ‘to put back stuff’, and not to have to take an income. This statement and other descriptions of the resourcing of SE journeys from the SE support practitioner raises starts to point to the next main research question addressed in the next chapters “How do individuals and groups start and sustain social enterprises?” and the descriptions from SE support practitioners start to highlight the range of resources SEs, successful social enterprization journeys, depend on.

These processes of social enterprization are the result of shifts in funding types, availability, and access mechanisms, and now are created in a context of austerity, and the marketisation of social value delivery. The context from which they are emerging and transitioning is shifting and, for this reason, because individual lives are complicated, and constantly interact with context, the boundaries between journey types in Table 12 are permeable - as individuals and organisation evolve.

4.3.4 Public Sector SE

The examples of the Public Sector SE type range in their scale. Examples range from large housing associations covering multiple local authority areas, to enterprises created from Market Town Initiatives, to asset transfers of local leisure centres. The local examples the SE support practitioners draw on are often described as the result of local public policy, so either those quangos set up work at arms-length from public sector control, or examples that have moved out of local authority control. Again, these range in size from whole departments, to local leisure centres, to local adult day care facilities but defunding and marketization are generally described as the triggers to their social enterprization journeys. In interviews this type is identified as organisations that spin out from public sector owned and controlled service delivery. These could be different forms of Public Service Mutuals (PSM), or groups of public sector employees who chose to establish their own company to tender for public sector contracts, for example from a local authority or by health services. Or they might be companies that have originally been established with public funding, local enterprise agencies or housing associations, Development Trusts or

Market Town Initiatives. This group are described as transitioning rather than starting up. This type of social journey can originate from redundancy or mutualisation, as a direct response to the shifting funding landscape and changing public sector procurement.

As this quotation indicates many of this type are the result of public policy historically:

> *"They will have come out of some initiative"*

SE Support Interviewee 9

Or, are the result of contemporary or more recent public sector austerity:

> *"we are seeing a lot of that sort of thing from a public sector service because of the budget cuts"*

VCSE Support Interviewee 10

In the interviews some strengths and weaknesses are directly attributed to this group's public sector origin. Reliance on the public sector for contracts and the negative effects of innate organisational culture taken from the public sec tor are two of the weaknesses attributed this group:

> *".. they have split from district councils and all come together now but it is still very quango-ish"*

> *SE Support Interviewee 9 Some of these start with financial advantage of generous public sector redundancy packages:*

> *"they will have left with a golden handshake"*

VCSE Support, Interviewee 9

Evident in multiple examples described by the SE support practitioners is the importance of this ongoing marketization of public sector at different scales. Examples of the public sector facilitating social enterprization with accessible public sector contracts, supporting social enterprization with initiatives and forcing social enterprization through the closure of local services are all evident. The scale ranges from whole departments that shift out of direct control of the public sector, to large community leisure centre, to small community buildings. However, the small community buildings that are spun out of local authority control and asset transferred were differentiated in these interviews and form the majority of example in the final Small Voluntary Community SE type as a result of their voluntary management committees and the strengths and challenges this feature of their organisations poses in their social enterprization journeys.

While the community buildings' voluntary management committees were a more recent example of top down enterprization pushes from the public sector, one historic local example described in these interviews evidence how long financial contraction within the public sector has been pushing and enabling SE:

> *"It was an asset transfer from a district council, ten years ago, the local leisure centre was transferred ... it was loss-making and now just profitable. There's a bit more they could do. [They are] definitely a social enterprise, it's all earned income, yes, he's a social entrepreneur. £750,000 turnover. It's a proper business."*

SE Support Interviewee 9

In the following quote one respondent implies here that by feature of working in a competitive marketplace, even though it is a public sector market, this example is more of a SE than others of its type:

> *"schools pay them, their business model works for them, they are social entrepreneurs .. it works, it pays them. They transitioned, one still sits in a school, one sits outside a school. They have 8-10 staff, their contracts are with public service but they are in a competitive market place [hence they are social enterprises..]"*

SE Support, Interviewee 11

> *"not quite a social enterprise and don't think they are social entrepreneurs yet, because they still have a very nice cushion of grant funding but it is more competitive and they did just always get a block grant that's transitioning now, they are getting themselves to a point where they are not, but at the moment it just falls in their lap and I don't think that is a social enterprise yet."*

SE Support Interviewee 9

Although knowledge of the public sector is implicitly considered a strength of this Public Sector type, the freedom of the local authority to itself compete with spin-outs is considered a negative characteristic/feature of the local social enterprization reality.

4.3.5 Larger Charity-led SE

The Larger Charity-led SE type is the fourth journey. These are described by the interviewees as those SEs set up by larger charitable organisations, SEs related or unrelated to their core purpose, and, or, the shift of large charitable organisations as a whole away from grant dependence, trying to reduce the risk of that dependency by securing income through trading:

> *"Age UK does a lot of that through its trading arm, but some charities do their business through their main charity"*

VCSE Support Interviewee 10

Only one of the two organisations represented in these interviews worked with larger charities, as the other's expertise historically was with smaller voluntary management committees, micro-voluntary organisations represented in the final type small VCS SEs. Though these larger charitable organisations were part of the workload for the SE support practitioner from the other organisation this is what she had to say about this cohort locally:

> *"most of our charities are still quite grant dependent and there is quite a lot of, for example, charitable delivery of services to people with mental health issues or adults with learning disabilities and when you talk to the kind of commissioning manager in the county council they are very much like them to be more social enterprising, there is not a lot of that. They are only just beginning to get there."*

SE Support Interviewee 9

The difficulties identified by this interviewee arising from this group included having risk- taking and enterprising staff and shifting the mindset from grant dependence, and issues of governance, the rules around charities and trading which required special governance arrangements:

> *"Charity structures are hard, there is a massive amount of governance in a*

charity structure that may or may not actually be the right thing for some of these. "

SE Support Interviewee 9

Successful examples of large local charitable SEs listed by the interviewees included Groundwork NE and Cumbria who have run The Greenhouse, a large building rented out as offices has fed income into the main charity for several years via a subsidiary company. And Beamish Museum:

> *"Another big example of a social enterprise that has come through that sort of route is Beamish museum. In terms of turnover and staff that's probably one of the biggest social enterprises"*

VCSE Support Interviewee 10

In these examples the interviewees identified the founder's social capital and the organisations' reputations and access this gave them to investment funding as strengths of this type of SEs.

4.3.6 Volunteer-led SE

The Volunteer-led SE is the fifth journey type identified. These are generally small voluntary management committees transitioning from none or small amounts of trading and high levels of grant dependence. Examples of this type, most prevalent in observations during the immersion period, are the volunteer management committees working in partnership with the local authority to manage community buildings. Again, these evidence top-down pushes of individuals and organisations onto social enterprization journeys, enterprization enforced because of austerity and a shift away from public sector grants and public sector liability for community assets, toward trading and community asset transfer.

This strand of social enterprization is of individuals and groups in voluntary positions. Enterprization of those who were previously aligned with voluntary and community support - small charities and community groups run by volunteers. It is because of their identification as volunteers that a subtheme of the typology emerges strongly in this group - disidentification.

> *"they wouldn't call themselves, a social enterprise, but they are on the journey"*

SE Support Interviewee 9

The following subsection expands some of the support SE practitioners' commentary on disidentification and evidences some of the nuances around who they deem should and should not be defined as a SE.

4.3.7 Understanding Transition: Dis/identification; Oscillating; Motivation

Key themes have emerged from answering the emergent sub-question detailing important features of the SEs which start to answer the second main research question. First is the acceptance of processes of transitioning, processes of social enterprization, of adapting to different and new socio-economic contexts. Second is the acceptance that the language of business may not reflect the motivations of so-called social entrepreneurs, that organisations need not self-identify as a SE to be included. That SEs "would not call themselves that". Third, recognition of the SE rollercoaster experience. The fact that organisations can move in and out of strict SE definitions, in and out of dependence on grants and trading. Can be reliant on trading then successfully apply for one large grant. Fourth, social enterprization need not be voluntary, it can be forced on individuals and organisations by circumstances, by redundancy or the closure of a valued public service. It may also be a useful brand, a marketing exercise for consultants who want to align themselves with social values.

It is interesting the theme of disidentification is so closely linked with the Volunteer-led SE. For the SE Support Interviewees this disidentification need not however relate to their support needs and how they are supported. What discussions around disidentification do inform however, our understanding of the shifting landscape of VCS support funding – and the rebranding and re-resourcing of existing local support structures.

In this example a group of volunteers running an already financially successful enterprise that the VCSE support practitioner supported are described:

> *"they are a community amateur sports club. They weren't limited, they were an unincorporated group. They had loads of staff and 240K turnover from the bar. People pay to bowl and hire for events "*

VCSE Support Interviewee 10

For him, the core issue is not whether the group see themselves as a SE but that they are unincorporated, and so not protected as individuals from financial liabilities. The case is an interesting one evidencing ongoing long-established SE in the field which has never engaged with the language.

As the evidence from the public sector employees in 4.1 illustrates the language of SE is being imposed top-down hand in hand with enterprization of voluntary groups, in many cases the result of the need for authorities to reduce their financial commitments for example through asset transfer. The voluntary groups who manage community buildings and are reliant on local authority grants are a historic legacy in the old coal mining areas of the county, in the more remote rural areas these buildings are generally self-sufficient. However, comments from the SE support practitioner whose sole focus is SE point to her qualitative judgement that financial self-sufficiency through small amount of trading does not qualify them to be SEs, for her ambition and growth are important:

> *"they own a building, but don't really know what to do with it, they are kind of sustainable because they get some rent and some income. But they are still small, they are only sustainable because they're not taking very much out of it … I've got them aspirational now… if you have one part-time member of staff you are sustainable but you can't do anything, They are a one-stop shop providing a lot of things but they are doing it mainly out of the goodness of their heart, and they have an elderly management committee which is constraining"*

SE Support Interviewee 9

While this attitude to the definition of SE is not consistent in the replies from the support practitioners, it hints at a reluctance to confer the traditional voluntary management committee with the SE tag. In the next quotation from another support practitioner a similar community building management committee is described as a SE but, their lack of entrepreneurialism is also commented on:

> *"This is another building that's a charity. It gets income from room hire again, some grant. It was an unincorporated charity. We established them as a CIO. They have loads of volunteers, two paid staff – a centre manager and caretaker."*

I asked, '

> *Would you call them SE?'*

> *"Yeah. They've got an asset and they're generating income from trading* - *more then what they generate from grants. But, [they are] not social entrepreneurs. They probably do it for the social benefit of the village, but I don't think they're very entrepreneurial. I think it's just a traditional model."*

VCSE Support Interviewee 10

In another interview a different interviewee expands on this distinction between SE and being a social entrepreneur, identifying some features of voluntary management committees which can hinder entrepreneurialism.

> *"Being an entrepreneur … it goes wrong sometimes, but you have got to take some personal risks and put some personal energy and enthusiasm into it. That's not necessarily been seen there … we make complicated [governance] structures, we might have a 12 person management committee running a hall that has got £10,000 turnover … they stifle themselves with decision making."*

SE Support Interviewee 9

In interviews and observations comments were made about the age of these transitioning committees, their skillset, and, or, their group dynamics, comments which either explicitly or implicitly identified these features as challenging to supporting successful enterprization. Working with groups with different skill sets and different motivations is a feature of SE support which VCS and SE support practitioners were attuned to. It is notable that this community development expertise is not a feature of traditional business development and business support. These findings provide evidence of the need for a range of support for SE beyond that traditionally provided by business support.

It is interesting that in some of the examples the interviewees seem to exhibit admiration for the extent to which the income of these organisations and enterprises is 'earned' rather than 'applied' for. This is in fact the minority in the sample however, with the majority remaining to some degree dependent on grant income. While the government definition of SE recognises this continued grant dependence in the rhetoric of the support staff it is trading which is emphasized and ongoing grants dependence is less overt.

What the examples evidence the continued grant dependence of many of these SEs. For, while in the SE rhetoric the reality of organisations shifting to earning more of their income via trade, with individual private sector clients, or with the public sector, is the emphasis, the reality of their ongoing dependence of these SEs on grants and volunteers receives less attention.

Both the organisations represented in these support practitioner interviewees has worked with organisations whom they had to explain though were socially entrepreneurial, and though would have in the past met the formal definition of a SE - trading for at least 50% of their income - had since been successful in larger grant applications.

> *"I have called her a social enterprise because that is where she sits, but she went from a lot of, a little bit of grant money, quite a lot of earned income to a shift where she has suddenly getting £450,000 lottery bid, so it just shifts."*

SE Support Interviewee 9

This oscillation between trading and grant dependence – for the majority of an organisation's income – is an important theme in the data, it reflects a reality of SEs that is not explicit in the government definition. In the case described above, this large grant points to the success and growth of this enterprise but this growth and success shifts the enterprise out of the formal definition. This theme is pertinent – it is not a theme highlighted in the academic literature.

Findings from Chapter 4 answer the first research question and it's sub question. The findings are the foundations on which Chapters 5 and 6 have been built.

Chapter 5 Common SE Enablers

The results presented in Chapter 5 focus on answering ‘How individuals and groups start and sustain social enterprises’ and the sub-questions:

i. What resources are used?

ii. Where do those resources come from?

iii. How are resources converted to social enterprise activity?

This chapter tells the stories of ten SEs of different types. Common themes across the cases and key differences open a window on the detail and diversity of SE activity within the local SE ecosystem. Results also test the theorizing presented in Vernacular SE types presented in Chapter 4 (Table 12) revealing SEs’ complexities.

The core concepts of Sen’s capability approach frame the findings. Enablers are identified within SE stories using collective SE capability frameworks as the primary analytical tool. These enablers are resources, and individual and institutional factors which convert the resources to SE activity. The SE frameworks pare down these key factors which when grouped collectively achieve the observed SEs.

These results have been given meaning from a dynamic, iterative relationship between theory and data (Leshem and Traford, 2007). What emerges is a greater understanding of the workings of these enterprises, and collective SE capability frameworks which push at the boundaries of how the capability approach has previously been conceived (Robeyns, 2017), with the SE the unit of analysis. The collective frameworks include a temporal dimension to represent different stages of the stories. The ‘observed functioning SE’, in each case, is the culmination of the multiple conversions identified in each framework. The analysis points to where additional theorising is required to better understand the conversion processes at play, and to opportunities to nurture SE activity - discussed in chapter 6.

Saebi et al. (2019) call for a multilevel, multistage SE research agenda linking individual, organisational and institutional levels, and the temporal dimensions of SE activity. This chapter contributes to filling this gap, presenting integrated pictures of how SE is practiced, using capability frameworks to connect the levels and the starting and sustaining stages[19]. Further, the bottom-up methodological approach highlights what individuals practising SE deem to be important, deem to be the critical resources and conversion factors.

In this chapter, after introducing the SE cases, the results are divided into two sections. The first section (5.1) highlights commonalities in resource use and patterns of resource conversion observed across different SE journey types. Illustrative examples to bring these to life; visualisations of common conversion processes at each stage are presented.

In the second section (5.2) collective capability frameworks and data tables of SEs' resources and conversion factors are presented. The frameworks outline in detail the ingredients that enable and facilitate the two stages of each SE's development, converting resources into SE activity - via personal and contextual conversion factors, and personal values and choices.

The ten SE cases are introduced below. They are the principal unit of analysis. As the case descriptors below evidence, the ten cases represent a diverse set of SE business models emerging from all sectors of the local economy. Analysis of these diverse cases reveals common practices of SE and where there are important differences. It also facilitates consideration of if, and how, the origins of each SE effect their development. Increasing complexity is revealed as SE founders and managers build and develop their enterprises, with varied success, incorporating features of other types to sustain their enterprises.

The selection of cases was based on what was known about their SE journey type prior to data collection. As data collection and analysis progressed an additional SE journey type became

[19] Reflecting findings from Chapter 4, in Chapter 5 sustaining refers to how the SE cases are observed to be sustaining at the point of interviews and observations. In six of the seven primary cases some degree of stability has been attained and key resources and conversion factors and processes highlighted below are the features stated and observed to be enabling that stability. In some cases, however, that stability is finely balanced – for example beneficiaries of alternative education provision can be withdrawn by the local authority with no notice. Case 7 is the one SE which did not appear to be at a point of stability due to the early stage the business is in after transitioning from its original founder organisation. However, ingredients which enable stability were observed, and these are used to strengthen the researcher's confidence in the validity of the findings.

evident – with nuances of spin-off, spin-out and subsidiary SEs identified. Cases 7,8,9 emerged during data collection. Though less data is available for each of these cases they have been included in the case analysis because they represent an important subset in the SE ecosystem.

Case 1: Lionmouth Rural Centre (LRC) CIC

Date registered: 2012 (Community Interest Company) Annual turnover 2019: £133,000
Employees: approx. 6
Traded services: Adult day care service, tea rooms, plant nursery, room hire
SE Journey: Established by a retired couple, sited on 7 acres they bought. CIC started after initial attempt and closure of a Co-operative on the same site.

LRC is based on a seven-acre site, situated just outside an old mining village, seven miles from Durham City. The site and day care service are run by a manger with a small team of fellow horticulturalists providing care and horticulture therapy. They also run the onsite plant nursery and tearooms. The River Wear flows through the site which also contains an ancient meadow, woodland, a sensory garden, south-facing terraced slope for vegetables, and resident chickens and honeybees. Next to the tea rooms is an arts classroom, a pottery and kiln, several potting sheds and polytunnels, and a portacabin providing office space.

The site is open to the public, with mapped and signed walks. It is maintained by the staff, and over the years has been developed using ad hoc groups of volunteer labour from local companies and the local university, and by individuals on placement from local employment services. The branding and feel of Lionmouth is homely, informal and friendly with felt art hanging from the trees, homemade mosaic tiles, decorative features, and regular appearances on site and online of Finn, the resident dog

Chosen as type: 1 or 2 Individual/small group (issue/prof expertise) Started as type: 1 and 2 Individual/small group (issue/prof expertise)
Sustained as type: 2 Individual/small group (professional expertise) reliant on public sector contracts and private traded income




Case 2: Wear1Care Ltd

Date registered: 2015 (Limited Company, with non-profit clause) Annual turnover 2019: approx. £100,000
Employees: approx. 4
Traded services: Adult day care services, sale of produce
SE Journey: Established by local authority staff when local authority-run provision faced closure

W1C is based in the ground floor of an old office building, in a rural town nine miles southwest of Durham City. The old offices have been renovated by the current staff, and now house two large communal rooms, a kitchen, toilets, and an office space, all surrounding a central outdoor space. The rooms and corridors are decorated like a youth club, with a large fish tank and with the craft produce of the service users. Outside in the car park stands two minibuses, one for transporting the clients to and from their homes, one filled with bikes adapted for disabled users.

The current company took over the care of an established group of adult service users that had been run by Durham County Council and was due to close as part of the council's efforts to consolidate provision into larger centres and thereby save money. The current provision is run, and was set up, by staff previously employed and trained by the council. Before the staff established Wear1Care Ltd service user's parents had tried to spin-out of council control, with council support, unsuccessfully.

Chosen as type: 3 Public sector spin-out/off Started as type: 3 Public sector spin-out/off
Sustained as type: 2 Individual/small group (professional expertise) reliant on public sector contracts.

Case 3: Alpaca Farm and Therapy Ltd

Date established: 2014 (Limited Company)
Annual turnover of AT and parent business 2019: £200 -250,000 Employees: approx. 10, shared with parent enterprise
Traded services: Alternative Education
SE Journey: Established on the tenanted farm site of parent enterprise, registered in 2012

This SE is sited on a thirty-acre tenanted farm, on the outskirts of a small ex-mining village, fourteen miles from Durham city. The farm is run by one woman, and her husband and their youngest child, all of whom live on site, with a third generation of grandchildren. The site contains the modern farmhouse, housing for approx. thirty alpacas, several on site businesses run alongside the SE by the family, and buildings used previously for other private businesses separate to the family business. The farm office is sited in a small extension next to the kitchen of the family home.

The farm is leased. Originally it was intended the farm be the site of -primarily-for-profit businesses. The family moved on site without previous experience of running this type of land-based business. The SE runs alongside the primarily-for-profit onsite businesses and was established by the owner and her friend to support positive local mental health, prompted by several suicides at the local school.

Chosen as type: 1 or 2 Individual/small group (issue/professional expertise) Started as type: 6 Private sector subsidiary
Sustained as type: 6 Private sector subsidiary, reliant on public sector contracts

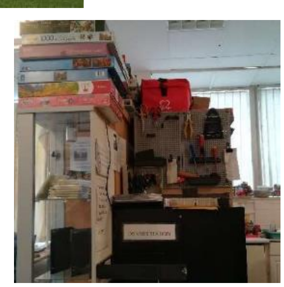
Case 4: Weardale Community Transport Charity

Date established: 2005 (Limited Charity) Annual turnover 2019: approx.£300,000 Employees: approx. 21
Traded services: NHS Patient Transport, Community Transport, Wheels to Meals, local bus service
SE Journey: Established in tandem with Weardale Community Partnership

The WCT office is located in Weardale Community Hub in Stanhope, a small remote rural town, twenty-three miles from Durham city. The charity is managed by volunteer trustees and staffed by an office manager, transport manager, admin staff and volunteers. It runs over 20 minibuses, some transport NHS patients for the North East Ambulance Service, others are available to hire to local community groups and schools, and provides a weekly Wheels to Meals service which organises and takes elderly residents out to local shopping and dining destinations.

WCT was established in tandem with Weardale Community Partnership, both were started with national government grant money, following the Foot and Mouth Disaster. Both are charities run by the same group of local trustees, who by law are all unpaid volunteers. Both charities were originally grant reliant until in 2012 they were approached by North East Ambulance Service (NEAS). Now they tender for contracts with NEAS, providing transport for NHS patients from Weardale and Middlesborough, and providing services to city residents when their rural passengers are day patients in hospital - and the buses and driver would otherwise be waiting idle. These NEAS drivers are paid for their work, while a bank of volunteer drivers, assistants and administrators work to provide the Wheels to Meals service which is subsidised with income from the NEAS contracts

Chosen as type: 5 Volunteer-run VCS organisation Started as type: 5 Volunteer-run VCS organisation
Sustained as type: 5 Volunteer-run VCS organisation reliant on public sector contracts



Case 5: Warm Age Wood CIC

Date established: 2014 (Community Interest Company) Annual turnover 2019: approx. £50,000
Employees: approx. 4
Traded services: Woodchip Briquettes, Knitted goods
SE Journey: New business established by semi-retired couple and son selling briquettes and woollen goods which are knitted by local older volunteers.
Mission: to tackle fuel poverty and rural isolation

WAW is based in and around the small, remote-rural, market town of Barnard Castle, 24 miles from Durham city. The SE sells woodchip briquettes online and from local outlets, and sells knitted woollen accessories – hats, scarves, dog coats etc. – from a small rented high street shop. The briquette trade requires one of the owner directors to deliver briquettes around the dale in a van. It works on a 10 for 1 system. For every ten briquettes sold one briquette is provided to someone in need. The small shop sells the woollen goods and serves as a meeting hub for the volunteer knitters.

As well as running the briquette business WAW also run a small shop selling high quality woollen goods knitted by local knitters. This shop and group of volunteers helps to address rural isolation for older residents.

Chosen as type: 1 and 2 Individual/small group (issue/prof expertise) Started as type: 1 and 2 Individual/small group (issue & prof expertise)
Sustained as type: 1 and 2 with 5 Individual/small group (issues & prof expertise) with Volunteer-run VCS features, reliant on volunteer labour


Keeping social enterprise going gives a warm glow

Case 6: Groundwork North-East & Cumbria Charity

Date established: West Durham Groundwork was established 1992 (Limited Charity), following mergers it was renamed Groundwork NE in 2008 (Limited Charity)
Annual turnover 2019: approx. £10,000,000 Employees: approx.230
Traded services: Landscape and community consultation, Youth employability and training services
SE Journey: Local Groundwork Trusts were set up in partnership local councils under a national Federation. Groundwork NE and Cumbria is the result of mergers of multiple local Groundwork trusts. Originally local trusts were subsidised by national and local government grants.

GWK is a large enterprise sited at multiple sites having merged multiple local Groundworks across the regions. The local Groundwork trust onto which the others have merged, was West Durham established in 1992 and run by the current CEO of this much larger current enterprise. The contemporary Groundwork NE and Cumbria is the result of the interrelations between the CEO's ambition to increase the enterprises impact, its evolution and connections with local and central government and, its responses the shifting landscape of funding and delivery of public services.

GWK leads cross sector partnerships to address social challenges across the regions, accesses grant funding and income from contracts, and runs several SEs (including Cases 7 and 8).

Chosen as type: 4 Large VCS org. Started as type: 3 Public sector spin-out
Sustained as type: 4 and 3 Large VCS org. with Public sector spin-out features, reliant on national grant funding and public sector contracts

Case 7: GWK Greenhouse

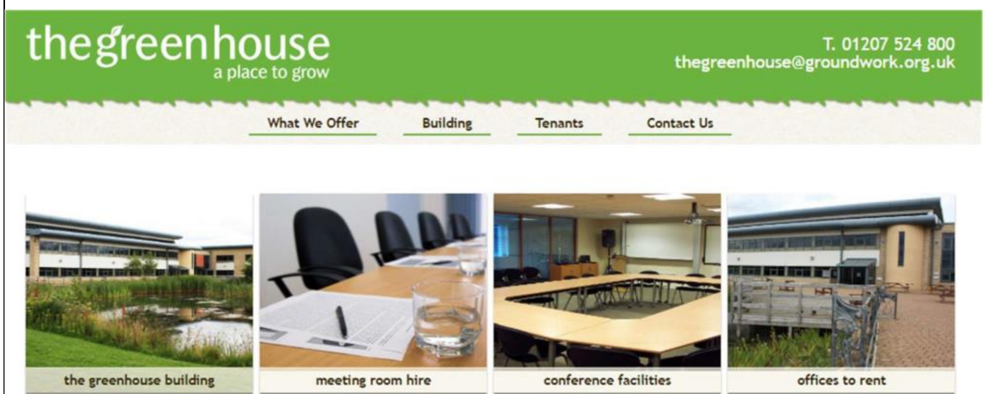
Date established: 2008 (wholly owned subsidiary company of GWK) Annual profit 2019: approx. £100,000

Employees: not known Traded services: office rental

SE Journey: The Greenhouse are modern office buildings. Built in 2008 by Groundwork West Durham. It is run as a primarily-for-profit enterprise, renting office space. It is called a ‘SE’ by GWK because all profits are reinvested into the parent charity

Chosen as type: not chosen, revealed during data collection Started as NEW type: 4a Large VCS org subsidiary

Sustained as NEW type: 4a Large VCS org subsidiary, totally reliant on private sector income, Groundwork North East.



Case 8: GWK Woodshed

Date established:2015 (wholly owned subsidiary company of GWK)

Dissolved: 2019

Traded services: wood furnishing, employability and skills training

SE Journey: started as a subsidiary SE to Groundwork NE

Not chosen as type: revealed during data collection Started as NEW type: 4a Large VCS org subsidiary

Sustained as type: CLOSED, transitioned to Woodshed Workshop

Case 9: GWK Land of Oak and Iron Heritage Centre

Date established:2018

Annual turnover 2019: not available

Employees: not known.

Traded services: café, gift shop and room hire.

SE Journey: The Heritage Centre is the culmination of partnership working between GWK and Gateshead Local Authority.

Not chosen as type: revealed during data collection

Started as NEW type: 4a Large VCS org subsidiary

Sustained as type: [too early]

Case 10: Woodshed Workshop CIC

Date established: 2018
Annual turnover 2019: not known Employees: approx. 4
Traded services: traded refurbished, repurposed and new wooden furnishings, alternative education contracts, training and placements
SE Journey: originally the enterprise was a GWK subsidiary. Though closed by the parent organisation one member of staff re-launched and re-sited the SE as an independent CIC.

The new CIC's founder chose to relocate the enterprise near to his home. Initially WW was temporarily sited in the local school. Now WW is based in the old co-operative buildings of Sacriston – a depleted, old mining village located 4 miles north west of Durham city. The SE sells quality, upcycled, wooden goods from its onsite shop. These goods are upcycled by clients and volunteers learning woodworking and life skills working alongside paid staff, in an adjoining warehouse.

The shop and workshop are sited within a small complex of derelict Victorian buildings, warehouses and shops asset transferred from the County Council. The buildings are being brought back to use as a SE hub. The founder director of WW is also founder director of Sacriston Enterprise Workshops CIC.

The WW shop is beautifully presented in sharp contrast to its ex-mining village surroundings. The shop and WW workspaces are newly refurbished and are wheelchair accessible, these refurbishments have been led by the founder with labour from volunteers who had previously benefited from the old enterprises' work and who often commuted an hour on local buses to travel to the site. On site clients, mainly young lads and men of all ages, work together on woodwork projects, with the benefit of large tools taken from the old enterprise.

Chosen as type: 1 and, or 2, Individual/small group led Started as NEW type: 4a Large VCS org spin-off Sustained as type [too early]

5.1 Resources and Processes Enabling SE Activity

In 5.1 and 5.2 commonalities across the cases, and across journey types, point to general practices of SE, key resources for starting and sustaining SEs, and common sources and processes of conversion of resources to SE activity. The analysis highlights the importance of personal relations, individuals' traits, features of the societal and institutional context, and how these levels connect and interact at different stages of SE development. At both start up and sustaining stages the evidence points to the role of SE collectives, multiple individual choices to pool and convert personal resources to SE activity, and to the role of enabling institutional contexts providing different resources at different stages.

5.1.1 Resources

Common features of resourcing for starting and sustaining the SEs, are listed in Table 13, answering in summary, the first two research sub-questions. This table present both the patchwork of resources commonly used and starts to say something about their nature.

Table 13: Key common SE Resources and where resources are commonly sourced at different stages

Starting Resources	Sources	Sustaining Resources	Sources
Unpaid Expert Labour	Founder Family/ies & Friends	Paid & Unpaid Expert Labour	Core SE Team & Founder Family & Friends
Personal Savings	Founder(s) Family/ies	Public Sector Contracts and/or Private Trade	Local Public Sector and/or Private Customers
Grants and/or Social Investment	Public Sector/ Philanthropic Trusts/ Private Sector	Grants	Local and National Third sector & Private sector
Land/ Premises	Founder Family/ies / Local Authority	Volunteers' Labour	Individual volunteers, beneficiaries from contracts, private sector volunteers

Table 13 identifies a spread of resourcing sourced from across the different sectors of the economy, and to resourcing sourced from within different spheres of individuals' lives. This indicates a shift from the nature of organisational hybridity generally associated with SE activity; and instead finds resources sourced from public, third and private economic sectors, and from founder individuals' different spheres of work, and family and friendships. Critical resources for starting SEs are unpaid expert labour, personal savings, grants and, or social

investment and land or premises. For sustaining paid and unpaid expert labour, public sector contracts and private trade, grants and volunteers' labour are all common resources. Key sources are family and friends, local authority and local public services, and local and national third sector.

A key finding from Table 13, which is represented across all the SE journey types, is the prominence of unpaid expert labour, and the importance of local public and third sector economic resourcing. This is true of all primary cases at start-up and sustaining stages. This is interesting because, contrary to the government narrative, of SEs taking business expertise and processes to social delivery, in fact, all of the CIC cases rely on unpaid directors in the same way charities rely on unpaid trustees.

It is important to note for the purpose of these results that unpaid expert labour is distinguished from volunteer labour. For while volunteer labour, which generally includes labour provided by many beneficiaries, is important to many of these SEs, and for some fundamental to their business model, volunteers provide labour which is required to be supervised and guided. In contrast the unpaid expert labour that the analysis finds to be a critical SE resource does not require supervision, is occupational and/or sectoral expertise like accounting, horticulture, landscaping, woodworking, or grant writing and financial management.

It is notable that their own unpaid labour is not explicitly prioritised by founders and founder families in their interviews (Also prioritised when asked about the SE strengths in SWOT 'the team' however indicting perhaps that voluntary time is assumed). Contributions of their unpaid labour are often assumed by founders, taken for granted, and are inferred by piecing together the SE narratives. Unpaid labour from founders and their families, and from established friendships, continue as important ingredients in ongoing success of the cases.

The second, key finding, is the necessity of low/no risk finance and/or other bundles of economic resources generally provided by the public sector or, in the case of social investment, directly facilitated by public sector institutional arrangements. Examples include public sector grants to test the SE model and product, social investment to support start-up costs, or local authority assets transferred including land, premises and mini buses. These economic resources enable SE start-up, and at the SE sustaining stage enable ongoing survival and growth for all bar one of the cases. By answering the second sub-question - where are these resources sourced – Table 13 gives an indication of what it is about SEs that makes their provision different, showing how these SE resources are converted to SE activity. Two forms of collective play a

key role in sourcing of resources and their conversion to SE activity. First, the unexpected role of founder families at start-up, providing unpaid expert labour and/or finance, and second, at the sustaining stage, the remarkable role of the core SE Team in providing both paid and critically unpaid expert labour.

5.1.2 Founder Family/ies and Friendships

As well as relying on unpaid founder family labour, founder individuals and founder families invest and risk their familial household's economic capital in all cases except two – WCT and GWK, both trustee-run, charitable organisations, founded with grants from national government. Examples of familial economic capital includes inheritance money, redundancy money, money from a previous for-profit business, and money sacrificed from current and future household income.

An example is case 1, a SE founded by a retired woman and her retired husband, with the help of their son. While these familial connections are formalised in their roles as directors of the CIC, it is the injection of household finance to the SE that the shared familial commitment is most clearly demonstrated. Further, it was the outright purchase of the land which was ultimately critical in enabling the SE to start and at critical points in the future, to sustain:

> *"On the cost side my mother died and left me a small house in Oxford which we sold and used that to buy this little farm"*

Case 1 Founder husband

> *"We [staff] have a very good relationship with our landlords [founder family], they are very flexible and we pay what we can when we can. Um we wouldn't want to rip them off, we wouldn't want to ever push our luck with them, but we also see that we are maintaining the land and the area and adding value. Communication is the key "*

Case 1 Manager

Another example is Case 2. When a group of three work colleagues, close friends, set up and became co-directors of a new social care enterprise W1C, spun off from the local authority, their shared commitment and that of their households and extended family was also pivotal in making start-up possible:

> *" [we had] no [financial] input from anybody apart from family, little bits of savings here and there."*
>
> *"obviously, the parent and carer group from the old centre supported us. Then family and friends of staff, like I said we begged borrowed and stole to kind of initially set up without that we probably wouldn't be here"*

Case 2 Founder Manager

In case 7, Woodshed Workshop, the founder did not linger on the loss of income to his household due to start-up when I asked if his partner had been supportive, appearing to take that financial risk for granted. He did however comment on being able to rely on old friends to buy old stock they had taken with them when setting up the new SE when they transitioned from being a subsidiary of GWK.

The founder groups not only contribute their own money, but they and their families are also the source of crucial expertise and are able to rely on support from family friends. As well as founder and family finance, in four of the seven primary cases finance and unpaid labour were sourced from family, and in five of the seven unpaid labour came from friendships.

The role of friendship is repeatedly referenced across the cases. In the example of WAW long term family friendships provided support from the start, and continue to do so, even after the sad death of the central founder. Explaining her involvement and that of her husband one volunteer director states:

> *"Ted [founder son] and Janet worked with Duncan [founder wife and husband] and they ran it together, but it was his idea, and his thing, and he pushed the whole lot through but very much supported by Janet. …*
>
> *We're friends with Duncan and Janet, [founder husband and wife] and my husband was a great friend of Duncan's, so he's done all the things in the shop for everything to hang on. .. they used to go dog walking all the time. and then*

Duncan had just retired and Alan is retired. Alan makes a lot of things, and Duncan was full of ideas, together they decided this would be a good thing to do, and so they started off with the logs with the briquettes, you saw those, and they're all stored down beside our house, they arrive in a big lorry.

they needed another director because of putting in for bids so they asked if I'd do it." [laughs]

Case 5 Volunteer director

Another interviewee fondly recalls when WAW started the knitting component of the enterprise, and the founder, her well-loved old friend would encourage her and his wife to knit produce for sale.

"We used to knit at their home, and Duncan would say, come on now girls – Janet and myself – I want two headbands tonight. I'll make you dinner. And we would sit around the fire and we would knit." [smiling]

Case 5 Founder Friend & Shop worker

The memory was clearly a source of comfort, precipitating smiles and laughter shared with a fellow SE team member and volunteer, as they recalled how well the founder was able to motivate people to be involved.

In five of the seven primary cases those personal connections are formalised in the SE's governance arrangements with family and friends acting as directors in the companies, or as trustees for charities.

In the case of WW, which SE spun out of a larger charity, the founder of the new SE reached out to a longstanding friend and to a former work colleague who both provide their expertise pro bono, helping to establish the SE which would in time provide the founder with paid employment:

"I suppose we've known each other for a good knocking on for about 20 years. Originally, we worked together at a local bar....

We're just Durham lads, the bottom line when you cut through the rest of it, we are just a group of locals trying to do something interesting for a rough village."

Case 7 CIC Director

In all these cases the commitment of immediate family and longstanding friends is made with the knowledge that the arrangement involves either loss of potential financial income or security, or the ongoing loss of time that could otherwise be put to generating income for themselves and their household. For example, inheritance money could have been invested to return better income, family savings committed to a business and to employment came with the sacrifice of job security and a local authority pension, and unpaid director and trustee positions required labour and time could otherwise have been put to earning money, running a business or employing other people.

5.1.3 Constructed SE Family

As tables 15 and 16 evidence, as these SEs emerged from their start-up phase, the pre-existing immediate family and longstanding friends remained important. However, these enabling components are augmented by other expert labour and paid staff. Yet a sense of family continues to be generated amongst paid staff - around the activity and values of the SE. A "Constructed SE Family" develops, commonly made up of individuals with occupational expertise.

Both the Founder Family and the Constructed SE Family spotlight the role of the collective. At each stage, in each case the observed, SE is the product of multiple mini-conversions whereby resources are converted by multiple micro-acts of gifting by different individuals involved.

This "Constructed SE Family" of expert paid staff emerges in the SE narratives as central to SE sustainability for seven of the ten cases, all bar cases 6, 7, and 9. The Constructed SE Family are not connected by familial connection. Instead, they are commonly paid managers and staff with social connections predating the SE. These friendships are based on shared occupational expertise, interests and values, or shared expertise and values of a place (see Tables 17 and 18). The *Collective* SE Capability Frameworks presented in sections 5.2.10 offer visualisations of these shared relationships and shared values. That the frameworks had to be extended and developed to represent these collective acts is itself evidence of the cumulative and cooperative nature of these organisations and their evolutions.

Across the SE narratives occupational expertise is often developed from local authority employment and training, with different expertise resourced from across the SE founder family also evidenced. Expertise developed via local adult further education is also spot lit as an important source.

The theme of family runs through five of the case study narratives, and ‘sense of family’ is an observation made repeatedly of the majority of the primary cases. Both family and sense of family are also repeatedly linked to the theme of unpaid expert labour. To the Constructed SE Family, the core group of expert staff and trustee volunteers, extra people are added including other volunteers, regular customers, clients and beneficiaries’, beneficiaries’ parents, other local third sector organisations and SEs in an “Extended SE Family”.

At LRC for example the manger and staff repeatedly refer to their adult clients as “the lads”. And when asked about their strengths the manager includes in her list:

> *“the lads, we couldn’t do this without them”.*

Case 1 Manager

Similarly, a parent beneficiary in the case of W1C describes this SE familial relationship between the three founder managers stated:

> *“they’re not clients to them. They are family to them. If they can do anything to help they’ll do it. … they cannot do enough for everybody. they make everybody the same. like I say, on the Saturdays if they take somebody out one Saturday, they take others out the next Saturday, you know what I mean. They even run a youth club on a Thursday, night, here, they don’t go home to til after 8 o’ clock”.*

Case 2 Clients’ Parent

W1C is an interesting case because, like WAW, not only do key staff and director friendships pre-exist the enterprises, but the sense of family and extended family also appears to pre-exist the SE. Perhaps a consequence of the fact both these SEs and their directors and/or staff came together from other organisations. Indicative of the importance of these connections and the shared commitment which seems to motivate these individuals to repeatedly commit more labour hours than they are paid for, and their sense of pride and ownership of the enterprise.

Both reliance on pre-existing friendships, and on unpaid labour are indications of how and why these enterprises are able to provide the services they do at the rate that the public sector is able and willing to pay. They start to explain why larger organisations, more bound by legalities of process and employment law for example, might find it hard to outcompete these smaller SEs in the local ecosystem.

Before moving on to unpick the personal relations and motivations further as to why individuals chose to convert their resources to the SE over their own economic maximisation, the other critical component of SE resourcing at start-up and sustaining stages - the role of institutional context – demands attention.

Table 14: Where unpaid expert labour is sourced at start-up

	Founder(s)	Founder Family	Founder Friendships	Staff Friendships	Other sources
Lionmouth	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-
Wear1Care	Yes		Yes & SoF		
Alpaca Therapy	Yes	Yes	Yes (new)		
Weardale Transport	Trustees	Yes	Yes	Yes	
WarmAgeWood	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Groundwork NE&C	-	-	-	-	Trustees
GWK Greenhouse	Yes				Trustees
GWK Woodshed	-				Trustees
GWKLand Oak & Iron	-		Yes		Trustees
Woodshed Workshop	Yes		Yes & CSEF	Yes	

Key:

	Critical
-	Lack data
CSEF	Constructed SE Family

Table 15: Where unpaid expert labour is sourced to sustain

	Founder(s)	Founders' Family	Founder Friendships	SE Team Sense of Family	Other sources
Lionmouth	Yes	Yes		Yes	
Wear1Care	Yes		Yes	Yes	
Alpaca Therapy	Yes	Yes			
Weardale Transport	Yes (trustees)	Yes	Yes	Yes	
WarmAgeWood	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Groundwork NE&C	Yes				Trustees
GWK Greenhouse					Trustees
GWK Woodshed					
GWKLand Oak & Iron					
Woodshed Workshop	Yes		Yes	Embryonic	

Key:

	Critical

Table 16: Expertise Type Available and Critical at Start-up

	Occupational Expertise	Place Expertise	Sectoral Expertise (Rules of the Game)		
			Third	Public	Private
Lionmouth	Yes		Yes		Yes
Wear1Care	Yes				Yes
Alpaca Therapy	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Weardale Transport	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
WarmAgeWood	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Groundwork NE&C	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
GWK Greenhouse	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
GWK Woodshed	-	-	Yes	Yes	-
GWKLand Oak & Iron	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Woodshed Workshop	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Key:

	Critical
-	Lack data

Table 17: Expertise Type Available and Critical to Sustaining

	Occupational Expertise	Place Expertise	Sectoral Expertise (Rules of the Game)		
			Third	Public	Private
Lionmouth	Yes	Yes	Yes L	Yes L	Yes
Wear1Care	Yes				Yes
Alpaca Therapy	Yes	Yes			Yes
Weardale Transport	Yes	Yes		Yes L	
WarmAgeWood	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes
Groundwork NE&C	Yes	(REGION)	Yes	Yes	Yes
GWK Greenhouse	Yes	-	-	-	Yes
GWK Woodshed	-	-	-	-	-
GWKLand Oak & Iron	-	-	-	-	-
Woodshed Workshop	-	-	-	-	-

Key:

	Critical
L	Learnt on the job
-	Lack data

5.1.4 Institutional Resourcing

As outlined in Chapter 2 the effects of broader institutional context on the nature of SEs has received, and continues to receive, significant attention in the academic literature. The findings here reflect conclusions from previous studies, with strong evidence of a SE ecosystem heavily integrated into the delivery of public services and the third sector, with reliance on these sectors for economic resourcing to both start-up and to sustain SEs. As Tables 19 and 20 evidence, in all the cases, bar two, public sector and or third sector economic capital was critical in start-up. In all bar one of the cases public sector contracts are critical sources of income for sustaining.

Table 18: Where Economic Capital is Sourced to Start-up

	Founder Family/ Business		Public sector grants	Public sector asset transfer	Third sector grants	Loan/ Social investment	Private trade	Public sector market
Lionmouth	Yes	Farm	Yes		Yes		Yes	
Wear1Care	Yes						Yes	Yes
Alpaca Therapy	Yes	Farm	EU via L				Yes	Yes
Weardale Transport			N					
WarmAgeWood	-					Yes	Yes	
Groundwork NE&C			L&N					
GWK Greenhouse	-		L & N & RDA & EU	Land		Yes		
GWK Woodshed	-		-	Premises	-			
GWK Land Oak & Iron	-		L	Land	Yes			
Woodshed Workshop	Yes			Premises		Yes	Yes	Yes

Key:

	Critical
-	Lack data
L	Local public sector £
N	National government £
RDA	Regional Development Agency
EU	European Union

Table 19: Where Economic Capital is Sourced to Sustain SE

	Third sector grants	Public sector contracts	Private sector trade	Private grants &/ CSR vols	Individual vols	Founder Family/ Business
Lionmouth	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Subsidises
Wear1Care		Yes			Yes	
Alpaca Therapy	Yes	Yes	**			Subsidises
Weardale Transport	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	
WarmAgeWood			Yes	Yes	Yes	
Groundwork NE&C	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
GWK Greenhouse			Yes			
GWK Woodshed						
GWKLand Oak & Iron						
Woodshed Workshop	Aim	Aim	Aim			

Key:

	Critical

Public sector finance in the SE start-up stories takes the form of small grants – for example, local authority (LA) grant-funded pilot projects. Pilots resulted in developing founder expertise and the opportunity to test business models. Public and third sector funding pays for staff salaries, researches and demonstrates need, provides pilots and evidence of success, pays for capital costs, or subsidises start-up via affordable temporary premises.

The financial resources from local and national institutions at start-up stage included grants, contracts, social investment, property and reduced cost minibuses. Public sector investment in and/or commitment to societal goods provided a safe space for piloting and testing SE:

> *"She was into alpacas, so she instantly got it. She knew what we were talking about .. [and] managed to get some money from the Police and Crime Commissioner to run a pilot… We did a few different pilots.. [one] about desistence, what was drawing people to crime … .. the pilot we got from the council was about addressing young people's social and emotional difficulties. We run a pilot to see if people would access the provision and what they would get out of it. and what they got out of it, which I didn't anticipate, was friendship .. I didn't consider that at first ... I underestimated that, that social inclusion."*

Case 3 Founder

> *"we built The Greenhouse 13 years ago .. it was my project, … but I only got [the idea] because I pinched it from my colleague in South Tyneside, [laughing] … well, you know, no good idea is original .. I did spot that there was still the money knocking around with Regional Development Agency. I thought if I can get some of that get some European money, get a loan, maybe I could build. So, we did, so that was our first real bit of social enterprise."*

Case 7 Founder & Case 6 CEO

It is noteworthy that although WarmAgeWood was not reliant on public sector grants to start- up, the local authorities commitment to social value did provide market research for the enterprise. In fact, the SE was set up in response to a previous fuel poverty project housed within the local authority, which both the founder father and son had been involved in. The project, funded in part by the local Clinical Commissioning Group, was focused on long term poor health conditions exacerbated by poor home heating. It evidenced the disparity between rural and town-based participants, and seeded the idea for the SE.

In the case of Lionmouth it is philanthropic grant finance that is deemed critical to start-up:

> *"fortunately at that time we had the funding of the Tudor trust which was fundamental, without the Tudor trust this place wouldn't have been here."*

Case 1 Founder husband

> *"when we first started just about 100% was from grants until we got the contract then something like 70:30 or even 80:20. Last year it wasn't much on the grant front but again its picked up again this year. I think we been very lucky in that every year so far we've had an Awards for All for the potter and the arts and we had a woodland one and cooking. So we try and spread them around, so what we get in from the clients usually pays salaries and the grants is for projects. when we first started the grants were for sustainability and survival."*

Case 1 Manager

The two older SEs, WCT and GWK, were both established during the post foot and mouth disease era of national funding committed to rural development, and both were one of many examples of local community partnerships and community transport schemes, and local Groundwork Trusts. Both were set up as charities before legislation for community interest companies was enacted. Neither were set up explicitly as SEs, and were reliant on grant funding when they started, but both have evolved to that business model as marketization of public services, the era of austerity and shifts in grant funding have changed.

Both are successful examples of the model and in both their narratives feature stories of other, less successful versions of their own model, who had not managed to thrive in the new funding landscape. In the example of GWK, the current organisation is in fact an amalgamation of small local GWKs across the north of England which have agglomerated for survival, deliberately have been merged to compete with other larger VCS organisations and private companies tendering for large government contracts.

In two of the newer cases, WarmAgeWood and Woodshed Workshop, private sector social investment is reported as critical to their start-up. While this could be interpreted as indications of the private sector becoming more involved in supporting SE start-up, it is important to highlight the role of national legislation in creating an enabling context for social investment from private companies, and for directly funding and SE support like the School for Social Entrepreneurs which both these cases benefited from. As noted in the introduction, national government support via Big Society Capital and making dormant funds available for social investment is very prominent.

It is interesting to note that this reliance on grant funding remains important for newer SEs (see Table 16 and 18), with a central role still played by third sector and public sector grants. While grants are seemingly now less about covering running costs and remaining grant reliant, and more about supporting start-up with a view to enterprises trading good and services. Evidence of reliance on grants to start and to a degree to sustain SEs seems to counter the narrative reported in Chapter 4 of the funding landscape having shifted. It would also appear to run counter to the narrative of social entrepreneurs taking on the entire financial risks of a SE and starting and sustaining without recourse to third sector and public sector grants. With even those SE who take up private sector social investment enabled to do so because of shifts in taxation and enabling legislation and funding from national government.

As well as grants, for many of these SEs premises and land are a critical SE start-up resources. Weardale Community Transport and Groundwork originally relied on public sector grants to pay for their premises. Evidence from other cases point to the importance of no/low cost/risk land and premises and other forms of public sector resources at start-up. Four cases rely on partnerships with and asset transfer from local authorities. In the case of all the GWK subsidiary SEs local authorities provided the land or the premises. Woodshed Workshop also benefits from asset transfer of premises and land previously owned by their local authority.

Two of the SE cases rely on the founder families and friendships to provide and subsidise the cost of their land. In both the cases which rely on farmland the founder families bought the land or the founder's family business subsidises the rent of the land. Where premises and storage could have been a problem for WAW at start-up this was solved by friends storing the briquettes and a local friend finding and making available space in the local theatre, itself an established local SE. Wear1Care was enabled by their private landlord entering into a flexible tenancy.

Other observations in the ecosystem signal the importance of dedicated SE premises and hubs, with the Sunderland BIC, SE Acumen, and the founder of Woodshed Workshop all developing hub spaces for local SEs and charities. All three examples are the direct result of public sector involvement, for example asset transfer.

5.1.5 Funding Mosaic

The evidence from the cases is of a varied array of types of funding to support start-up, and many different routes to access it, with SE founders and managers having to learn the art of funding mixology to access and manage different pots of money. The primary purpose of grant funding and other flexible/ low risk finance like social investment at the start-up stage is to test and establish the SE business model.

Case 3, Alpaca Therapy, a SE set up alongside an existing private family business, demonstrates the financial dexterity of the SE founders and is an indicator of an additional load generated by applying for and evidencing output for the different grants and contracts. Their list of start-up grant funding and trading activities includes: grant money from the local Police and Crime Commissioner; grants from a local district partnership; a subcontract to support training and employability funded with EU funding via the local authority; National Lottery Awards for All grants; Public Health grants; Neighbourhood Budget grants; a People's Health Trust grant; support and capital grants provided by Big Potential - a government backed scheme funded by the National Lottery; and small contracts for supporting local mental health and crime cessation. As well as applying for and administering each of these grants, and applying for all those which were not successful, the SE founder was also running multiple businesses on the farm to ensure the family business continued to generate income. Interestingly the one SE not accessing grant money to start-up is W1C. When asked why not the manager of case 2 explained "too much effort".

At the sustaining stage, common across the cases is their reliance on public sector contracts (see Table 19). For example, contracts to provide adult social care, alternative education for school-aged young people, NHS patient transport, and in the case of GWK multiple different contracts with local and national government departments, agencies and spin-outs, like local housing authorities, Environment Agency, and local Rivers Trusts.

At the sustaining stages of the SEs the two critical resources identified are money sourced from public sector contracts and, or, from private customers, and the paid and unpaid labour of expert management and staff. These two resources work in a self-perpetuating, chicken and egg, relationship sustaining the SE with finance generated by occupational experts and paying for that expertise. Of the seven selected primary cases, public sector finance via different contractual arrangements is critical in sustaining six cases. And the SEs' reputation, for taking on challenging clients, or for delivering quality care and services, is repeatedly asserted as the reason why public sector contracts are renewed and new ones added to the mix:

> *"we know a lot of people … we are known by a lot of partners … seen as a fairly stable and secure organisation, the fact that … we haven't withered on the vine, even though it has crippled us but most people wouldn't know that hopefully… I think we are also known for being able to often doing the more difficult thing …[local authorities, Environmental Agency, National Lottery] they know that many people wouldn't be able to knit it all together ... they see that we are quite good a providing solutions"*

Case 6 CEO

Though it is well evidenced that UK SEs deliver public services and rely on local and national government contracts, the findings of the analysis highlight the importance of different avenues to start-up finance and support from local and national government. Amongst the cases start-up grants and asset transfer from the public sector supported seven of ten cases to start-up, with third sector grants or social investment supporting all three of the remaining cases. In the next section the conversion of institutional resources – grants and contracts is explored, including how these packages of support are sourced by founders and SE teams and how they are converted to SE activity.

5.2 Accessing and converting resources

Having identified - 'what' the important resources are, and 'where' these are sourced, the next research sub-question asks 'how' these are accessed. To answer this question different components of the capability frameworks, individual conversion factors, institutional and societal conversion factors, and values and choices are pared down, and relationships between these components have been evidenced. Common patterns of conversion of key resources to SE activity, identified across different SE journey types, point to collective action, interpersonal dynamics, and bringing together different sets of expertise to convert institutional resources.

The findings outlined below reflect multi-stage and multi-level resourcing realities of SEs. They point to collective actions being critical to understanding how SEs more generally are started and sustained. In this way the data challenges the heroic, solo, social entrepreneur construct. However, at the same time as challenging the heroic architype, the analysis reveals the importance of individuals bringing together, managing and maintaining the collective. And traits of the key founders and managers emerge are crucial. In the narratives there are instances where these are directly linked to converting resources. However, while these traits and characteristics are present it is also their effect on the collective, and as features shared with other individuals in the collectives that their resource conversion potential is demonstrated. In other words, it is founder individuals' ability to galvanise their families, and to gather people with similar values and the right expertise, and to maintain those relationships which seem to set these individuals apart, and it is their social connections and ongoing shared personal histories that helps to maintain their working relationships.

The evidence presented pinpoints how this is done at start-up and sustaining stages, with the focus on personal resources and interpersonal conversions, and on institutional resources and interlevel conversions. The primary resource converted via Interpersonal conversions is unpaid expert labour. Interlevel conversions primarily convert sets of financial resources, grants and social investment at start-up, and grants and public sector contracts when sustaining. These interlevel conversions require the combination of institutional and societal resources and individuals using their own personal conversion factors.

Common themes of conversion emerge from the multiple stages of coding and theming which ultimately built the theory of resource conversion presented in Figures 14 and 15. These illustrate interpersonal and interlevel conversion factors identified via second, third and fourth order coding of the SE narratives. The analysis revealed critical themes, for example: differentiating shared values from processes of value sharing which generate and maintain a shared identity and that sense of the constructed SE Family which converts individuals' unpaid labour; and disentangling sets of occupational versus sectoral expertise, highlighting the importance of sectoral expertise to convert institutional resources.

5.2.1 Individual Conversion Factors, Interpersonal Conversions

The analysis points to qualities important to the central individual founder. Individual founder traits identified as important include are acceptance of risk, persistence in the face of initial failed start-up, amenability, individual legitimacy, willingness to network and to learn, individual social responsibility, and persistence. In combination these sets of factors convert finance, unpaid labour, and institutional resources, often via expertise of, and connections into, institutions with suitable bundles of economic resources. The conversion of institutional resources are presented in section 5.2.4. Here the focus in on factors and processes of interpersonal conversion.

Individual financial risk in the form of the risk of income insecurity was, not surprisingly, also part of the mix in SE founder's start-up stories. The importance of individual social responsibility and shared familial household values in the processes of the risk taking is underlined by the fact that in three of the cases founders and management staff took economic risks establishing and running SEs over the alternative of more secure employment and income in the public, private or third sectors:

> *"to get something like this going you've got to fly by the seat of your pants, and make opportunities, take opportunities, see opportunities."*

Case 1 Founder's husband

> *"when we originally left Gateshead to come here I actually had two separate offers to come and set up a private business, which would have seen us well paid, because everyone just comes in here and [says] 'you should just make this for yourself you'd have loads of money' … but I'm not motivated that way. "*

Case 7 Founder

> *"it was massive because we walked away with nothing without our redundancy or anything. But I was really lucky that me dad helped us. He give us some money to keep us going - cause obviously, you weren't getting a wage or anything."*

Case 2 Founder 2

> *"my motivation? why I handed me notice in, with a pension [laugh] and lose 9 thousand pound? It felt right. That's about as much as I can say. I knew I had support from the parents and carers group ... At the time I didn't feel supported by DCC. I felt like we were letting people down [if we just closed]. 'Cause we*

> *were telling people where to go rather than asking people where they wanted to go … I couldn't have done it without the other directors"*

Case 2 Founder Manager

A different type of risk is evident on the start-up story of GWK Greenhouse.

> *"that was our first real bit of SE. And we had people on the board who were up for it.. . that was quite interesting we had a board who were prepared to take some risks in a measured way, because we built a building that cost us more to build than our annual turnover … with European funding [knowingly], so it was a big deal for us… They were prepared to take the risk because they had confidence in the business plan and in the way that I presented it. I tried to mitigate the risk I tried to obviously … but at times it was very, concerning"*

Case 6 CEO

In addition to accepting risk and individual social responsibility (ISR), founder or founder family legitimacy, in different forms, emerges as important components for motivating others, to converting others' resources.

Interviews with staff and partners evidence that legitimacy takes different forms. In one case the founder family name and its symbolic legitimacy in their shared occupation is identified as one of the reasons one key member of staff took her post. In another case the founder's personal history and own experiences of the challenges the SE beneficiaries face is evidently the source of his legitimacy. From the interviews what is clear is that these different types of legitimacy motivate others to contribute, and to work harder and longer.

As SEs move from starting to sustaining, individual legitimacy morphs into organisational legitimacy, with individual traits being shared, and morphing into SE traits. Founder legitimacy morphs to SE organisational legitimacy and positive reputation, through repeated acts of value sharing and enacting by other individuals in the collective. Staff and volunteers feel they belong to the organisation and so share some of the legitimacy. Founders, managers and staff also make use of the arrangements of their different governance structures to display legitimacy and motivate the performance of the SE values.

The pivotal function of founder family and the Constructed SE Family in many of the SE narratives is a novel finding. The collective frameworks of cases 1,2,3,5,10 (Fig 28-30, 32, 35) all point to different combinations of strong ties of family, and, or, of longstanding friendships, of shared values relating to occupational choices and, or, to personal histories, and of sharing a sense of individual social responsibility (ISR) as the motivators for key individuals at both stages to give their expertise.

Conversion factors identified at start-up include the strong bonds of family and friendships, different occupational and sectoral expertise, and individual and familial social responsibility. Different expertise are evidenced from previous job roles referenced in interviews, and from individuals' Linkedin pages. Examples include expertise in adult social care, in horticulture and green therapy, and across local authority departments.

Combined with legitimacy of the founder and/or key management, amenableness, and the ability to develop social connections is also evidenced as critical.

> *"We moved into the Witham before, we did that for a winter because they felt sorry for D. and he managed to get a place in the exhibition room, and nobody had taken the exhibition room it was the early days of the Witham. So we stayed there for the winter… Again, he had a great a rapport with Sid, normally the Witham would have charge … It's again charm" [laughter]*

Case 5, Shop Volunteers 1 and 2

In this example from Lionmouth the founder husband describes how his newly established relationship with the head of the Tudor Trust oiled an extension for the project. Though the extension is likely to have been in the interests of the grantor as well as LRC it is another example of amenableness and relationship building:

> *"fortunately I had struck up a good relationship with the guy who was heading up the trust because it got to a point where .. we couldn't make the salaries for the next year .. So, we had to be quite honest, we said 'look if we can't find some money from somewhere it will fold, all the money you've stuck in to date will go down the pan. over to you. What can you do?' and he was great, he said 'ok we'll*

back you, but this is the last call', because he could see it just hadn't quite taken off. Again, that was very much down to - like a lot of things in life are, personal chemistry, the fact that the guy could see that we were only within an ace of making it work."

Case 1, Founder family husband

5.2.2 Storytelling

An individual's legitimacy motivates others by being shared and communicated. While legitimacy and values are communicated via action, they need to also be communicated via stories. Several related codes emerge within the important theme of storytelling, suggesting founder individuals' legitimacy, amenableness, and their storytelling abilities repeatedly convert resources at start-up. Sustaining organisational legitimacy and collective commitment also requires repeated storytelling.

Storytelling, though not immediately, or always explicitly, is implicit in founders' ability to convince individuals and institutions of a cause or idea, and to provide grant funding or investment. In this extract a founder of W1C discusses how his conversation with their landlord and the effects of his amenableness, the legitimacy from their 'not-for-profit' clause and his storytelling are clear:

"this place. always looked boarded up. I got in touch with the owner of this building and it went from there, we had a meeting... All this side of the building was empty. It hadn't been used for ages, it was stinking, it was derelict. He was quite happy that someone was gonna come in. We explained who we were, what we did, what a rush it was, that we were gonna be a not-for-profit company. He said, normally he takes a massive deposit, and he would have us sign lease agreements, so we could be tied in for six month. [But,] because of who were, and what we were doing, he waivered all that. Basically, its month to month. It works fine because .. we didn't know whether it was gonna be viable ... we didn't have any capital. So that was that. "

W1C Founder 1

Lots of storytelling evidenced in the interviews focuses on the SE premises and their development, the work the land or the building required, and the quality of the SE's core work. The premises, their development and maintenance are important components of the SEs and the constructed SE families. Evidence presented below point to the premises being an important focal point of the family, a place where values are shared and enacted, and shared values are presented beyond the core constructed SE family.

5.2.3 The Making and Maintaining of a SE Family

Concepts of Constructed SE Family and Extended Family, which emerge from the analysis and interpretation of SE stories of starting and sustaining, again signal the importance of shared personal values and start to reveal the importance of maintaining and nurturing shared values and of effectively communicating values. In other words of both shared and sharing values.

The analysis highlighted different individual processes which generate the sense of family. The important role of the type of leader who can lead the collective emerges as crucial to motivating individual conversions that make up the collective SE. Cumulatively the leadership and the multiple conversions generate the environment in which individuals repeatedly choose to convert the resources available to them to achieve the collective mission of the SE. These processes motivate repeated, financial self-exploitation, pointing to the logic of SE for those involved being more complicated than that of the profit maximizing individual of the market.

The bonds of the Constructed SE Families, in contrast to the long established and strong connections of founder families, have to be made new, maintained and renewed. Second cycle codes that emerged from bottom-up analysis of the case data suggest several common themes answering how this is done. They include a number of codes under the theme of shared identity, for example: shared past, shared occupational values, othering; and sharing values, storytelling and retelling, reciprocity and quality, and shared ownership and pride.

In data collection examples of SE Family making and maintaining was often observed when groups were together and responding to the researchers' questions in tandem. Again from LRC, below the shared identity of 'being self-employed' is one strand of shared identity of the SE Family that holds the group together and that helps motivate them to continue to provide their unpaid labour, as if they were working for themselves (see Box 1).

Box 1: Extract from the conversation while having lunch with Case 1 staff

> *My motivation at the start was, we only had six months funding, didn't we? And it was, 'well its six months of doing something absolutely wonderful'.*
>
> Manager 1
>
> *Yeah. or standing on the markets. Am I going to make any money? I don't know. am I not going to make any money? I don't know.*
>
> Staff 1
>
> *think the biggest thing is the believing its gonna work. [yeah] And if you've got that belief I think you can make anything happen.*
>
> Manager 2
>
> *and its like - not a hundred percentage, its 500 percent effort. to make it work. yeah? working every hour gods sends not like these fluffy offices and 'well i clocked in nine and I worked an extra half an hour so I want .. and I want three days off.*
>
> Staff 1
>
> *this is a lifestyle. self-employment is a lifestyle. But you've always got to meet the financial goals. And the other goals. And sometimes you don't, but you still go on.*
>
> Manager 2
>
> *That's what I'm trying to say, there with the belief side, if you go in thinking is it, is it not? you're never gonna give it 110percent and run with it. If you go in thinking yes this can work, we've all got enough about us to make it work, then, bam. Then you're gonna get that out of yourself and it will come through in everything you do. it does. It's just belief isn't it.*
> *I think the minute everybody sits here and thinks what if, what if, what if? But do you know what I mean? It's inevitable that's gonna creep in at some point but, if we all just sat and said 'ooh?', then I think the negatives would start to creep in, then things would start to crumble.*
>
> Manager 2

At Woodshed Workshop when asked what the glue is that holds the group together two members of staff emphasised their sense of belonging and commitment (see Box 2)

Box 2: Case 7, Staff in conversation

> *"I don't know whether I dare say [the founder] out loud because I don't want him to have that off of me [laughing]. Undoubtedly, it's his bloody enthusiasm but I think we're all [the glue]. The common denominator is that we all have a drive and a determination to make things better, and valuing people as individuals and what they can bring to the scenario. And none of us are from [pause] I wouldn't say anyone is from above working class, none of us have had silver spoons to fall on. "*
>
> Staff 1
>
> *"I think there's an underlying thread for the four of us who are employees we all have the same values, and everyone has the opportunity to find what their own self- worth is, and Fred is a very good example of that. Before he came to us he didn't think he was smart he didn't think he could do anything and now suddenly he's really he's…"*
>
> Staff 2
>
> *"he's a really clever lad, academically clever."*
>
> Staff 1

Commonly in the cases occupational identity, or identity based on shared sense of belonging to a place, is the origin/foundation for shared values and ethos which seems to permeate through the work and responses of these enterprises. At Lionmouth and Wear1Care this is repeatedly stated and demonstrated by the commitment to the quality care of their clients which appears core to their shared identity.

In the remote rural cases of Weardale Community Transport and Warm Age Wood, and to a degree Woodshed Workshop, it is notable that the sense of belonging to a place and shared experiences of that place seem to perform a similar role to occupational identity observed in Lionmouth and Wear1Care. In the remote rural cases shared experience of rurality, the belief that rural communities 'look after their own' and always have out of necessity, the experience of rural isolation with aging, and the stated assertion that other areas do not experience the same difficulties, all come together and help to bind the staff and volunteers in the SE families.

The use of 'othering' – for example to validate their own services in contrast to those of other providers, or their rural experiences in contrast to more urban communities - to establish and renew their own identities, is common across the cases and indicative of the building and maintaining of each community. In interviews with founder of Alpaca Therapy the fact they take the most challenging of clients requiring alternative education, justifying larger payments than other providers, is a great source of pride and one which she feels clearly sets them apart At Lionmouth the breadth of their horticultural expertise, and the fact that they explicitly aim to share their knowledge and to share their site with the local community, is another version of othering which they connect to their governance as a CIC, setting them apart from straight PPP business.

Repetition of the stories and of different features of their identity point to the ongoing work required to maintain the Constructed SE family and sense of belonging. At Lionmouth repeated acts of inclusion and participation build on the ‘middle cog’ of horticulture and their values of green therapy. These acts include the five-year business planning all staff contribute to, nurturing of their shared entrepreneurial identity, repeated acts of seasonal maintenance, planting and harvesting, weekly meal sharing on Food Fridays. Many of these routines and values are shared on social media along with explicit displays of family, of belonging, and of the SEs ethos. The interview extract below (Box 3) is one excellent example of shared telling of their own stories with their SE story. It was recorded when three of the core SE team were sat together outside, in the sunshine, having their lunch with the lads, sharing their daily lunchtime, one of their SE rituals. The connection between the three women was palpable, and when one hesitated or stumbled on their response another would pick up where she left off. Their pride and satisfaction with what they have achieved together is apparent. And their commitment to ‘the lads’, the adults in their care, to their ethos of sustainability and to the efficacy of green therapy is repeatedly evident, as is their sense of belonging, of shared contribution and of pride in the results they each play a part in. Box 3:

Box 3: Extract from the conversation while having lunch with Case 1 staff

> *"This is not just our project … We've made .. the whole site .. accessible to the general public … We're encouraging everybody to be part of it … we've created walkways that wouldn't exist without us… "*
>
> Manager 2
>
> *"We're teaching people skills. Environmental skills."*
>
> Staff 1
>
> *"Sharing knowledge."*
>
> Manager 2
>
> *"And the uniqueness of this environment for the guys who attend, we tick about every single environmental element .. The psychology side .. "*
>
> Staff 1
>
> *"Mental wellbeing."*
>
> Manager 1
>
> *"… It's almost a feeling of comradery because they're coming to work. It's not just depending on something, its being part of something. The whole site runs with everybody, part of the cogs."*
>
> Manger 2
>
> *"we all went to Houghall FE College .. but we all went off on our different vocations in life .. gardening ... nurseries .. markets… So, we've all got different experiences of life .. of different people ... We are bringing our personal skills on site."*
>
> Manager 2
>
> *"We've all built up qualifications in and around, horticulture's like the middle cog, we've all gone off and .. pooling all those skills back on this site."*
>
> Manager 1
>
> *"pretty much all of us have been self -employed at one point or another. And I think once you've had that you can do anything, and you're not frightened to do it. And I think that's always there. Isn't it?" [said confidently and reassuringly]*
>
> Manager 2
>
> *"Yeah. It's there because we've been and done it"*
>
> Staff 1

The 'sense of family' appears to be generated in these cases by the ethos of the founder and, or, management, permeating through the team and constantly being maintained by small acts of identify renewal, community-making and maintaining. These and other features of SE management indicate a particular type of leadership. Many of these acts of renewal connect the inner circle of SE Family with the outer circle, the Extended SE Family. Members of the extended family have different bonds from buying plants, to volunteering, to funders and local social workers.

At Lionmouth, Wear1Care, Weardale Community Transport, WarmAgeWood and at Woodshed, stories of pre-existing relationships of work and friendship are evidently told and re-told, serving to maintain and strengthen bonds. In this way the identity work of founders and managers is shared amongst the team.

In this extract below (Box 4), from Woodshed Workshop, the sense of connection, belonging and pride is evident as two long term friends, one a member of staff and one a regular volunteer, talk affectionately about their relationship, and retell their Woodshed Workshop story about how one of them got the job, before concluding the chat expressing their commitment to the SE Founder. From the reactions around the rest of the team It is obvious this story has been told and retold many times - as is often the case in familial families.

Box 4 : Extract from conversation with Woodshed Workshop staff and a volunteer

"I've known him years .. he's been stuck with us for about 12 year, 15 year. [laughing] that's why people call we man and wife. We're really good friends. I was a volunteer, I kept pestering him 'George you have to come up here' 'why' 'because its woodwork you'll like it' 'ah right I'll go to see me, advisor' – he goes to see his advisor 'o yes Mr G go get yerself away' … He loved it, volunteered and then got a job"

Volunteer 1

" So, I volunteered for aboot a year. A job came up, well you've got to try for a job ain't ya, and I ended up getting there."

Staff 4

"yes cause we all stood and we said 'we don't want him, we don't want him, we don't want him', and we literally refused to come out this portacabin until he got the job"

Volunteer 1

"cause I think the suns shines out of [the founder] like, ..he's changed some of the young 'uns lives."

Staff 4

At the same time as sharing occupational identity and values, and validating the SE Family with stories of belonging and shared experience some of these cases appear to validate their sense of family with daily and weekly routines, using their premises to convey their values, with pets, and by performing their sense of family to on social media (see Table 19 for examples).

It is notable that the theme of commitment and action founded on family and friendship is not as prominent in the two trustee-run, charitable SEs. Both the SEs governed as charities were established because of the promise of grant funding from government institutions, and both brought together trustees with loose social connections based in place, faith or occupation, often without any prior relationship at all. Trustees, unlike directors cannot be paid. It may be an indication that the type and, or, level of trust is different when individuals are balancing contributions of paid and unpaid labour. Perhaps when labour is formally charitable other implicit or explicit agreements of trust are at work. Perhaps reliant more on public reputation and institutionalized rules of governance. The two trustee-run SEs, WCT and GWK, are both government-funded at start-up. The latter was essentially set up as a quango, professionalised from the start. In the final section of this chapter this difference is discussed further.

Beyond the core Constructed SE Family, analysis highlights processes of sharing SE values and of extending the SE family. Just as the storytelling by founders and staff converts resources within the Constructed SE Family, and shared values, shared legitimacy and existing social connections fosters and supports the making and maintaining of the SE Family, sharing values and organisational legitimacy is evidenced in processes of converting resources from beyond the constructed SE Family - with volunteers, customers, and funders.

In the next extract a co-founder of WarmAageWood talks not only of the role that their shop premises play in providing beneficiaries with a space to gather, but also talks about his own learning – of how important that sense of community is, of being part of something and of sharing in that SE identity.

> *"The shop, it's a place for people to come in, buy things. But, its weird little things that go on there .. people just drop in have a conversation, have a cup of tea and just talk, do some knitting, not do some knitting .. chat about stuff, then leave. This woman I was talking to. She was going to do the shopping, she'd get halfway home, come in, sit down, stay for half an hour, and that was the start of her then coming in a bit more and being part of it.*

I think the organisation has been able to sustain because it's building a community of people who care. And that is absolutely vital to any social organisation .. building that community of people who basically give a shit, you probably don't want to write that ... But it is, you have to have that goal. It's very difficult for social organisations to go alone, for social entrepreneurs to go alone. It's not like you can go to a venture capitalist, you need people around you. In a community business you need the community to be there. Because what else have you got.

I think the more you start to do it, the more you realise … before, we were just doing it because it felt right, but now I can take a step back and think actually a bit more, a bit wider… and think, well that it is actually fundamental. Back then, you're just doing it because you need a bit of help, and some people, and, you know, it just feels right."

Case 5 Founder 3

The community of people this interviewee is referring to is the constructed and extended SE Family of like-minded and motivated people. It is at the point, in the shared SE values and the storytelling, that the SE shifts from start-up to sustaining in Figures 16 and 17.

Customer service and visitors' welcome is another example of sharing values and ethos, observed across cases, in staff interaction with paying customers. In all cases the customer service was exceptional, whether it was selling a plant from the nursery at Lionmouth with all the horticultural expertise that went with it, or if it was the care taken by the older volunteer when telephoning to arrange the Wheels to Meals activities with elderly customers of Weardale Community Transport, or the time taken to welcome customers, clients, volunteers or visitors into Woodshed Workshop's retail shop.

This offering 'over and above' the baseline for what they are paid for, in each and every interaction, and delivering a quality service, is another feature value sharing, and present a sense that people were being welcomed into a family, and that their place in that extended family was valued. Examples of the display and performance of shared identity amongst the Extended SE Family are the regular communications via Facebook, or in the case of Weardale Community Transport via the monthly newsletter. At WCT the telephone calls to service users and the newsletter is an example of a virtuous circle, voluntary labour in each creates its own sense of identity and community and self and maintains not only the client community but also a wider sense of ownership amongst the wider community on non-users.

It is telling that the CEO of Groundwork, the large VCS organisation, reminisced about being able to take time to provide more than the customer was paying for, over and above consideration of the profit margin, before the organisation had to grow and become ‘more business-like’ (discussed further in Chapter 6).

On SE’s Facebook pages pictures and posts are shared just like any other family does (see Table 19). As this Extended SE Family is developed and nurtured this converts resources (finance and labour) from individual customers and volunteers, and another virtuous circle of SE activity and identity develops, with positive reputation and organisational legitimacy an outcome (see Figures 16, 17 and the Collective SE Capability Frameworks Appendices 4-11).

As well as quality provision and customer service, other features of SEs’ ethos were observed such as reciprocity. It was notable, for example, that all the participants, bar two, including SEs founders, CEOs, managers, directors, trustees and volunteers – made time in their busy days to be interviewed, often multiple times, and agreed immediately without any return to them. When thanked, the Lionmouth manager responded with the comment “that’s what we do”, while other SE founder stated they just wanted to help to make it easier for other people establishing SEs in the future, that they just wanted more good work done, and encouraged the competition. Immediately agreeing to take part in the research was coded under the theme of reciprocity, an act of giving for which participants saw no immediate reward for themselves but still took part.

The theme of reciprocity is conceptualised in the frameworks as a value, another example of founders and manager acting out shared values, with staff and volunteers also agreeing to sharing their work time and their free time to participate.

In this section it is important to note that the acts of reciprocity, like other acts of value sharing, repeatedly reinforce the sense of identity and pride in that identity, which is seemingly bound into a sense of belonging. And so, the SE Family and Extended Family perpetuates itself. A virtuous circle is generated whereby these acts reinforce beliefs and identity and then become family stories that can be told and retold.

Storytelling, and value and identity performance, are commonly observed features of those cases with a strong sense of family. Examples from SE websites, blogs and in particular their Facebook pages are listed in Table 19. Development of the SE Premises features heavily in the start-up stories, and seem to provide excellent opportunities for SE to make their presence felt online and locally. These SE Premises act like the SE Family home reflecting the SEs' identities and values (this is particularly true in cases 1,2,5,7, also true in case 4 however different due to context and nature of organisation).

Table 20: Examples of shared values and of value sharing include:

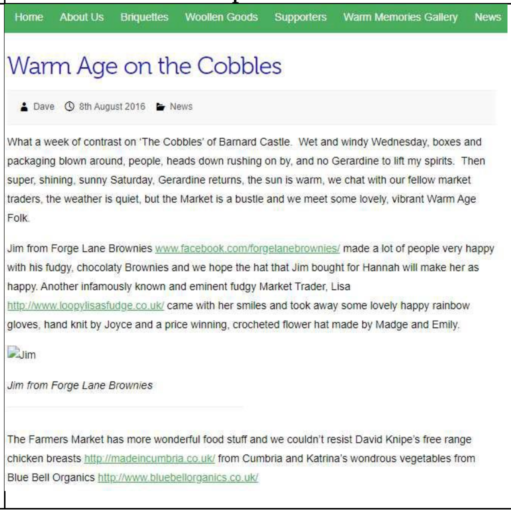
LRC	Personalised SE premises reflect their ethos and values	Regular posts of Finn the Dog the SE Pet	Weekly FB posts of Foodie Friday with staff and 'the lads'
		 	
WAW	Personalised, home-made features of the SE premises and the shop's displays reflect their ethos and values	Blogs on the company website include one about manning the stall on the market, evidence of reciprocity is abundant with links to customers and links to other local producers	Bi-weekly knitting circles for friends and volunteer knitters to connect Here the founder explains the new knitting idea in the local newspaper article
		 Home About Us Briquettes Woollen Goods Supporters Warm Memories Gallery News Warm Age on the Cobbles Dave 8th August 2016 News What a week of contrast on 'The Cobbles' of Barnard Castle. Wet and windy Wednesday, boxes and packaging blown around, people, heads down rushing on by, and no Gerardine to lift my spirits. Then super, shining, sunny Saturday, Gerardine returns, the sun is warm, we chat with our fellow market traders, the weather is quiet, but the Market is a bustle and we meet some lovely, vibrant Warm Age Folk. Jim from Forge Lane Brownies www.facebook.com/forgelanebrownies/ made a lot of people very happy with his fudgy, chocolaty Brownies and we hope the hat that Jim bought for Hannah will make her as happy. Another infamously known and eminent fudgy Market Trader, Lisa http://www.loopylisasfudge.co.uk/ came with her smiles and took away some lovely happy rainbow gloves, hand knit by Joyce and a price winning, crocheted flower hat made by Madge and Emily. Jim *Jim from Forge Lane Brownies* The Farmers Market has more wonderful food stuff and we couldn't resist David Knipe's free range chicken breasts http://madeincumbria.co.uk/ from Cumbria and Katrina's wondrous vegetables from Blue Bell Organics http://www.bluebellorganics.co.uk/	**Knitters warm to presence on Barnard Castle high street** A TEMPORARY move from Barnard Castle market to a shop on the high street has been so successful for a group of knitters and a community interest company that they are extending their lease. Warm Age Wood, which uses profits from sales of briquettes and knitted products, to provide help for people in fuel poverty moved to the shop, in Market Place, late last year.  Mr Watson said knitters from the group will take over the shop on a Monday and Tuesday when he is out making deliveries. On these days they will learn new skills from each other while also sharing their knowledge with visitors. The scheme is due to begin in April and will be run by Mary O'Connor.

Table 20 continued:

<table>
<tr><td>WW</td><td>Pictures of the premises under development and some workers shared on FB and in blogs.</td><td>Multiple SEs sell their wares in the WW recycled furniture shops reflecting the reciprocal ethos of the SE. WW promotes other SE on FB.</td><td>Ad hoc FB post shares the value of volunteers. While the only framed picture in the workshop displays the poem “If”</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>

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</td></tr>
</table>

5.3 Interlevel Conversions, Societal Enabling and Institutional Resourcing

This section of the results focuses in on shared processes of converting resources from institutions to start and sustain the SEs. It identifies common enabling institutional and societal conversion factors, and combinations of conversion factors across the levels of the individual, the SE, and the SE's context. Three themes are explored: processes of gathering and learning sectoral expertise to access different sectoral resources; processes of networking, reciprocity and collaboration; and processes of local embedding. In this section common supportive components are identified across the cases alongside common challenges posed by shared context.

5.3.1 Gathering Sectoral Expertise

The primary common individual conversion factor identified as critical to converting institutional resources at start-up is sectoral expertise (see Table 16 and 18), and to a lesser degree, sectoral social connections. Here expertise refers to skills and knowledge accessed via strong bonds of social connections SEs can reliably call on repeated times. Across the SEs cases there is evidence of successful founders and founder groups, bringing together sectoral expertise, and engaging and channeling connections of friendships which provide important sectoral skills and knowledge.

Whereas occupational connections and values generate legitimacy and instill a sense of family - the internal dynamic of many of the SE cases - sectoral knowledge and expertise is an outward-looking feature of SEs. Sectoral skills and expertise identified across the cases includes grant writing, business planning, financial management, and knowledge of the rules of the games in the public, private, and third sectors. All these features, in various combinations, across the different SE types and, significantly, across the different scales, enabling SEs to benefit from different bundles of institutional economic resources. Notably occupational expertise, and to a large extent sectoral expertise, is commonly sourced from professional development and working within a local authority or a larger third sector organisation – key institutional level contextual enablers.

Bringing together staff, trustees, and directors with different sectoral expertise is critical in many of the narratives. The combination of different sectoral expertise – across the sectors – adds nuance to the concept of enterprization, suggesting it involves more than simply adding private sector skills to an existing mix. Sectoral expertise and knowledge of the rules of the different sectors, takes multiple different forms in the narratives, for example knowledge of writing grant application, banking and financial management, and of different groups of social workers who work with different client groups. It is interesting to note that though many founder families contained different cross-sectoral expertise – that is across third, public and private sectors. Where founders or founder families do not have a necessary component of sectoral expertise they seek to bring it into their organisation.

In the extracts below Woodshed Workshop's founder and a member of staff evidence how founder legitimacy, occupational and sectoral expertise are augmented with multiple sets of expertise in the public and private sectors that the founder gathers by learning and bringing people together. At the start of the first interview the founder explains the life and work experience he identifies as important to his SE's narrative:

> *"I was in care and went through most of the pit villages at Durham .. care homes, foster parents .. I left care at the age of 16 … so I lived in a tent in the woods … then I did some training and got into tree surgery … I moved .. had my son, and I started bringing him up on my own … I was part of the benefits system for a while, but then I started to study arboriculture more … did a degree … I started to work for charities, I found ... I was pretty good a working with people who had difficulties … working with people outside of the national curriculum, like alternative provision, people with disabilities mental health issues .. then I took a job over in Gateshead under Groundwork NE and Cumbria…. They were given this five-year lease on the site … when I was took on they wanted us to work with people on the Community Work Program … I suggested we did horticulture and woodwork. Using a lot of me own tools I converted one of the sort of buildings there into a wood workshop. and it just became really popular. "*

Case 10 Founder

He goes on to discuss his experience working in the local third sector during which he accesses training from both the Key Fund and the School for Social Entrepreneurs. Then talking about the SE's directors, the founder says:

> *"they were people that I've known who I thought would offer support in a very*

active way. Charlie, who was someone I'd met through running festivals because she's an events organizer, so I thought that's quite handy. Then Grant … who's a long term friend of mine who used to work for Santander delivering universities projects .. he's really good in terms of funding. Charlotte was someone I worked with quite a few times whose basically wanted an opportunity to support us … she is a graphic designer … Eric, he was a local businessman … He kept on saying set up as a business with him, I ended up saying 'well no, become a director of this' … Freida, she actually lives opposite us … But, she's also a senior lecturer in social marketing … Greg, he was the manager … [at Groundwork] … he still wanted to be involved with us."

Case 10 Founder

In this extract Kathy, the part-time project Co-ordinator of Woodshed Workshop talks about her expertise:

"I worked at DCC as an apprentice, you work in various department., I worked in Children and Young People worked in HR, worked in Environment, worked in Heritage.

… you get a benefit of learning all the disciplines .. lots of different things. I landed eventually in Regeneration … I was fast-tracked, then DCC went through another reorganisation .. I took voluntary redundancy … they wanted me to move into more strategic stuff … so I moved into voluntary sector doing exactly the same thing - finding money for projects and mobilizing communities.

Case 10 Project Co-ordinator

The case evidences multiple institutional resources converted to SE activity via the sectoral expertise. Below Kathy explains her part in converting the premises, the old Co-operative buildings to SE activity via asset transfer.

"I've worked for DCC and I know the frustrations as an officer of bureaucratic processes you have to go through for everything. The asset transfer is a legally binding document … so, you understand the reservations, and its quite

unprecedented … they've never done a lease of this kind before. Normally they do an asset transfer, but because this building is technically of no value, no rateable value .. because it not been used for so long, … they are actually passing on a liability rather than an asset. That's why it's been so complicated. … I think they found it a bit difficult to understand why we are doing what we are doing, what the financial consequences gonna be."

Case 10 Project Co-ordinator

In the case of the Weardale Community Transport the local authority and the Local Strategic Partnership (LSP) explicitly required local people to come together to run the charity, which was originally grant funded. When asked if there were any key individuals in the start-up process the trustees interviewed immediately pointed to expertise in the third sector as crucial to the process.

"The secretary of the partnership, she has been knocking around for a fair while, experience in local authorities, her husband worked for county council, she ran [a big local charity], so they had experience in that sector. Most of the others were actually volunteers, so no. It was always the idea because it came out of the community partnership, that was for the LSP, so the requirement was for local people rather than you need someone, whose a business mind on this. It was more people with local interest, so and you do tend to find that most business people aren't interested in joining, because they're busy being commercial."

Case 4 Trustee 1

As the SE cases develop over time the founders and managers build their individual and SE team's collective expertise across the public, private and charitable sectors. In the case of Weardale Community Transport one key member of staff's involvement with the region's community transport network was noted as important by the member of staff and by a trustee in the narrative building up to gaining the first contract with the North East Ambulance Service. And when the first tender was put in the group made use of a social contact to check their costing, and since they have brought in private sector expertise:

> *"the first tender was a learning curve, ... we got one of Gus' friends who did statistics, we got him involved to do costing, or help us do the costings of the running of the vehicles. and what it would involve, but it was a bit of a thumb in the air... since then we've got a guy on the trustees who ran his own haulage company. So, of course, he did a lot of tendering for things, so we've worked out what we're going to cost, run it past him, and again he did a rule of thumb that he used to use, and it came out about the same as what we said."*

Case 4 Staff 2

A similar story is told by the CEO of the successful large VCS organisation of how she gathered multiple sets of relevant sectoral expertise to support sustaining the large SE and to start the smaller subsidiary SEs:

> *"we had some very old fashioned board members, so as trustees left, we absolutely looked at a lot of the qualities that we need and ... you'll say we need someone with HR experience, or we need someone with finance, or we need someone with business acumen. The current chairman, he's interested in buildings, leases, all of that side of things, because he was a quantity surveyor in his day. Then we'd get someone, because they're a lawyer so we got the legal person, so we have all the usual professions. The most recent person we've got is around events management ... because, this place is where we see that going"*

Case 6 CEO

One feature of the individuals with sectoral expertise in Groundwork, and in four of the seven primary cases, is that the individuals providing their sectoral expertise at start-up are retired or semi-retired, benefiting from pensions or toward the end of their working lives. This is the case of the founders of Lionmouth, the chair of trustees at Weardale Community Transport, two of the three co-founders of Warm Age Wood, and is true of key trustees of Groundwork. The societal reality of a retirement and pensions is an important enabling theme in these cases, and rocks the risk-taking heroic social entrepreneur archetype, unless the risk is not financial – rather more a social risk, one of reputation for example. In the case of Groundwork corporate social responsibility was critical in supporting the CEO to collect up the private sector financial skills the organisation benefits from in tendering for large government sub-contracts. In these extracts the financial skills of big business, brought in via CSR, are explained by the trustee from the private sector charged with overseeing finance:

> *"Groundwork approached Northumbria Water and said 'we are looking for trustees and we're looking for somebody in finance … they were looking for somebody who wasn't a kind of die in the wool charity finance … The CEO was very forward-looking*
>
> *.. she could see where the finance and funding was coming from. And it wasn't gonna be coming from local government … it's just the stalwart of austerity.*
>
> *That same model that brought the four local ones together in Durham, and then the GWK NE to expand that to the North ... because of the financial pressure … maintaining delivery but reducing the overhead costs. It's what big business does, just merger, cut head office costs .. They understand .. they've got to be nimble, where the overheads sit, and where the finance ares. And we can't see any return to huge amounts of funding coming from central government or local government.*

Case 6 Volunteer Trustee

Then he explains about managing the finances when central government money started going into primes and Groundwork began tendering as a sub-prime:

> *"cash flow became an issue .. before the programs tended to be the funder would give say it was a £200,000 program to deliver and they would give you that either upfront or upfront on a quarterly basis .. It's about how you managed a program, so you weren't always putting everything at the back end. It's not spending big chunks of capital. People in business understand that…. you have to exclude yourself from going for certain projects because you can't do without cash flow and also again there's some kind of working capital in there you can go draw on… With the traditional funding going you need kind of liquid reserve there,*

it’s very difficult to call charities funds reserves and charities fold.

Payment by results contracts … well we feel as an organisation that we’re really good at it, so you know how to get the results, and how to uhm not play the game but yeah. In terms of new contract scrutiny we were meeting on a monthly basis and looking at forecasts cause … we really needed to be monitored very closely, … if there was a problem we asked what we could do to rectify it, rather than another six months of not delivering and not getting the result ….it’s mainly cash-driven, rather than say profit and loss. Its cashflow that kills organisations ... look at Northern Rock … they were profitable .. but it was their cashflow because all the banks wouldn't lend to them … they had nowhere to go

Case 6 Volunteer Trustee

Discussing his role in accessing the loan to start-up The Greenhouse, case 7, he states:

That was my main role, I was used to borrowing five million pounds so I was quite good at doing that, the documentation, and checking ..

Case 6 Volunteer Trustee

In other examples, both from within Groundwork and the other SE cases, it is individual social responsibility that appears to be the motivator. However, the challenge of suitable trustees and committed directors is one which repeatedly emerges from the data.

“It's quite a difficult thing to get people to commit time because it takes quite a chunk of your time, especially if you’ve got a busy day job as well.”

Case 6 Volunteer Trustee

In the final interview with the founder of Woodshed Workshop he commented on how the financial stress of the initial consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic and first lockdown in 2020 on the multiple private businesses run by one of the directors had meant he had had to step down from the board and focus on his own business survival.

> *"he's just recently resigned, mainly because his business is renting out pubs and shops ... so as you can imagine he's not really had the best of times recently. He sent us a really nice letter about how much he supported us. Basically, he's on the brink of going bankrupt."*

Case 10 Founder

5.3.2 Learning Sectoral Expertise

As well as their own professional development in employment for local authorities and the third sector, and gathering individuals willing to share their time and expertise, SEs also benefit from founders', managers' and staff's willingness to learn. The evidence points to individual founders and managers having to be willing and able to learn relevant sectoral expertise. Cross sectoral sharing of expertise, facilitated and, or, funded by public sector, is an important enabling theme for all of the cases. It includes public sector funded third sector infrastructure support, public sector working in partnership, public sector funded business support, and public sector funded and facilitated social investment and corporate social responsibility.

Lionmouth's manager pointed to the critical role of gaining knowledge of grants and skills of grant writing from local Community Foundations and grant funders themselves. Wear1Care founder accessed local business support to develop the SE's business plan and to seek advice on governance. Alpaca Therapy accessed support from local SE advisors, local business support advisors, and from social investment readiness funding. Weardale Community Transport called on local third sector support at start-up, and WarmAgeWood and Woodshed Workshop both received support from School for Social Entrepreneurs (SSE).

The role of enabling institutional arrangements as seedbeds of SE activity and as providers of ongoing support and sectoral learning runs across these cases:

> *"2D had a grants advisor, they .. helped, we got the initial money came from LEADER one of the early LEADER projects. and that, that was probably the big one"*

Case 4 Founder 1

> *"I met Tom [SE advisor] then I started chatting to him, 'what is this?', 'where*

do I go with this?', and we talked about how we could set up, what was the best way to set this up"

Case 3 Founder

Interestingly the founder of Alpaca Therapy didn't even know 'SE' was an option until she met a local SE advisor, and then talks about accessing learning and support from third sector infrastructure support, SE-specific support, and from business advisors.

Throughout their starting-up and sustaining stages cases dip in and out of third sector and business support, this points to an important feature of that support is that it be available throughout SEs' journeys. Though advisors with specific knowledge of SE activity were noted as important in three of the seven primary cases, founders of two of these cases noted three instances of difficulties generated when working with local SE advisors who were active at similar levels of the same resource ecosystem as them. This created issues of competition between themselves and the advisors who were interested in the same asset transfer and, or, the same funding pot. It is notable this was not an issue related with national SE advice and support – for example from Key Fund or School for Social Entrepreneurs. The two of the cases who were beneficiaries of social investment, and one who is interested in being a beneficiary, had all accessed SE-specific training and support.

5.3.3 Networking, reciprocity and collaboration

As well as building in sectoral expertise, onto their boards and with staff members, the SE narratives point to critical social connections, particularly into the public sector. These connections again indicate the importance of the founders' and, or managers' ability to identify and motivate key individuals, for example to help with accessing public sector grant funding, accessing different types of public sector contracts, accessing philanthropic trust money and social investment, or to provide private sector financial management expertise. In the last section evidence links individual founders' conversion factors and processes of conversion of institutional resources via interpersonal connections. Below the focus of the evidence is on the features of the enterprises as organisations and features of the institutions, and links into those institutions, acting as conversion factors.

Expertise into the local authority is evident across all the cases, either at start-up, when sustaining, or both. Below connection and insider knowledge into the relevant systems of the local authority are prioritised by the two founders and managers without local authority work experience. Knowledge of, and links into, particularly the public sector, signify vital turning points in their SE stories as they shift from start-up to sustaining:

> *"we had a local councilor, she was like really instrumental in getting us the meetings that we needed to get involved with, basically had it not been her saying 'I want this to happen'"*

Case 10 Founder

At Lionmouth, when asked about individuals who were critical to helping the SE to establish, two interviewees immediately identified key social workers within the local authority at crucial, listing them as second only to the founder. In the following quote it is explained that the online portal, through which clients are referred, is a difficult hurdle they wouldn't have jumped had it not been for the help of these insiders.

> *"The system was a minefield. Absolute minefield to get into. It was only with the help of one or two really good social workers, or people within the system that would say 'we'll hold your hand through it'. Because, if they come out to see what we do, they see what they do is good. "*

Case 1 Manager

It is unsurprising in the cases that knowledge of the public sector is so important, given the integration of the third sector into delivering social value previously delivered in-house by local authorities. It is interesting however that reciprocal working within the third sector, and with other SEs in particular, is commented on by a number of the cases as important to how the SEs work – "it's what we do" Lionmouth founder.

Reciprocity features as a core SE component represented in many of the cases. Common features of acts of reciprocity evidenced are connections between other local third sector organisations and the local public sector. For example, both Wear1Care and Alpaca Therapy sit on their local Area Action Partnership board, Lionmouth support other local environmental SEs, local schools and the local community, and at Weardale Community Transport multiple examples of reciprocity include the purchase of an old red telephone box, for £1, to house a local village's defibrillator.

WCT was started on foundations of reciprocity and collaboration, as a sister charity to the local community partnership. For them and the other smaller SE cases this reciprocity appears to be a taken for granted aspect of their work. While these acts could be labelled social capital generation and networking in other enterprise research it is interesting that when I explicitly asked about networking several of the SE founders and staff took little notice of the concept, and even in two cases were actively dismissive of this language of business seemingly placing their social connections and the motivations that maintained these as originating from a different sphere of activity, not mercantile, not "related to trade or business" (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/mercantile), perhaps instead more akin to social connections of family and friendship.

In the quote below reciprocal working with other SEs is it is seen as central to how this founder sees his new SE hub working:

> *"when we were at Gateshead we used to have loads of different enterprises coming and saying 'can we have space' 'can we have space'. I thought that would be brilliant we could do a social enterprise and we could get other people involved.*
>
> *After badgering the council for like a solid year we eventually got the asset transfer. The idea is that we have a social enterprise hub, we have got seven retail units and nine workshop units and each of these we can lease out and support people and various forms into these properties. There are … like anchor tenants, like the ladies you have just seen, they run a social enterprise, then there's Beth she runs her own social enterprise, and we've got other various charities and social enterprises. In this room you've got a little microcosm of what we intend to achieve because not all the stuff in here belongs to Woodshed Workshop, we've got Naked Pantry with environmental refillables … we've got the painted furniture which is Recyced stuff, we've got a community drop in, Livewell NE use it and the local councillor, the police and all that kind of thing. Like I said we are all quite small organisations, but within our small*

organisations we all have certain skills that other people don't have .. the interesting thing is being able to tap into what each other is doing … we achieve a lot more … and actually what we have now is so considerably better than trying to do it all myself, its recognising my personally weaknesses and getting someone brilliant just doing it stacks better than I could do."

Case 10 Founder

In contrast to reciprocal relationships, which are less formal, another code that emerges as important in the frameworks is collaboration, a more formal relationship of agreed, mutual benefit. In the quote above reciprocal relationships are becoming collaborative, for example with anchor tenants. Collaboration is particularly important in case 6 which repeatedly collaborates at their own level in the ecosystem e.g. with local councils, other local larger organisations.

In the case of the large VCS organisation these links into local authority are taken for granted. In the following quote from the CEO of the large VCS, the integration of the two sectors is central to the start-up of both Groundwork's subsidiary SEs. Talking about case 7, GWK Greenhouse, the CEO of Groundwork NE and Cumbria states:

"We bought the land from Durham County Council, they were delighted because no one had built on that site on the industrial estate for years .. our first tenants were Derwentside Housing and they built on the rest of our land … we did very well from that so we sold our other piece of land and helped Derwentside Homes build their base

… We bought the woodland using some Heritage Lottery money .. we wanted to protect it. ..

Me and my development director, basically put in an application to Europe and the ERDA and then went cap in hand to the bank, and got a loan, but we could only get the loan - which was £750000 from Barclays .. if we had a tenant. … The Greenhouse, the left-hand side of it, we designed and built it for the PCT .. they were our tenant for ten years, and that allowed us to get the money … again it was links … the chair, he knew somebody who was the head of the PCT. We *went and pitched, because we knew what they were looking, so we got some designs .. we turned up and we won. It was links, personal links which is often the way in the North East."*

Case 6 CEO

Below the same CEO speaks of how the most recent subsidiary SE, Land of Oak and Iron Heritage Centre, case 9, came about:

this place only came about because Gateshead Council have been trying to build something like this for ten years and failed. so we have a bit of a reputation of getting projects up and running if they can't."

Case 6 CEO

Just like the insider knowledge from the social worker in case 1, and the collaboration with the local council to enable the Groundwork subsidiaries, in the case narratives processes of reciprocity and more formal collaboration build on experiences and reputations of success.

In these interview extracts from Lionmouth the manager and an external partner explain how positive experiences with one grantor, or one training support provider is built on for repeated resource conversion.

"The Woodland Trust grant, they put us in touch with Nationwide and Ikea, and they both came out with groups. Northumbrian Water were very good because they come with all their diggers and men and heavy equipment. And DWP, we gave them all the hard stuff. They've been a few times, and the training companies. The Princes Trust, they have to provide six months placement for their people who are interested in doing the outside stuff. We don't get anything for them, but the fact that we are getting the work, and hopefully as well we put them on the right track. There's quite a few as well who have gone on to do training or gone on to do apprenticeships which is really quite heartening."

Case 1 Manager

"Obviously B has done a fantastic job down there and we stay in touch in terms

of when we can help out with her project and also vice versa, getting involved in some of our future projects as well. We've been writing lots and lots of funding applications over the past six months and she has been involved in writing letters of support for those."

Case 1 Partner Organisation

On a larger scale, this Groundwork trustee discusses the organisation's positive reputation of delivering payment by results contracts for national primes:

"because we've got a good track record, and obviously when it all went out to the primes, there was a lot of casualties, some of the sub-primes went under. They had to offer [their contracts] because they have still got to be delivered, so they were pushing it out to people and then you're in a stronger position … and then you say 'you've got to deliver this, and we're the only ones on the ground who can do it', therefore everything changes a bit in your favour.

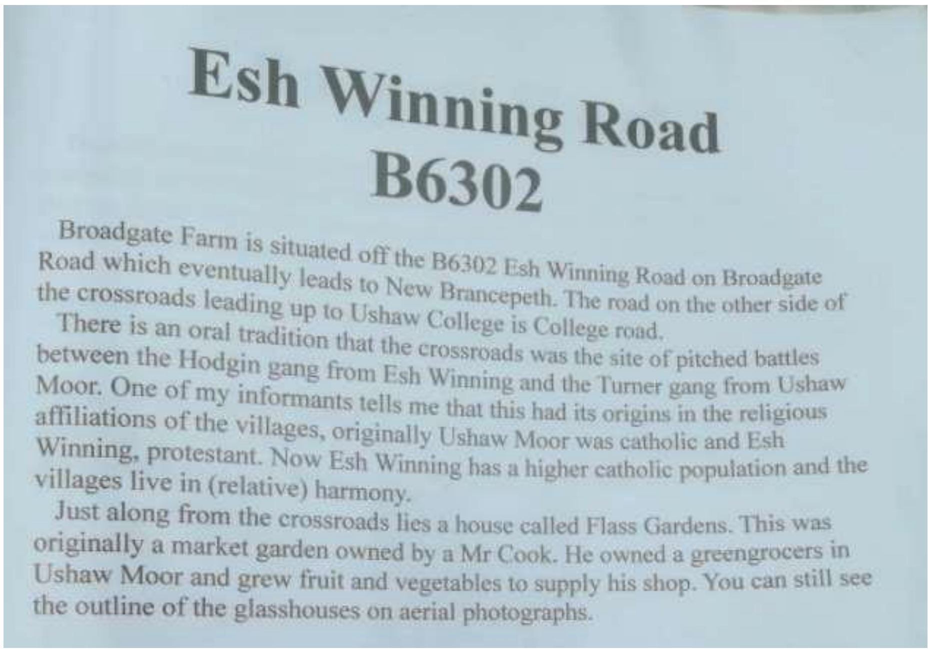
I think that's the different job, saying 'yah we'll do it', and then worrying about it … the old thing for funding for projects, you could agree to it and two-thirds of the way in you realised, a lot of the charities realised, they couldn't deliver for that money so they would go back and say 'you've got to deliver this and it will cost money', and they'd get it. But that all changed .."

Case 6 Trustee

5.3.4 Local embedding

Though some SE cases are embedded in their locality from the start, Weardale Community Transport for example, others develop their processes of embedding as they seek to sustain. While there are multiple reasons for embedding, including because the organisation wants to benefit the local community, these processes can also be seen as further examples of resource conversion, similar to extending the constructed SE family. There are multiple explicit examples of developing sense of place and converting resources. At Lionmouth whilst only one of the members of staff is local to the village, she is a local councillor and has an interest in local history. It was she who researched and wrote the information booklet about the centre's local history which is one of many actions helping to embed the SE within the local community.

Figure 14: Page from local history booklet, on display in Lionmouth (Case 1) café



Esh Winning Road
B6302

Broadgate Farm is situated off the B6302 Esh Winning Road on Broadgate Road which eventually leads to New Brancepeth. The road on the other side of the crossroads leading up to Ushaw College is College road.

There is an oral tradition that the crossroads was the site of pitched battles between the Hodgin gang from Esh Winning and the Turner gang from Ushaw Moor. One of my informants tells me that this had its origins in the religious affiliations of the villages, originally Ushaw Moor was catholic and Esh Winning, protestant. Now Esh Winning has a higher catholic population and the villages live in (relative) harmony.

Just along from the crossroads lies a house called Flass Gardens. This was originally a market garden owned by a Mr Cook. He owned a greengrocers in Ushaw Moor and grew fruit and vegetables to supply his shop. You can still see the outline of the glasshouses on aerial photographs.

This booklet (see Figure 14) is one of the many examples of embedding. Other examples include attracting local volunteers, connecting with and working with local schools, and providing regular updates on the Facebook page when the nearby forded river is flooded. These all help to build local support for the plant nursery, the café and when people chose which local organisation should benefit from the local Tesco community chest.

At Woodshed Workshop the members of staff are all from the local area, and its role in converting resources was apparent when, on both occasions I visited, local people dropped in to offer wood they had from their businesses and homes to see if it could be used. One member of staff explains the importance of belonging:

> *"Particularly with pit villages, they have their own little community within communities, and I think without that local knowledge ... and people just*

knowing your face a little bit, people are very skeptical about strangers and authorities. Whereas if you talk like me, ya accent does a lot for you, because they know you're not coming from off-piste.

… So yeah, … you know when people come in, and everyone mentions a family or a surname, … I think people just have a bit of a sense of trust "

Case 10 Project Coordinator

It is also interesting to see the local youth project's banner proudly hung in Woodshed Workshop's retail shop (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Photograph of Woodshed Workshop shop

At Alpaca Therapy the SE's mission is locally focused but still processes of local embedding seem to reach beyond the mission, to be personal:

"I feel part of the town, part of the community, know people to say hello to in the local supermarket"

Case 4 Founder

And when she was asked if she had linked in with people locally, she responded:

"mainly kind of councillors, that sort of thing, so I'm a board member of the

> *local AAP Area Action Partnership, and yeah I try and keep. I love [the town]. Like I've lived in different places around the country, but I love it, but it's a very close knit community and I've been accepted. And I support [other] SEs in the town as well. So that's good.… and other schools, and meeting other businesses .. that's been positive"*

Case 4 Founder

As these acts of embedding are explained by the founder it seems they are as much about generating the family's sense of belonging and commitment to the mission of the SE, as they are about linking into the local networks for the benefit of converting resources. In fact, throughout the process of interrogating and interpreting the evidence where the very human acts of connection and care become acts of work and resource conversion becomes increasingly unclear. An indication perhaps that this example, like 'networking' has to be understood in the round. That is to say, the right thing to do will also sometimes be the right thing to do for the enterprise.

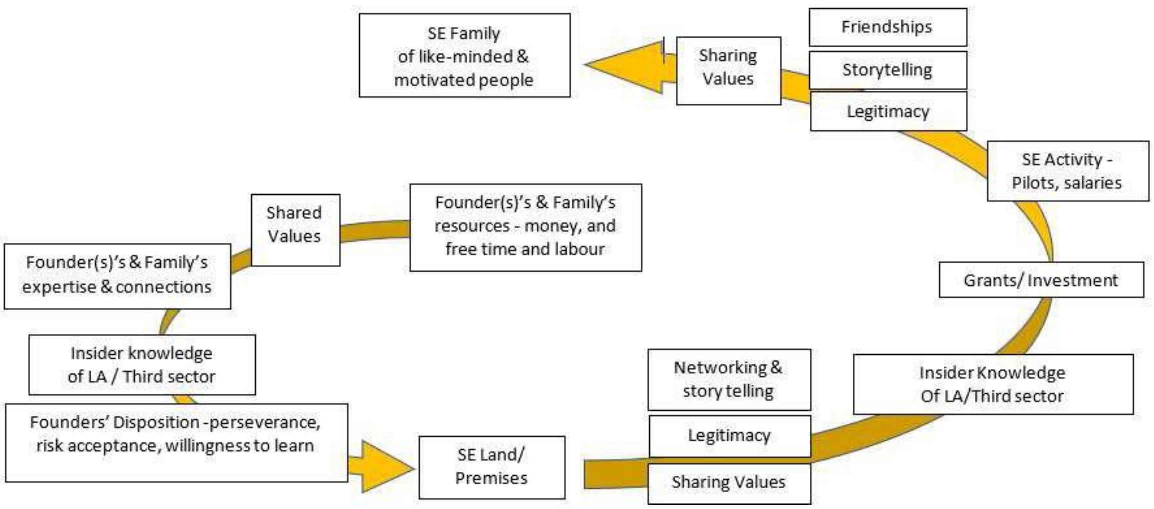
These results highlight the interconnections of institutional context, personal social spaces, and personal traits, addressing gaps in our knowledge around how SE founders, managers and teams connect to their context and relate to each other to access and convert resources. They add to the empirical literature a grounded understanding of not just the ingredients but also the processes in SE recipes. Collective action and of institutional support, in various forms, are found to be central in these recipes.

5.3.5 Dynamic relationships between common components of conversion

While the preceding sections of this chapter have identified the common resources and processes of SEs these components have repeatedly merged and positive feedback loops and dynamic relations have been observed throughout the analysis. In this section making sense of and pulling together the multiple strands from the different cases is crucial to coming to a point of visualizing these processes and their temporal layers. The relationship between these components is dynamic, for example, with people initially sharing their expertise, paid and unpaid, because of connections of family and friendship and shared values and identities, and then the organisation being sustained because those connections being maintained and strengthened. The collective capability frameworks and bottom-up data analysis exposes how the interpersonal and inter level – between the personal and institutional levels – are animated via individual and collective traits and actions.

Figures 16 and 17 illustrate common conversion factors and processes at start-up and sustaining stages. Not all the components are evidenced in all the narratives however these emerge in multiple SE stories. These and other common conversion factors and processes are evidenced in this section.

Figure 16: Interpersonal and Interlevel conversion factors at SEs' start-ups



The start-up stories of cases 1,2,3,5,10 can all be told using the components in Figure 16. Some stories may need to be told with some components in slightly different order, but the components are the same. Case 10 differs slightly because at start-up, having transitioned from 6b, it did not involve a Founder Family. Instead Founder Friendships developed in the SE Family.

Figure 16 identifies the Founders' and their Families' resources are crucial at the very first stages taking the SE from nascent to start-up[20]. Their money, free time and labour are all directed to getting the enterprise off the ground as a result of shared values which are reinforced through action, and which galvanise and bring to bear Founders' and Founder Families' expertise and connections.

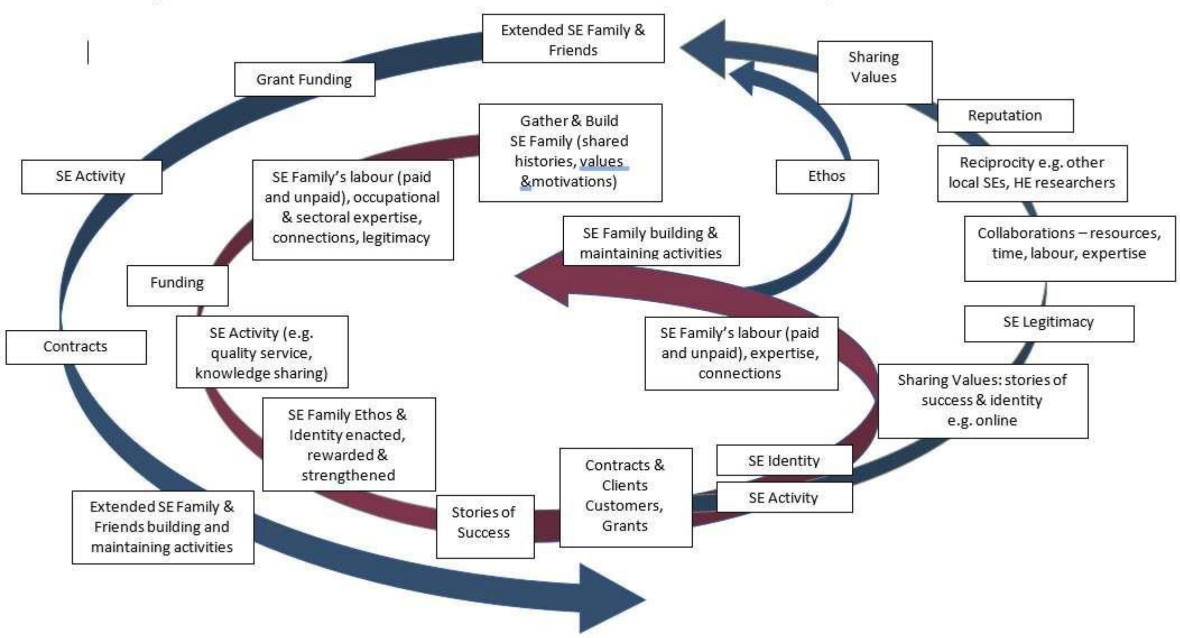
[20] As noted in 5.2.4 in the older charitable SE cases this role is played by the public sector

Through connections, insider knowledge of the public sector and the third sector are then brought in, and these combined with the Founders' traits of perseverance, risk acceptance and their willingness to learn eventually lead to the SE having premises. In the case of Woodshed Workshop Lionmouth these connections into the local authority directly led to their asset transfer. This process took over a year and in the meantime local, temporary premises were accessed, again through their links into the local authority.

Through networking, storytelling, sharing values, and building legitimacy connections are made reinforced, for Lionmouth one critical example were the social workers who supported them to use the local authority's procurement portal, because they were convinced of the quality of the provision. Storytelling and networking are vital to accessing the grants which these SEs rely on at start up, to paying for pilots and staff salaries so SE activity can begin. This activity feed the stories, nurtures and maintains the friendships, shared values and the Constructed SE Family emerges and is strengthened.

Common components of the sustaining stories of cases 1,2 4,5 can all be told using the component visualised in Figure 17. The figure illustrates both an inner wheel of resourcing amongst the Constructed SE Family, the core team, and the outer wheel of resourcing with individuals and institutions external to that inner team.

Figure 17: Interpersonal and interlevel conversion factors to sustain SEs



The inner wheel of Figure 17 represents the core Constructed SE Family – and the self-perpetuating, self-fulfilling work and outputs of building and maintain these relationships. The core family is a group of key staff, and key supporters like CIC directors and charity trustees. The outer wheel represents the Extended SE Family and Friends – examples include individual volunteers, customers, clients and their families, other charities, SEs and businesses, local councillors, individual connections built through formal collaborations, informal relationships and acts of reciprocity, and different funding arrangements.

Different processes of sustaining the SE Family (in the inner wheel) observed include, the presentation of staff and clients in social media and on websites; weekly food celebrations and gatherings like Foodie Fridays in case 1; renovating, converting and decorating premises – homemaking for the SE observed in cases 1, 2, 5, and 10; and SE Family pets observed in cases 1 and 10.

The processes of sustaining the Constructed SE Family also work to create and strengthen a shared identity and sense of purpose. In many of the cases shared, pre-existing, occupational identities are enhanced with extra layers of belonging and identity, which are identified and enhanced via storytelling and symbols within the SE's home. Constructed SE Families' identities are based on the repeated assertion of social value over economic value, of commitment to the SE ethos. Storytelling and re-telling also converts resources - the inner wheel storytelling and retelling builds and reinforces identity and pride. In the outer wheel storytelling brings funders, other organisations and repeat customers into the extended family and helps to maintain relationships.

These different components, different conversion factors and processes, are evidenced for each case in more detail in the next section 5.2.10, through a series of collective capability frameworks.

5.4 Collective SE Capability Frameworks

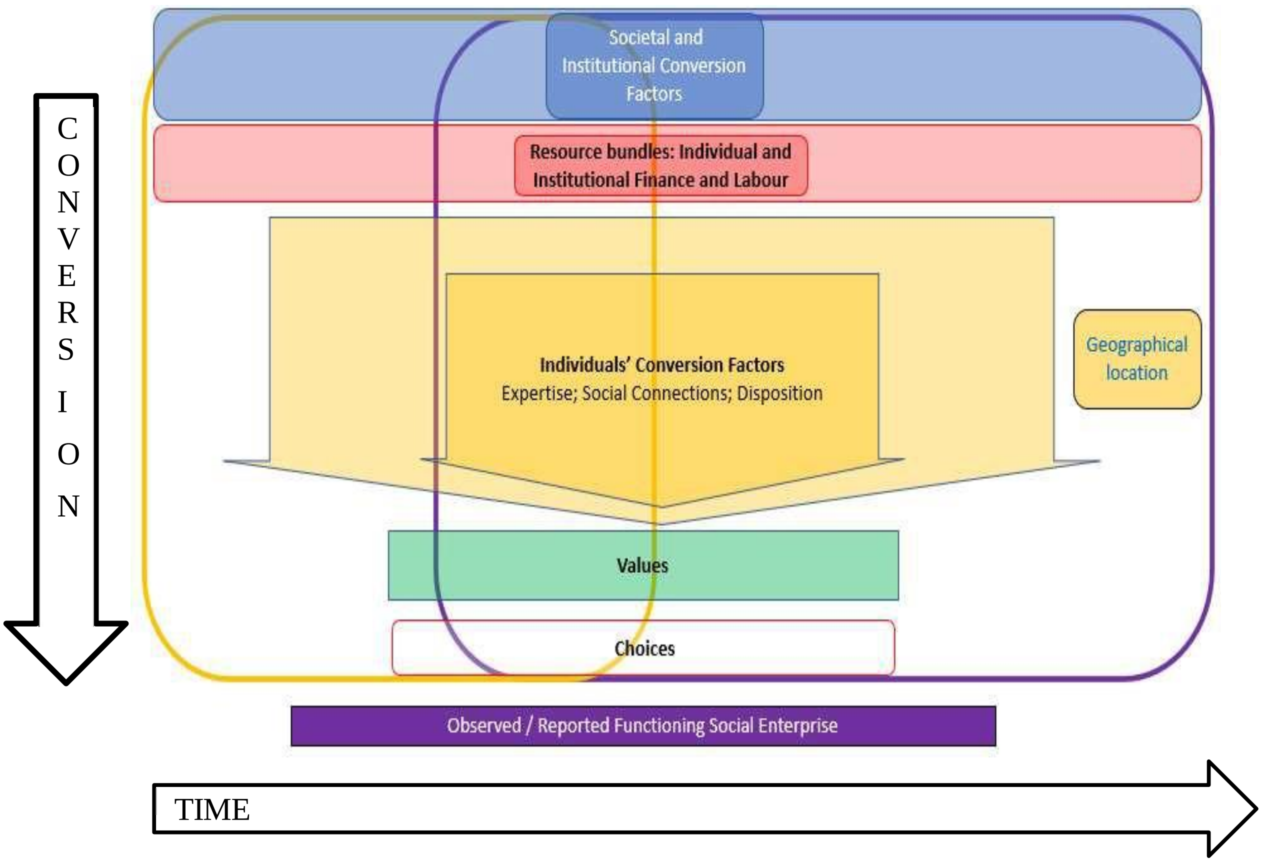
The findings presented here are the result of repeated analysis and interpretation. Central to these processes are the Collective SE Capability Frameworks (Appendices 4-11) developed for each SE case. These illustrate how these resources are accessed using concepts of Sen's Capability Framework, as adapted by Robeyns (2017). Figure 18 provides a key to understanding the data in these frameworks. Resources are represented in red boxes; Institutional and Societal context in blue, Conversion factors are in yellow, and Values are green. Resource conversions are grouped into different stages of starting and sustaining a SE with the yellow boundary containing starting conversions, the purple boundary containing conversions to sustain, in some cases a red boundary contains conversions prior to start-up. In the SE frameworks, though the core components of capability theories are retained, as outlined above, the framework has been adapted to include multiple individuals' and households' resources and values, and resource collation and conversion factors across the different individuals and households are identified. These interactions are represented by the arrows. These Frameworks also present the development of each SE case through time. Figure 19 is an example of a completed SE Collective Capability Framework.

In these Collective SE Capability Frameworks finance and labour are identified as a key economic resource. What is notable is the importance of individuals' personal values. They are conversion factors, a critical component in a potentially virtuous circle of invigorating values and value-based action from others in some of the SE cases.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the case study data answering: 'How individuals and groups start and sustain social enterprises?'. Themes and common resources and conversion factors have been presented, culminating in the identification of the multi-stage, interpersonal and interlevel resource conversion factors. In the next chapter the focus shifts to differences.

Figure 18: Simplified Exemplar Collective Capability Framework:



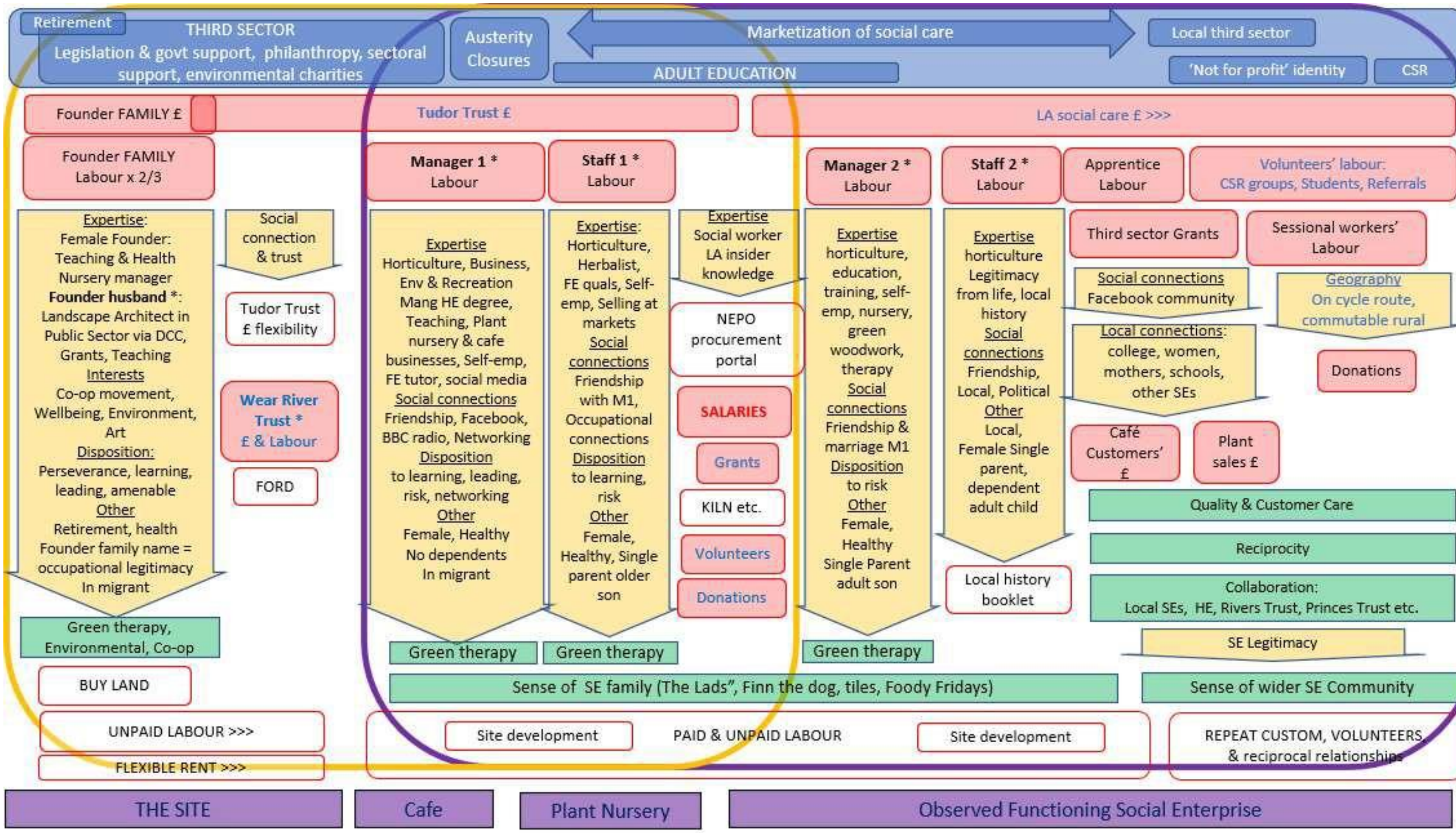
Key:

Conversions at start-up

Conversions to sustain

Conversions for previous SE

Figure 19: Case 1 Collective Capability Framework



Chapter 6 Conversion Capability Differences

6.1 Where SEs differ

This final results chapter highlights where cases differ from common conversion themes identified in Chapter 5, if and how these differences relate to the Vernacular SE Typology presented in Chapter 4 and key distinguishing features of each case. It identifies differences that are linked in the data to SE's capability to convert different resources to start-up, and to be sustainable. These differences point to weaknesses and strengths, derived from different characteristics including SE origin, important signalers for future SE support. Four sets of differences are highlighted below: ongoing commercial liabilities in 6.1.1; family business without constructed SE Family 6.1.2; size of enterprise in 6.1.3; and finally, rurality, sense of place, and volunteer time in 6.1.4. Each affect capability to convert resources in different cases.

6.1.1 Ongoing commercial liabilities

Comparison of the cases reveals other challenges for some SEs. For example, case 3, Alpaca Therapy, faces other deficits in resources and conversion capability which, in their absence spotlight their enabling role in other SEs. Here these are identified as ongoing liabilities, these contrast with the ongoing subventions identified as enabling factors in other cases.

The obvious ongoing liability case 3 faces is the commercial rate of rent charged by the landlord, the threat of eviction and cost of outright purchase of the land, and the resultant reluctance to invest in another individual's asset and make the farm, its fixed assets and its reputation more valuable to other potential buyers. A useful comparison case is Lionmouth and the ongoing positive relationship of mutual respect and shared mission the founder landlords and SE manager have there. This is in sharp contrast with the relationship described by Alpaca Therapy's founder here.

> *"our relationship with the landlord was very very difficult in the early days. … he was very anxious ... and would try to micro-manage us … We were arguing 'this is none of your business, this is not a normal relationship that you would have with your landlord'. The initial little lease … was too prescriptive … things we put on to try and generate some money, he objected to. He took us to court … it ended up costing us £30.000 … in the end he agreed to vary the lease if we paid another £500 a month rent. … now got free use of the farm provided its*

legal but … now he wants to sell So, the opportunities remain, we need to buy this farm and a lot of the barriers are that our cashflow is still not great, but we don't want to invest money, … I don't own the farm. I don't know what's gonna happen, so I don't invest the money, but if I did, I would be generating more income. It's that chicken and egg thing."

Case 3 Founder

In contrast to the threat that the farm and land will be sold, Lionmouth have the assurance that their tenancy is safe - at least for the next twenty years. And they have the safety net of knowing that when the SE makes less money the rent can be flexed – at least while their founder landlords are alive. The result is they can invest in the property and the business for the longer term, and the founder landlord's mission and flexibility give the team permission to focus on the social value. If this changed, the manager reflects they would just have to put more emphasis on making money and the person-centred approach would be lost.:

"if we had to make sure we were commercially viable … we would have to be – not so lenient on our staff … It would be awful because that's what we are. We are a place where people with different abilities can be part of something."

Case 1 Manager

Case 3's founder manager, on the other hand, is trying to maintain commercial viability while also delivering social value, and all in the precarious position of not having security of tenancy and being told the land and family home will be up for sale in a few years. This directly affects her ability to access grants - which require their investment to have longevity of social purpose, constrains her willingness to invest in the farm, limits time she has to reflect on managing her team, and requires time to be directed to raising the money to buy the land via social investment or a mortgage:

"Now we've got a little cohort of people that we're funded by the local authority so that brings regular income. We deliver that, and we deliver it quite successfully, but we're a small team and those children have very complex needs

> *so I'm often out there with them which means I don't get in the office to do any bid writing, which I'm not very good at. … And it's chicken and egg for me. Do I sacrifice my time to go into the office, lock myself away, try and apply for this funding and hope we get it? Or do I just carry on doing what we're doing? I'm not gonna grow the business doing what we're doing. And it's such a gamble to come and do that. We have had people dipping in and out of the business to help me with bid writing, but we've still not been successful. I've paid for some, some have been free services, so we've just we've just never got there. And its soul destroying because our outcomes are really strong"*

Case 3 Founder

Like Lionmouth, Woodshed Workshop benefit from the security of knowing their buildings have been asset transferred from the local authority - though there is some debate as to whether it is an asset or a liability. Similarly, all the subsidiary SEs of Groundwork were established with land or premises provided by local authorities. Instead, Alpaca Therapy has an ongoing liability. No other SE in the selection faces the outgoings and commercial liabilities and insecurity Alpaca Therapy faces.

6.1.2 Family business – lacking a constructed SE family

In one of the cases, Alpaca Therapy, the Constructed SE family was not observed. Like several of the other cases Alpaca Therapy was established by a family group. Like other cases it was established in part to provide immediate family members with employment and, or, ongoing income. However, while like other cases AT has grown and employs individuals beyond the immediate family, unlike other cases the interview data points to divisions between the family and the employed, non-family, staff:

> *"I do feel it's hard for other staff because of the family element. And that's what staff tell us that that's difficult at times. I very much understand that. It's also difficult to have normal family time and not business time but that's just how it is. … without the family I wouldn't have been able to do what we're doing. "*

Case 3 Founder

The lack of a Constructed SE Family is an interesting feature of AT which appears likely to be associated with a resource deficit for this enterprise compared to other cases, that is a lack of ongoing 'unpaid expert labour' provided by non-family paid staff. Though this feature is not necessarily related to AT private sector origin it is interesting that the culture of routinely giving more than the hours staff are paid for and being proud of that - as found in other cases - is lacking here.

There are other challenges AT faces which could be in part why the Constructed SE Family is not apparent, or has proven difficult to create and sustain. However, the case begs the question as to what enables other cases to convert unpaid labour to SE activity. Going back to Figs 16 and 17 there are several points at which the founders' leadership practice may not have been as effective – these are shared values, personal connections of friendship, and sharing values within the team. Members of the team seem to share personal commitment to alpaca care and working toward to the wider mission of supporting the SE's individual clients. However, the evidence suggests this has not been corralled into a sense of group identity, and individuals' sense of belonging and commitment to the group. Evidence from staff comments and from the founder point to less commitment with one member of staff see

On reflection, it is notable that at data collection stage AT's founder was happy for members of staff to be interviewed privately and individually. In four of the five SE cases in which the Constructed SE Family is observed founder interviewees and ,or, founders and staff were observed taking care to have members of the team interviewed together, or in spaces open to observation and interruption. An indication, perhaps, of the importance of sense of belonging and the ongoing maintenance work this requires.

This response from one member of the AT staff points to another reason why unpaid expert labour is not being routinely converted – describing her reluctance to give too much and the challenges of working with the young people in alternative education:

> *"You don't really get that sense of achievement, there isn't that at all … you go home and you have to switch off. And I do. … I don't take it home … And really, my position and my role here isn't to do that. So, I'm afraid to say, 3 or 4 o clock or whenever I'm finished, I get in the car and that's that to me … It's very hard,*

obviously when you get home you can't really discuss it like an ordinary job .. because obviously there's confidentiality. You have to go home and just switched off from it."

Case 3 Staff

As the quote above signals, there is another side to the unpaid commitment coin, a side which can be read as self-exploitation, which this staff member from case 3 is trying to avoid - the stress of the work, the emotional commitment to it. So perhaps there are other advantages of the Constructed SE family previously assumed or not considered in detail. The constructed SE family and associated belonging may also support staff through different stresses of working at a SE – for example, working with challenging beneficiaries, and without the structures and support system of a larger organisation like a local authority.

In the case of AT, while it is possible that difficulties caused by not having a dedicated core of expert unpaid labour might be linked to the founder's lack of third sector experience and expertise, the evidence suggests that this connection is too simplistic. And that this lack of unpaid expert labour, combined with the ongoing commercial liabilities need to be taken into consideration. The pressure that the insecurity of tenure places on the tenant founder family – for whom the SE site is also the site of the family home – is a factor to be combined with insecure employment for the staff, which given the 'sense of home' found in other cases probably has multiple compounding limiting effects.

Further time spent considering the long-term future of the SE and trying to access funding to purchase the land, not being able to develop the sense of family and to rely on unpaid expert labour, not investing in the site, all limit capability to develop the third sector expertise and build the sense of SE family, a vicious cycle rather than virtuous circle.

6.1.3 Size of SE

One clear differentiator observed across the cases is enterprise size. Groundwork NE and Cumbria (Groundwork) is by far the largest of the SE cases in the selection and as such it has its own type in the typology - Type 4 Larger VCS organisation, with over £10,000 000 annual turnover. It is this scale, and the fact that the case has evolved in partnership with central and local government, that is the focus of how it is able to convert resources. The case offers insights into potential strengths and weaknesses of SEs occupying different niches in the local ecosystem, providing lessons with possible utility for other examples of public sector social enterprization, like Public Sector Mutuals.

Important themes relevant to resource conversion at scale for Groundwork are, the diversity of activity it is involved in, the range of resources it has access to, and finally the effects of the processes and professionalism working at scale requires.

Diversity of activity refers to the breadth of income generating activity Groundwork has expertise to deliver. At its core the enterprise has two halves – these are led by the Director of Land and Communities and Director of Youth Employment and Skills, each respectively representing the landscaping and community development expertise and the employment and training expertise. These two halves have evolved in symbiosis with local authorities, other public sector spin-out enterprises, and national public sector contractors and grant funders, for example Heritage Lottery. Meaning very few other, if any, local organisations or businesses have the expertise and capacity to tender and apply for, and deliver on, the large contracts and grants.

> *"The key to [our] success is, it's a broad church, it can respond to the ebbs and flows of different virtually unrelatable markets. If we were a one-trick pony you would ride a very significant rollercoaster but if you've got all these kinds of waves going along they equal each other out in that sense. But with that comes the challenge of trying to manage a, it's not like we are a factory that makes pink fluffy toys, we are also a fishing lake next door to it, we are unrelated sectors that come together. So, trying to come up withthe systems that allow you to manage that, you know different systems are required to manage grants, as they are to manage payment by results and that kind of tension exists throughout. There's always a challenge but that's the cost of having that diversity."*

Case 6 CEO

Diversity matched with scale, and with reputation for delivering, allow this SE to access and convert types of funding for which other SEs do not have the capacity, and are all components of its own positive feedback loop. Expertise in Heritage Lottery applications, and positive reputation and connections into local authorities are both credited in the interviews in enabling start-up of GWK's subsidiary SEs. When European money was available scale also enabled Groundwork to administer, as the CEO explains:

> *"While the European money is there. It's like the final hooray, so we're trying hard to maximise [it]. Because were used to working with European funding, a lot of organisations are not and it's just horrible. But if you're gonna do it, you've got to do it at scale or don't do it at all. I think. ... if you don't do it at scale it's impossible.. "*

Case 6 CEO

An example of core income generating work which scale enables access to, are payment by results contracts administered by national primes. The ability to manage the demands of the 'payment by results' system of national public sector contracts. Below a trustee, the CEO and a Director all describe components of the organisation that enable them to apply and deliver on these contracts.

> *"Payment by results contracts ... we feel as an organisation that we're really good at it [employability and skills delivery], so we know how to get the results, and how to - not play the game, but yeah. Fred can identify where there could be potential risks at the outset, rather than just saying 'yeah we'll do it' and somebody saying 'shit' six months in 'we're not going to get this, so we're not gonna get paid'. You can, not cherry- pick, but you can still be more selective about it."*

Case 6 Trustee 2

> *"the concept of a charity engaging with paying by results was debated by our board, you are then getting paid in arrears and your cashflow [is] .. at risk ... you only get paid if you have done a good job, so it's 'put your money where your mouth is', in a sense, 'do you believe really truly in what you're doing?'"*

Case 6 CEO

> *"yeah payment by result the first time we did it, ... I remember spending an inordinate amount of time cash flowing, and setting up tolerances about what happens if and managing the risk, .. we set up separate meetings to monitor how*

is that actually working and is it effective, 'cause it was the two things. One is it a field we want to engage in, and two, we need to set up the mechanisms with which to do this correctly, or effectively."

Case 6 Director 2

As the CEO points to in this quote, bankrolling the initial lack of cashflow, and ensuring the results for payment are met at scale, are all only possible because of the size of the organisation. As the Trustee alludes, it is experience of delivering similar contracts at scale for the public sector previously that mitigate the risk.

While the upsides of scale and symbiosis with the public sector are evident these inevitably also have downsides. Interestingly these are in direct opposition to some of the advantages and conversion factors the some of the smaller SEs take advantage of. As the interviewees regularly commented scale requires the organisation and staff to be 'more business-like'. Being more business-like demands accountability at all levels and requires processes and procedures. Accounting processes require bureaucracy which in turn makes demands on income margins.

The following quote is an indication, possibly, that with a more business-like approach, with large overheads to cover, the sense of family and of extended family evidenced in the smaller SEs in the last chapter, are harder to build, with the personalised provision subsumed into a professionalization, corporate branding and more attention focused to the profit margin.

" … a lot of staff found it really hard when we started saying … look at the bottom line. It's a very different way of working. I mean to be honest I can remember when I first started saying 'well I'm free [emphasis] I can do that for you.' I used to run around and then think I can do this all day and I used to do amazing things - and get away with murder. And I'm thinking the poor so and so who work for me, [they] now can't do that, because they have to account. It's like a business every penny counts. … That was a real mind shift ... huge cultural shifts. Then a lot of people externally, 'well you're the voluntary sector, you should do it for free', … We tried to develop more of a business relationship, … they were used to us being subsidised ... a lot of people saying 'well suddenly it feels like you might as well be working for the private sector', and we kept trying

to say 'well yes … but were not charging and then divvying it out into people pockets as profit. We're just trying to charge so we can cover our costs and deliver a good service, .. if we do make profits then it's there ready for when we do need to subsidise services'. … I think people are probably more used to it now."

Case 6 CEO

Scale requires professionalisation of the relationship with staff, which in turn means the organisation cannot legitimately or legally encourage or rely on their expert labour on an unpaid basis. Scale also means that constructed SE family is more difficult to generate because of the numbers of people, and because of the geographical dispersal of the different offices.

"The evolution or the coming together of the trusts, the mergers allows that journey to happen, it brings other tensions as you go from a small organisation a small family organisation to a large corporate we are in a kind of a limbo in relation to that, you are trying to again ride the best of both worlds ..

it is a challenge because we work across northeast and Cumbria there's an inevitability of silos that occur, you know - where is the commonality the threads that bring it all together rather than just the logo?"

The federation is a positive in terms of resource, national responsiveness, stakeholder engagement and say the resource of being able to do more local things policies and tenders but also the big thing in my mind it gives a feeling of being part of a family something bigger and that reduces anxiety if you're in a small more vulnerable organisation in isolation.

Case 6 Director 1

The strengths and weaknesses of scale of the parent SE are also inherent in the interview data focused on Groundwork's subsidiary SEs. GWK's increased ability to convert resources are evident in the start-up stories of all the subsidiaries. Most prominently using reputation and connections with one local authority to access and convert premises and land, and using inhouse expertise to convert national grants and, or, local contracts for employability and training services.

The scale of GWK's operations is also evident in bankrolling the start-up of the three subsidiaries. However, comparing the three also reveals nuanced weaknesses to being this type of subsidiary. For in this professionalized, larger enterprise, overheads need to be covered and either the subsidiary is capable of meeting these, and even contributing over and above these, or it depletes financial reserves, and a conscious decision has to be made to prioritise social return and social value. Interestingly this is the reason that GWK Woodshed was closed, as the CEO explains:

> *"[GWK Woodshed] could never be sustainable while it belonged to us. Because we needed to charge it management time .. it was such a shame ... it was a fabulous product*
>
> *.. we were just losing money hand over fist, which was mostly to pay the manager. But without a manager we didn't have a way of managing it. But I have to be honest, [long pause] if you set something up like that where .. your forefront is the social outcomes, so you're working with unemployed men, people with mental health issues, people with criminal records .. then secondary we were creating these things and selling them, we really struggled to make the money.*

Case 6 CEO

So, while their scale enabled them to establish new SEs, with charity bank money, in partnership with local authorities, using their expertise to attract large national grants the SE income from what are essentially private businesses. The associated procedures and management costs can also be viewed as this SE's weaknesses when compared with the smaller SE examples.

Though Groundwork is the largest of the cases it is also in competition within the national ecosystem with much larger charities:

> *"Our weaknesses are we are either too large or we're not big enough and we're not small enough. Not big enough to go for the really large contracts, and were not small enough sometimes to be [hesitates] the partner of choice locally or just to survive the crap out there. Because, we have to have good IT systems, ... everything costs now, our buildings need to be managed properly, our HR needs to be resourced properly. Everything has to be done properly. So you have to*

staff that and then it costs. We're not expensive but, we're .. really not quite big enough to pay for what we need now. "

Case 6 CEO

Asked why Groundwork can't access the very big government contracts she says:

"[We're not] specialised… we are more of a community based organisation. We have a big employment program we always done a lot of employability because employability is linked into local communities, we've always done youth, employability, community development and land really, so very neighbourhood and people based not necessarily around one particular area, and maybe that's our problem … We're not big enough"

Case 6 CEO

6.1.4 Converting Volunteers' Time

Another difference identified across the SE cases is the conversion of volunteers' time to SE activity. Two cases rely heavily on converting free time of volunteers to SE activity based on shared experience of place. These cases do not fall in the same journey type and they originate from very different circumstances. However, both cases are identified as remote rural, in both beneficiaries and SE volunteers are generally older residents of their respective communities; and, in both, the challenges of aging in a remote rural place is identified as a common motivator in interviews - and something founders, staff and volunteers rallied behind.

In Weardale Community Transport and WarmAgeWood volunteers, unpaid and regular workers, are integral to the daily running of the organisation. Rather than adding value to a sustainable enterprise, these volunteers are essential components. In WCT volunteers run the charity and its sister charity as trustees, while others organise the Wheels to Meals outings, drive the Wheels to Meals buses, and deliver the monthly newsletter – all these roles are critical to the running of the service. In WAW one volunteer director supports the running of the CIC alongside two paid directors, and volunteer knitters knit woolen goods for sale online and in the local shop. In both SEs volunteers are part of an Extended SE Family, sharing the sense of belonging, satisfaction and pride in the SEs. How their free time is converted is important.

While there are multiple factors which enable the conversion of free time to volunteer time, one important feature the SEs share is a pool of healthy pensioners living locally. In both cases connection to place, lived experience of rurality, empathy for the community's older residents, and experience as an incomer to the area are connected by interviewees to why people volunteer. So, though there are other SEs which make use of volunteer time to some extent, and other SEs integrate place into their mission and identity, these two cases seem to show an important connection between place as a component of SE start-up identity, remote rural and an aging population, and in both instances efforts of individual volunteers to embed locally.

As case 5 staff explain (below) the volunteers are often recruited though family and friendship links and, further, individual volunteers are often also beneficiaries of the SE. And, as this

> *"She had a friend in the NHS who said 'My mother-in-law can knit and she's out at Newton Aycliffe'. So … she was our first knitter. and then it was us"*
>
> Case 5 Staff 1
>
> *"Then, my sister"*
>
> Case 5 Staff 2
>
> *"I think they must have sold the wood, and then built up the woollies. Muriel was a prolific knitter … It was Muriel – who was a thundering knitter. You could go and visit her twice a week and she could knit a hat in the day"*
>
> Case 5 Staff 1
>
> *"'Cause that was a big part of it, visiting"*
>
> Case 5 Staff 2
>
> *"She would visit them with wool... they didn't get out much, so they looked forward to us coming along … we could spend half a day chatting, and just telling them what was happening. Eventually, he has died, and she has only just stopped knitting for us because she's got problems with her eyes. But she will still ring and say 'are you coming to visit?', … I couldn't not visit her, because you build up a friendship … you can't just drop them because they're no longer doing how you started out. So that's her, so she was the original knitter"*
>
> Case 5 Staff 1

conversation evidences, the volunteers are integral to the stories, key players in the plot:

This conversation evidences how these cases access volunteer labour in contrast those whose business models are not reliant on volunteers. These two rural cases spark individuals' intrinsic motivation and instill a sense of identity, community and belonging to convert that labour. The links of family and friendship are important here and appear to help to reinforce the commitment, and friendships develop – themselves a benefit of the SEs addressing rural social isolation. In both these cases this social value is a deliberate outcome.

The case of Weardale Community Transport stands out for several reasons. None of the founders risked their own personal money and none have been employed by the SE. The community transport project was founded as an offshoot of the Community Partnership with grant money. Having spun off the local Community Partnership – which was managed entirely on volunteerism and goodwill – it has maintained that culture and is less business-oriented than all the other cases. Yet it is the SE with the highest turnover, if we exclude Groundwork. WCT success working with local NHS patient transport service contracts funds all their other activities.

In the two more remote rural cases, WCT and WAW, the realities of rural living are central to their mission, and the SE are more embedded in place – that is there is total reliance on local staff and volunteers. All the cases, except GWK case 6, are areas classified as rural. All primary interviewees were asked about running a SE in rural areas. However it is only at the two remote rural cases that rurality was explicitly mentioned, unsolicited, by staff and volunteers. In both instances the topic was commented on repeatedly, and often was used to explain why things were done the way they were. Evidence from case 4 and case 5 suggest remote rurality, rather than rurality per se, makes a difference to both, what resources these SEs have available to call on, and to specific place-related factors affecting how they are converted.

Depleted rural again the idea and the original SE came from outside the local town, but the founder was embedded in the economically depleted community and chose to embed the SE there. While the founder has sought to further embed the SE locally, by as many means possible, and the asset transfer of the SE premises is a clear sign of the desire to embed the SE and to regenerate the community, the SE itself was previously established elsewhere.

Contrary to this remote rural embeddedness though place-based social connections are important to other SEs they are not as integral. Instead, for LRC, W1C, GWK and its subsidiaries, embedding locally is one of many processes of conversion for starting and sustaining, rather than being integral to many, or all, of the processes. LRC for example employs staff who commute significant distances to the rural base. Rather than the SE having emerged from within the community, the local connections, knowledge and interest of one member of staff, though important, are utilised as added value – with the local history booklet on display in the cafe. W1C's connection to place is also a pragmatic reality rather than that sense of identity imbuing the enterprise.

In both the remote rural cases place is often commented on as affecting the daily lives of the community, notably topography, being cut off in winter, and the need for the community to be self-sufficient is evidenced in interviews from both. This shared experience and the shared understanding of what it would be like to be old in that same community is stated as the motivator for the interviewees. Whereas in other cases where the SE family is created and maintained over shared occupational expertise, in the remote rural cases shared experience of place seems fundamental to those bonds.

In two other cases a connection to place is presented as central to the mission of the SEs – both are in depleted small rural ex-mining towns. However, in both these less remote cases, WW and , staff, and volunteers in WW's case, travel from other communities, even from local cities, to work, and place appears less central the work of the enterprise. While in WW in particular the economic and political history of the local small local town is central to the staff and their mission, their businesses could in fact be located anywhere, and in WW's case had been established elsewhere prior to setting up independent from GWK. Processes of embedding are identifiable in both, for example asset transfer and development of the local co-operative buildings as the SE premises, re-homing onto the SE land of the local annual community festival. However, connections into the community, with other local businesses and organisations appear less, and staff travel far to work.

6.1.5 Rurality, volunteer time and sense of place

The final difference noted here is the apparent connection between SEs' rurality and their ability to convert sense of place and belonging to place, to reliable, ongoing volunteer time. Here volunteer time is differentiated from labour contributed at the start from core family and friends, and from 'expert unpaid labour' exploited on an ongoing basis from staff and directors or trustees. Volunteers need to be recruited and managed, and they are often also a beneficiary group of the SE.

Two cases rely heavily on converting free time of volunteers to their SE activity. These do not fall into the same journey type however, originating from very different circumstances. However, both are located in remote rural geographies, in both beneficiaries and volunteers are generally older residents of their respective communities, and in both in-migration emerges as an important theme. In both the challenges of aging in a remote rural place is identified as a common motivator – and is something founders, staff and volunteers rally behind.

The two cases are Weardale Community Transport and Warm Age Wood. In both unpaid regular work, voluntary work, are integral to sustaining the SEs, integral to their daily running. In WCT volunteers drive buses, organise the weekly social events, deliver newsletters. For WAW volunteers knit the woollen products sold in their high street shop. In both cases SEs volunteers are part of an Extended SE Family, and while this extended family is not unique to these cases the degree to which the SEs rely on regular volunteers is. In other SEs volunteers are added value, they are not integral to the daily running of the enterprise.

Initially the correlation between rurality and volunteer time was deemed to be connected to a sense of place, of belonging to a community of place and shared experiences of struggle and difficulty associated with place. In both rural cases issues of isolation and aging are central to the work of the SEs, and cited as motivators for volunteers to give their time. But, this sense of place was also observed at Woodshed Workshop, based in a depleted pit village community, here too, sense of place and shared challenges associated with place were core to the stated and observed mission of the SE founder and at least one of the CIC directors.

> *"We're just Durham lads, that's the bottom line, when you cut through the rest of it. We are just a group of locals trying to do something interesting for a rough village … anyone who's familiar with the village – its notorious"*

Case 8 Director

However, at Woodshed Workshop the volunteer hours given to the enterprise are not from locals, instead they are from past beneficiaries and their families. And so it seems the connection between sense of place and volunteers is more complex than it first appears and in both remote rural cases connected with a culture of volunteering, and the necessity of 'looking after your own'.

6.1.6 Conclusion

These results are important in two key regards. Firstly, they clarify that the journey types identify bundles of resources and conversion factors each case has at different stages. The SEs emerge from all sectors of the economy and evidence the importance of personal legitimacy and, either relevant experience of the issue at hand and/or with expertise and professional qualifications and legitimacy and networks relevant to the means if addressing the issue. Secondly, it reveals the complexity of the resultant strengths and weaknesses derived from where SEs originate, what resources and conversions factors founders bring to the enterprise, and what enables them to develop and expand their bundles over time.

The findings outlined suggest certain features of SE origin and context determine elements of what resources it makes use of, where those are sourced, and how they are converted SE activity. For although the conversion stories of start-up and sustaining are more complex than previously hypothesized these results indicate links do exist between size of organisation and SEs local geographical context.

Though the common themes identified across many of the types indicate origin of the SE journey does not ultimately determine many of the SE attributes, and strengths and weaknesses, with the data suggesting SE founders and managers overcome limitations by gathering different expertise and augmenting limited economic resources with the unpaid labour and commitment of the SE Family there are some differences that persist between the journey types. One critical difference is between those SEs which are able to rely on unpaid expert labour and those that appear less able to. Two primary cases make this point, case 6 and case 3, the large VCS organisation and the private sector spin-out

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The findings outlined below, in Table 21 – 24, do suggest certain features of SE's origin and context determines elements of what resources it makes use of, where those are sourced, and how these are converted to SE activity. For although the conversion stories of start-up and sustaining are more complex than previously hypothesized these results indicate links do exist between size of organisation and a SEs local geographical context.

Table 21: Stage 2 Vernacular SE Typology

	FOUNDER FEATURES		***SECTORAL ORIGIN***			
Type	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
SE Origin	Personal Issue/ crisis led/	Expertise/ Profess. Led/	Public sector (spin-out/off/ subsidiary)	Larger VCS org (spin-out/off/ Subsidiary)	Volunteer-run VCS org (spin-out/ off/subsidiary)	Private sector (spin-out/off/ subsidiary
Process			New/Transition	New/ Transition	New/ Transition	New/ Transition
Motivation	Social Mission Personal employment	Personal employment & profit	Funding landscape (marketization & austerity) Closures Mutualisation	Funding landscape (marketization & austerity) Profitable activity Public sector seed funded (e.g. ONE, LAs)	Benevolence/ Civic responsibility/ involvement	Civic responsibility
Examples	Mental Health survivor à Social Care Project (SEN child)	Community Artists Environmental / Development consultant	Social Carers Youth workers Enterprise Agencies	DCA SEA Development Trusts Comm Partnerships GWK arm's length SEs	Community Buildings Village Shop/Pub/ Cafe Community Transport Park Maintenance	
Push	Personal experience Crisis/ Issue	Employment/ Mission Prof expertise	PS marketisation Redundancy	PS marketisation Asset transfer Governance limitations	Asset/ Service transfer Threatened service	PS marketisation
Pull	ISR Service transfer PS contracts/ commissioning	PS marketisation Access Grant £ (governance/ branding)	Employment Efficiencies Golden Handshake £ Access Grant £	Financial independence Make money	Asset/ Service transfer Golden handshake	Access grants/ social investment

Table 23: Phase 1 Theorizing tested and augmented with Phase 2 findings

	FOUNDER FEATURES		SECTORAL ORIGIN			
Type	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
SE Origin	Personal Issue/ crisis led	Expertise/ Profess. led	Public sector (PS) spin-outs/offs/ subsidiary	Larger VCS org spin-out/off/ subsidiary	Smaller volunteer- run VCS org	Private sector spin- out/off/ subsidiary
Resources	Unpaid Expert labour (expertise in issue/crisis)	Unpaid Expert labour (occupational/sectoral expertise)	Initial cash/ assets investment Ongoing PS market Expertise developed in PS	Initial cash/ assets investment Grant expertise Bank of expertise and connections Reputation	Volunteer labour & Constructed SE Family labour	Private cash/ assets investment Private traded income
Conversion factors	Enthusiasm/ drive Unpaid labour Personal legitimacy and relevance of intervention e.g. Experience of care system, rural living, family suicide etc; Legitimacy garners support and commitment	Enthusiasm/ drive Expertise Free (private) labour Professional / occupational legitimacy & expertise e.g. knowledge of alternative education, social investment, social care, landscaping, alpaca care	Insider knowledge PS Expertise PS Networks Ongoing public sector commitment to deliver services, legitimacy, and relevant human capital e.g. knowledge of bureaucracy, social care process and social workers	Funding mix. VCS expertise Can access volunteers Size suits procurement Sectoral knowledge/ networks Charity can bankroll Charity can pilot Larger VCS org bank of expertise, reputation, connections e.g. partnerships with local authority, connections within primary care team, knowledge of Heritage Lottery grant writing, connections with RDA	Volunteer labour (subsidises business) Accountability (need not be place-based) Rooted in place/ issue Ethos of community development & culture of volunteerism. Benefits of constructed family loyalty, commitment, labour e.g. reliable trustees and volunteers, culture of reciprocity, can shrink back to small scale volunteer dependence	Knowledge of business and business support, parent business can potentially subsidize SE. legitimacy as a business person. Willingness to take risks and create opportunities e.g. multiple businesses/ ideas and income streams

Table 23 continued: Phase 1 Theorizing tested and augmented with Phase 2 findings

	FOUNDER FEATURES		SECTORAL ORIGIN			
Type	1	2	3	4	5	6
Potential Weaknesses	Founder reliance Amateur (not necessarily) Maverick Founder commitment built on experience and founder reliance risks burnout	Founder reliance Hybridity (money focus) Maverick Founder	Public sector dependency in era austerity PS organisational culture PS liabilities (e.g. pensions) Spin-off potentially lacks support /even experiences opposition from public sector	Not geog. Rooted Limited by large size (procedures) Subsidiary closed if too costly or not making sufficient profit; limited by large size of parent org. (procedures) Lack flexibility e.g. banks will not lend to charities	Founder/ Volunteer reliance Amateur Rooted Slow to react (not necessarily) Liabilities Risk Averse (not necessarily) Local competition Less	Lack expertise of public and third sector presents steep learning curve Past experience in for- profit business potential to limit ability to construct SE Family lack unpaid and volunteer hours
Opportunities	Dependent on disposition – willingness & opportunity to learn expertise and rules of different Sectors	Dependent on flexibility can shift services or business model in line with new funding opportunities or income streams	New government initiatives, new public sector markets, learn rules of different sectoral games and shift business model	New initiatives, new funding opportunities, continued niche public sector opportunities, private sector initiatives	Bank money that would otherwise go to salaries and/or higher social value output.	Private traded income Learn grant writing New public sector contracts
Threats	Burnout/ fatigue & succession issues	Burnout/ fatigue and succession issues Too profit orientated = hybridity issue (lacks evidence)	Private sector undercutting Limited market Public sector competition (austerity means £ stays inhouse)	Legacy Funding landscape changes e.g. EU, austerity, national policy changes, costs of working at scale, reputation	Vol fatigue Succession Compliance/ Fraud (lacks evidence) Grant dependent = hybridity issue	Parent business liabilities carried over e.g. costly tenancy. Social enterprise fails and parent business threatened

Table 23 continued: Phase 1 Theorizing tested and augmented with Phase 2 findings

	FOUNDER FEATURES		SECTORAL ORIGIN			
Type	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Support Issues	How to reduce founder dependency and support succession	How to reduce founder dependency and support succession	How to diversify income streams	Managing growth sustainably	Succession Recruiting new volunteers, building professionalism & expertise	How to build that SE Family authentically
			Public sector as source of potential social entrepreneurs	Large VCS organisations as SE seedbeds		

Table 24: SE Cases mapped against Phase 2 Typology

Type	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Personal issues/ crisis led	Expertise/ Prof. led	Public sector (spin-out/off/sub)	Larger VCS org (spin-out/ off/sub)	Small VCS (spin-out/ off/sub)	Private-sector (spin-out/ off/sub)
Lionmouth						
Wear1Care						
Alpaca Therapy						
Weardale CT						
WarmAgeWood						
Groundwork						
GWK G’house						
GWK Woodshed						
GWK Land O&I						
W’shed W’shop						

Key

Nascent	
Starting-up	
Sustaining	

6.2 Testing Phase 1 Vernacular SE Typology, comparing Phase 2 Cases across types

In Chapter 4 a typology of SEs was built theorizing that when different SE emerge from different origins and with different founder features and motivations, they do so with advantages and disadvantages resultant of where their SE journey starts. Here the empirical case data collected is used to develop and test the typology and accompanying theorizing. The results from the case data help in clarifying features of the typology, whilst inevitably revealing real world complexity. The application of the empirical data framed within the adapted capability approach highlights key findings.

Firstly, the empirical data reveals an additional type - SEs emerging from the private sector and, adds three sub-types to the sectoral origins – spin-outs, spin-offs and subsidiary SEs. Secondly, analysis using the collective capability framework clarifies that the typology types denote bundles of potential resources and likely conversion factors. Thirdly, applying SE cases to the typology at different stages of their development evidence SEs sitting across multiple types at start-up, and shifting within the typology as they develop over time.

6.2.1 SE originating from different economy sector

As Tables 11-13 show, the case data identifies SE cases originating from all sectors of the economy - third and public sectors, and the private sector. Building on the chapter 4 typology, a new type is revealed via the cases - type 6 'Private sector origin'. In the original typology the private sector is represented by type 2, Expertise/Profession led, intended to include individuals with occupational expertise addressing a social or environmental issue; this included individuals like community development or environmental consultants, who it was assumed were more likely to be personal-profit driven.

Alpaca Therapy (AT) is the SE representing type 6 in the cases selected. Though originally selected as a type 2, data reveals the founder is a successful businesswoman. AT evidences motivation to create social value emerging from the private sector. The founder's expertise is from the private sector, as a founder of successful small businesses, and not from third or public sector. The case provides a useful point of juxtaposition to other cases – pointing to strengths and weaknesses derived from sectoral origin which are developed in the differences section. The original for-profit business which AT is a subsidiary of is founded on a lifestyle choice. It is interesting that the founder attributes her desire to create social value to her response to local mental health crises, and to her personal learning about SE as a business model. She learnt of the concept of SE via public sector funded local SE support.

AT exists in a symbiotic relationship with the pre-existing private business and represents both the new type, and a new subtype. This new sub-type, the ‘subsidiary’, is represented by multiple cases in the selection, including GWK Greenhouse, GWK Woodshed, and GWK Land of Oak and Iron Heritage Centre. In chapter 4 subsidiaries are subsumed into the parent VCS organisation. However, the empirical data shows important implications for SEs if established as subsidiaries, depending on their business model and purpose.

The three cases which are subsidiaries of Groundwork add further real-world nuance /complication/understanding to typology because both GWK Greenhouse and GWK Land of Oak and Iron are established to trade privately and to make money for their parent organisation. GWK Greenhouse’s purpose is to make money for the parent charity, and is described as a success by the Groundwork’s CEO on that basis. GWK Woodshed was a subsidiary that was closed because it didn’t earn sufficient money to cover GWK’s management costs – as required by the parent charity.

> *“Here [at Land of Oak and Iron] we’ve not got any social element, it’s an enterprise, what we do with the money- if we ever get any - will be the social outcome. The Greenhouse we never put anything social in there, we put environmental in there, so it highlighted our environmental credentials, the money that we make has been used to subsidise Groundwork – that’s the social element.”*

Case 6, CEO

On the other hand, Weardale Community Transport (WCT) presents a different story to the Groundwork subsidiaries, it is a subsidiary to Weardale Community Partnership (WCP). While WCT currently subsidises WCP, it was originally subsidised by WCP because of the deemed importance of the social value it provides the community.

Typology subsidiaries, like the spin-outs and spin-offs, can originate from any economic sector - potentially sub-types of Type 3, 4, 5 and 6. Each of these different sub-types can have implications for the resources and conversion factors the resultant SE has to start and sustain but, as the different subsidiary cases presented above show, even SEs grouped as the same subtype can face different opportunities and challenges. The importance of whether an enterprise has spun-off a parent organisation without their explicit support, have spun-out with support, or have been set up as a subsidiary to the parent organisation is evidenced to be integral to its running. Each sub-type can make a difference to the resource and conversion factor bundle which each enterprise starts with. Wear1Care illustrates this. It spun-off from the local authority, so staff left without their previous employers support, and years later the enterprise still does not receive new client referrals from social workers in the department they previously worked for, relying instead on social workers in another department focused on dementia care having become aware of their service.

6.2.2 SE journey types as bundles of potential enablers

By revealing new types and subtypes and framing the SE cases' data with the different concepts of capability the empirical evidence clarifies two core components of the typology. These components are sectoral origin and individual founders' features. They offer two distinct windows with which to understand SEs, and clarify that economic sectoral origin (types 3,4,5,6) and individual founders' features (types 1 and 2) generally co-exist as multiple bundles of potential resources. Understanding of type 1 and 2 is given added nuance, representing conversion factors like individuals' legitimacy and expertise. For example, expertise from life, of the social value the SE is intended to create, and, or, of expertise from occupational and personal interests, qualifications and experience of the means by which the SE earns income. This leaves Types 3-6 as representing which economic sectors each SE idea and founders originate, and implicitly which resources and conversions factors SEs originating from these sectors are likely to have access to.

As well as adding founders' conversion factors the empirical evidence and the collective feature of the capability frameworks demonstrate multiple founder individuals can bring conversion factors from type 1 and/or type 2, whilst at the same time founding organisations with the culture and resources from one or more different sectors. This collective dimension, and the temporal multistage dimension of the analysis, are developed in the tables and the next section.

In Table 12 chapter 4's typology theorising is developed with the empirical data from the ten SE cases. The new theorizing is noted in red font reflecting findings from the SE cases.

6.2.3 Ongoing SE Journeys across SE types

Beyond new types and subtypes, an important finding is how difficult it is to assign the SEs cases to one journey type at starting point, and how SEs move from starting-up to sustaining show them commonly in the process of collating characteristics of multiple types. Table 24 represents each of the SE cases at different stages of development.

The first observation from Table 24 is that each SE is represented by three stages, rather than just start-up and sustaining by trying to apply the cases to the typology it became clear that an important stage was missing – the SE ideation and/or pre-social enterprization stage. From this initial nascent stage SE founders are gathering potential resources and conversion factors, including more people in the team with different expertise and aligning with different sectoral-based resources. [21]

Table 24 identifies where the idea for each SE case starts (in yellow), features of each type it uses starting-up (in green), and finally features used sustaining, and where relevant growing (in purple). The origin of the nascent SE, of the idea and of the individuals who set off on the SE journey, is important but which bundles each SE makes use of also depends on what expertise founders bring to, and crucially source, as the journey develops, and how these individuals interact with the institutional context.

As Table 24 shows multiple cases begin their journey in the more than one sectoral journey type. The result of SEs having had previous lives and transitioned. The cases evidence organisations transitioning between and across different sectoral resource bundles. Woodshed Workshop is one example. It transitions from closure as a subsidiary to Groundwork, to be re-established by a founder with professional expertise and personal legitimacy derived from his own life experience. It starts with multiple sectoral types represented having spun-out of a large VCS organisation where it had previously had public sector contracts and, had been focused on privately traded goods. As well as multiple sectoral resourcing the transitioned SE starts with a founder whose professional expertise, resulting from having worked for GWK this section, this more fine-grained analysis helps to identify factors of resource conversion Woodshed, includes training and support to spread SE risk across multiple income streams and thus accesses income from public, private and third sectors.

The empirical data shows as SE journeys develop over time, from their sectoral origins, they

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[21] In other sections of this chapter nascent and start-up are combined because start-up is the point of action rather than ideation, and it is actions - practices of creating this social enterprise - that the research questions are intended to address. For the purpose of this section, this more fine-grained analysis helps to identify factors of resource conversion

generally straddle the journey types, as new directors, trustees or staff are brought into the SE team. In this sample of cases in particular, cases transition between the public and voluntary sectors – evidencing a local dependency on public sector resources and intense ongoing integration/inter-relations of the third and public sectors. Cases 4 and 6 evidence interdependencies between the public sector and small and large VCS organisations – even at the very start of these cases' journeys. Case 4, a local community transport organisation is started with public sector grant money and is grown and sustained on local public sector contracts. It is also run alongside a local sister charity a community partnership set up via central government grant funding in response to the foot and mouth disease. Case 6, a very large regional environmental charity, is started by a local district council as a small 'independent' charity, with national and local government money used to pay for salaried occupational experts. As case 6 is sustained and grows those links with the public sector facilitate the organisation accessing funding from public sector contracts, and from national grant funders – which can themselves be described as public sector spin-outs. Another example is Case 1 established as a benevolent act with voluntary time with occupational expertise and legitimacy.

The importance of transitioning is reinforced by the case studies and by typology testing. Case 1 transitioned from previous failed attempt at a cooperative. Case 2 transitioned from a LA-run service. Case 3 started alongside and in mutual dependence with a for-profit lifestyle business. Case 4 started alongside a public sector funded, volunteer-run community partnership. Case 5 started on the back of expertise developed in a LA funded fuel poverty project. Case 6 is the result of the merger of many smaller publicly initiated and funded place-based environmental charities. Case 7 spins out, transitioning from being a VCS subsidiary SE to being an independent small SE.

The evidence of these SEs journeys points to the importance of a willingness and ability to learn and build in enablers from other sectors for SE sustainability.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter four sets of differences from the common themes affecting SE's capability to convert resources have been highlighted. Further how these relate to the Vernacular SE Typology developed in the Immersion Stage have been presented. The next chapter discusses findings presented in this chapter and the previous two chapters.

Chapter 7 Discussion

In this chapter key results from chapters 4, 5 and 6 are reviewed in parallel and in light of previous work, to identify key substantive themes, theoretical contributions, and implications for future SE policy, practice, and research.

Before listing the discussion themes, it is useful to remember the overarching aim of the study was to build new understandings of the practices of SE. The primary and emergent objectives of the two phases were:

- first, to understand how the language of SE is used and understood;
    - to understand how individuals offering face-to-face support makes sense of the ambiguity;
    - to identify types and features of SEs,
- second, to understand how individuals and groups start and sustain different types of SEs;
    - to identify if and how SE type and context affects the resources and processes of starting and sustaining different social enterprises

Addressing the first objectives, Chapter 4 highlights high levels of ambiguity and fluidity of the concept of SE in the field. It reveals different pockets of understanding and of acceptance of this ambiguity and fluidity, and different reactions to it. Also revealed in the chapter are some of the consequences that arise from the 'impossibility of a unified definition' (Defourny and Nyssens, 2017a) of SE. Given the current political rhetoric around 'left behind' communities and 'levelling-up' (DLHC, 2022), and the ongoing belief in different types of SEs as effective means of tackling local and social issues (DCMS and OCS, 2018, 2020), these are pertinent findings. For example, they explain how national initiatives and their language can be perceived locally. They point to where local expertise is situated in SE ecosystems. And they indicate the need to understand and engage with these ecosystems as competitive, complex systems.

Addressing the second objective, Chapters 5 and 6 show how different SEs are started and sustained, pointing to the role of different SE subventions, for example grants and unpaid expert labour, at the different stages of their development. And, to the importance of social processes for accessing and converting resources to SE activity. These subventions confront ideas of SE sustainability, if sustainability is understood in purely monetary terms.

Attention on what enables some SEs suggests novel approaches to future practical support – by bringing into the frame what enables and challenges different individuals and groups to start- up and manage their SEs. In particular, the importance of ongoing social relations is highlighted, both to starting SEs - with the support of families and pre-existing friendships, and to sustaining SEs - with support from 'Constructed SE families'. These shed light on how successful SEs are led. In addition, differences in SE enablers, related to SE type and local context, suggests nuances to how different SEs might need to be supported, with a Vernacular SE Typology contributing to mid-level theory, practical implications and to future research opportunities.

The discussion themes presented here follow from the objectives. In these, substantive findings are discussed at a higher level of abstraction contributing to broader discussions about how SEs are understood. A methodological thread also runs through each of the substantive themes, which result from the 'whole system', 'through time', 'practice-based' perspectives taken throughout the data collection and analysis.

The first two themes centre on understanding the ecosystem as complex, and from a pragmatist philosophical perspective. In Section 7.1 the complexities of the local SE eco-system are discussed, and findings of how this complexity manifests are related to previous academic work on SEs. The importance of cultural, political and temporal context and, how these interact with individuals' values and roles within the system is considered. Section 7.2 discusses findings relating to social enterprization journeys . The findings centre around how social enterprization is experienced by SE founders, managers and staff, and expertise and different capabilities individuals and groups bring to their social enterprization journeys.

Section 7.3 through a discussion of resources and social processes, highlights the SE subventions and feedback loops identified across different SEs. In Section 7.4, I discuss how well notions of hybridity fit with the findings; if the findings fit with theories of embeddedness; and if Polanyi's theory of re-embedding economics into society is apt given the importance of social components of resourcing SEs in the results. In 7.5 methodological choices are discussed showing how grounded, bottom-up methodologies and an open conceptual framework has delivered opportunities for new understandings. Finally, in 7.6 practical and policy recommendations are outlined, limitations of the research are identified and opportunities for future research are listed.

7.1 Complex Ecosystems and Values

The first phase of data collection sought to understand how the concept of SE is understood in the field by different stakeholders in the SE support ecosystem. This system-wide analysis is novel in the SE ecosystem literature. The findings demonstrate a variety of logics and values coexisting, and some of the consequences of that variety.

The analysis evidences a complex system of top-down and bottom-up forces, shifting and filtering how SEs are presented and understood by different institutions, groups, and individuals over time. While these forces have been identified in previous literature (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008; Teasdale, 2010, 2012; Teasdale et al., 2013; Spear et al., 2017; Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2011), the implications at a local level across an ecosystem have not previously been the focus of study. What is revealed are the variegated[22] (Brenner et al., 2010) effects of multiple, top-down, social enterprization (Sepulveda, 2015) policies over time and different individuals' frustration with, and pragmatic acceptance of, the resulting ambiguity around the concept and language of SEs.

Results presented in Chapter 4 build on years of academic effort put to defining and delineating the concept, and to understanding the evolution of the language of SE in the UK in shifting institutional and political contexts. In the region under study, the ecosystem of support for SEs, and understanding of SEs, is found to be less well developed than has been inferred and evidenced in previous UK studies (Steiner and Teasdale, 2016; Roy et al., 2015). The findings therefore have implications for understanding SE in different UK contexts and understanding how other fluid concepts – like social innovation – and associated policy tools might be received across complex ecosystems.

This study demonstrates that 'SE' is an ambiguous concept which can be better understood through the lens of complexity. That communities (Amadei, 2015), entrepreneurial ecosystems (Roundy et al., 2018), and policies (Lowe and Plimmer, 2019) can usefully be understood as complex systems and instruments within complex systems is increasingly recognised to have implications for supporting, funding, leading and auditing efforts to address wicked social realities and problems.

[22] Brenner et al. (2010) describe variegation as 'the systemically uneven … character of processes [of neoliberalism]" (p182) - which social enterprization can and has been interpreted as

"[C]ommunities are complex adaptive systems consisting of multiple subsystems and parts (e.g., individuals, institutions, and infrastructure) that are interconnected, are driven by some purpose, follow certain rules, and interact with each other and with their surrounding environment. In order to address community issues and problems, complexity and uncertainty must be embraced and dealt with" (Amadei, 2015, Abstract)

Mirroring the pragmatist philosophical approach taken throughout this study, the complex systems approach also recognises that:

"[O]ur decisions are not likely to be fully rational, optimal (best), and complete. Instead, decisions are often made on simplified versions using conceptual models of reality and based on human perceptions, perspectives, beliefs, feelings and emotions, past experience, and habits" (Amadei, 2015, p. 14)

Similarly, the findings evidence that the language of SEs is perceived to carry different sets of values associated with business, social action, and society. Similarly, individuals' responses to the concept are, in turn, value driven and driven by their roles in the system, and cultural and institutional context. They show different responses from participants with responsibility for business support and economic regeneration, and those with responsibility for VCS support and community development - reflecting different logics and values of these sectors, with strong evidence of 'othering'[23] by the participants when they discuss the concept. The research spotlights the public's difficulties comprehending the conflation of 'social' motivations and 'enterprise' – difficulties aligning the societal philanthropic motivations they associate with civic society and the VCS, with their understanding of the personal profit-making motivations behind business. We see VCS pushback, against what Bull (2018) describes as institutional isomorphism [24], in other words,

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[23] "Othering is the construction and identification of the self or in-group and the other or out-group in mutual, unequal opposition by attributing relative inferiority and/or radical alienness to the other/out-group." Brons (2015). In this study 'othering' is observed being used by different interviewees to identify themselves in opposition to, for example, more business-like and less social-purpose, or less grant reliant and less efficient.

[24] Institutional isomorphism in the context of social enterprise, as explained by Bull (2018), is the push for a single definition and form of SE to become legitimised over alternatives (p590)

pushback via the rejection of the concept and the language of SE from within the VCS. The research thus complements the notion of tactical mimicry presented by Dey and Teasdale (2016), with evidence of what is termed in this thesis 'pragmatic acceptance'. Pragmatic acceptance is VCS and SE support practitioners' acceptance of different interpretations and value-led reactions to SE. Acceptance of multi-directional 'tactical mimicry' and 'disidentification' by national and local institutions trying to resource and support social enterprization, and co-opting the language of community and community development.

Relationships between organisations and individuals within the ecosystem are affected by this contentious and fluid concept being aligned to different bundles of financial resourcing, grants and contracts, which these organisations compete for and then have to account for. This study finds a discordant relationship between business support and VCS community development support. Though this issue is alluded to by Barraket and Archer (2010), it has not received detailed or extensive attention in the UK academic literature. Yet, these relationships have important practical implications for understanding SE support. Interviewees representing business support repeatedly state there is little difference between SE and any other business, and thereby legitimize their own work in the SE field. While, at the same time in the same locality, evidence from VCS support indicates some individuals and groups they work with have a lack of understanding and, or, willingness, to accept the language and values of business and business support. This is identified as an oppositional relationship in some of the data, with evidence of othering and suspicion from business support and from VCS and SE infrastructure support. Consequently, SE support – as conventionally presented and delivered by business support – does not always align with the motivations and values of many from the third and public sectors experiencing social enterprization, individuals who in this study make up the majority of the SE cases (this point is developed in 7.3).

Parkinson and Howorth's (2008) work similarly finds resistance to the language and values associated with enterprise from some social entrepreneurs. This study extends this insight by evidencing overt and covert resistance. The resistance or pushback revealed here includes the rejection of the language of SE by individuals within the SE support ecosystem supporting and running organisations which could qualify as SEs. They explain their position by reasoning that the wider public locally do not understand the term, and that individuals they would identify as social entrepreneurs do not self-identify as such because they do not relate to 'SE' with their motivations and values.

These bottom-up forces evidenced in the ecosystem are an important and novel finding, with practical implications for support. They evidence that the language of SE, and to a degree that of business support, carries values which affect perceptions. Including those of the wider public who themselves have a role in the ecosystem, as potential SE volunteers, customers and supporters. It is notable that these findings, which are taken for granted by so many in the local ecosystem, are not evidenced in academic literature.

This study's exploration of values and local culture affecting the SE ecosystem from the bottom-up, builds on Mazzei's (2017) findings that the culture in the northeast region affects the nature of the local social economy. Mazzei's research compares the social economies of the Greater Metropolitan and the Tyne and Wear city regions and finds the Tyne and Wear social economy was more aligned to mainstream statutory provision, in part the result of its historic dependence on large employers. And, that the local social economy is the product of the "local economic climate, the nature of institutions and the community and culture" (p2765). This thesis adds to Mazzei's regional-level analysis by showing how local values affect SE intermediary support. How the naming of local initiatives, for example replacing 'SE' with the language of community development and volunteering, can be understood as multi-directional tactical mimicry and disidentification at a different level. Multi-directional, because mid-level infrastructure organisations like DCA are simultaneously aligning to top-down language to access resources from institutions, and to bottom-up understandings for resources from the local population. And because top-down language is attempting to align to the language of community development.

The top-down tactical mimicry alluded to here, involves the co-option of the language of community and community development by national and local institutions evidenced in the Power to Change 'community business' research and network, and the County Council's invitation to tender to provide support for 'community enterprise'. While this observation is not a novel contribution to the literature, evidencing the effects of what Barraket and Archer (2009) identify as institutional 'cooptation' is:

> *"As forms of citizen-led activity that purposefully transcend economic and social domains, the social enterprises examined in this research, have stimulated some disruptions to the institutions of local governance in our research setting" but "our research uncovered more stories of state-led cooptation and isomorphism*

than it did social enterprise-led disruption" (p13)

In this thesis the support practitioners' perceptions of tactical mimicry as pragmatic acceptance of what Defourny and Nyssens's (2017a) term "impossibility of a unified definition", is founded in their understanding of the inevitability of institutionally driven social enterprization of the third sector, and the public sector, which includes institutional cooptation of the language of VCS and community development. Further, it is founded on individual and organisational vernacular expertise (Lowe et al., 2019) of the locality, and of the individuals and groups they support. Some providers of SE support access finance to support SE in the knowledge that they will not use the language of SE, that many of the individuals and groups they support have only just begun the journey to SE and trading. Further, that some of these organisations being supported are either charities that would rather stay grant reliant or, are PPP businesses that want to be able to access grants. Layer onto this institutional cooptation – of systemic pragmatism – and complex feedback loops of the ecosystem are revealed. Multi-directional, mid-level tactical mimicry by VCS and SE support organisations and practitioners' is their pragmatic response to the shifting landscape and language of funding and procurement, and to the realities of their public-facing roles.

These results also point to national initiatives being more ideologically driven – motivated by the desire to transfer the ethos of the private sector to the social sector, than at the level of the local authority – here the motivation seems driven more by financial pressures of public sector austerity. do not align with the normative values of business, and who are most likely to work with individuals and groups likely to reject SE as a concept and as a valid mechanism for tackling the challenges they seek to address. As Bull (2018) asserts the traditional governance arrangements of these organisations hold values of working which do not necessarily conform to the 'top down' normative model of SEs as 'business-like', 'pro-market' organisations (p.588). The voluntary and community sector is used to the language of charity and philanthropy, community and volunteers.

SE support practitioners' pragmatic acceptance of the complexities drew attention to their expertise, how they made sense of these became an emergent research question. The understanding demonstrated by these vernacular experts has been critical in this study. Their perspective was pivotal to the typology which was developed in the immersion phase and which is presented in its final iteration in chapter 6. This is discussed in the next section.

7.2 Vernacular expertise shifts perspective to different origin stories

The complexity of the SE ecosystem is taken-for-granted by staff from the two organisations collaborating formally and informally with this study. In this discussion theme the practical and theoretical implications of the typology of social enterprization journeys presented in this thesis are discussed.

The typology was initially developed by investigating the expertise of SE support practitioners to understand their sense -making, it was then extended and developed using analysis of SE case study data. These findings therefore add support to existing theories of SE with support practitioner perspectives, including their ‘through time’ viewpoint of individuals and groups transitioning and journeying, and their understanding of the importance of the motivations, and economic and human capital that individuals and groups bring to different social enterprization journey stories. Their sensemaking blends empirical experiences of supporting individual and groups engaging in SE activity and of the development of the related organisations - the SEs.

One key theme which reoccurred during the immersion phase from conversations and interviews with VCS and SE support practitioners was the concept of ‘a journey’, SE journeys which different individuals and groups travelled. This concept is not new, in the literature, it is explicit in Seanor et al.’s (2013) ‘narratives of transition’, is implied in Seanor et al.’s (2014) discussion of SE as boundary work, and is implicit in the Sepulvida’s (2015) review of the top down processes of public sector ‘social enterprization’[25]. This study builds on the theoretical foundations developed in these publications. What this thesis adds is the application of ‘vernacular expertise’ (Lowe et al., 2019) of SE support in the locality. This is the expertise of individuals who have a professional eye on a wide range of different organisations moving toward SE or experiencing social enterprization. Because of different processes of enterprization acting across the public and voluntary and community sector in the UK (Spear et al., 2017), and due to the many types of SE journeys which had emerged from the immersion data, vernacular experts were asked to differentiate SEs. From this perspective a new picture is developed, one which the vernacular experts take for granted, but

[25] Defourny and Nyssens’ (2017a) ‘institutional trajectories’ also imply movement, but rather than movement of individual SEs they are referring to institutional pushes and pulls.

which adds bottom-up conceptualisations to academic understandings, and which has practical implications.

The results from the two phases, and evidence of social enterprization from across the different economic sectors, support and extend the theoretical framework presented by Defourny and Nyssens (2017a) which "combin[e] principles of interest (mutual, general and capital interest) and resource mixes to identify institutional trajectories generating four major SE models" (p321). Defourny and Nyssens' models are based on the idea of different SEs more or less aligned between three spectrums delineating three 'principles of interest' identified in the overall economy. The principles of interest are 'general interest', 'mutual interest' and 'capital interest', respectively aligned with public and voluntary sectors, cooperative sector, and the for- profit sector. These principles of interest combine with different 'resource mixes' - economic models combining different proportions of public grants, philanthropic resources, and market income. The four SE models they identify are: the social cooperative model, which combines mutual interest with general interest – the interests not just of the members; the social business model, 'driven by shareholders' (capital) interest, but aimed at the creation of 'blended value'; the public sector SE (PSE) model, which embraces "public-sector spin-offs", and the entrepreneurial non-profit model, essentially trading non-profit trading to support their social mission (p323-325).

All the learning from immersion in the literature and in the field supported a focus on SE journey origins to delineate types of SEs. Five types emerged from the vernacular expert interviews: *Issue-led SEs; Professional/Expertise-led SEs; Public sector spin out/spin-off SEs; Large VCS organisations and subsidiary SEs; Small volunteer-run VCSE organisations.* I refer to this as the 'Vernacular SE Typology'. Results from the analysis of immersion data and interviews thus added empirical depth to previous conceptualisations and typologies and added evidence of potential strengths and weakness of each of the journey types, something which previous typologies do not address (Spear et al., 2017; Defourny and Nyssens, 2017a,b; Young and Lecy, 2014). The vernacular experts' typology of local journeys identified push and pull features of individual circumstance and institutional context which motivated each journey type. What the vernacular expertise adds to previous typologies is the borrowed viewpoints of individuals and groups embarking on SE journeys – their motivations and, the different bundles of resources and endowments they bring with them. The perspective of support practitioners also adds a temporal dimension incorporating anticipated support needs, a sense of each type's strengths and weaknesses, surpluses and deficits in ‘endowments’ – like expertise, connections, knowledge, and physical and financial capacity, which the support practitioners aim to source and maximise with appropriate support.

The Vernacular SE Typology distinguishes two extremes within the Entrepreneurial Non-Profit model depending on size, with the small volunteer-run VCS organisation journey identified as different because of social motivations associated with ‘benevolence/ civic responsibility’, and ‘involvement’. The motivation of the Larger VCS organisations and subsidiaries is more business-like and funding oriented, motivated by the shifting funding landscape, commissioning, and public sector seed funding. This level of detail comes from practical understanding of the opportunities and challenges that are encountered on the different journeys.

Though more detail and differentiation are apparent in some vernacular types, two of Defourny and Nyssens’ modes are not evident in the vernacular typology – the social cooperative model, and the social business model. The lack of reference to the social cooperatives model may be a feature of the context being researched, or it may be bias inherent in sampling. Social cooperatives as a subsector are perhaps less visible to these vernacular experts. The social business model is, on the other hand, alluded to by the inclusion of the Expertise/Professional- led journey type and to a lesser degree the Issue/Crisis-led journeys, as the motivation for both includes personal employment.

New theory is added to existing models with the explicit inclusion of the social motivations of the small volunteer-run organisations - benevolence, civic responsibility, and involvement. Here it is useful to note that it is the enterprization of small volunteer-run VCS organisations that these vernacular experts include. This is an element of the SE population which are not commonly explicitly represented in the literature, perhaps because the legitimacy of the community involvement and community development motivations and outcomes does not fit well with the logic of business. It is notable that this logic is also not well expressed by Defourny and Nyssens’ models. In the case study phase of research, the SE run by community volunteers turned over more than half a million pounds per annum, but did not identify as a SE because of what they saw as the language of business not representing their motivations and ways of running their organisation.

Following empirical ‘testing’, the typology identifies sectoral origin as important to understand potential strengths and weaknesses of the SEs and their resources and processes, particularly at start-up stage; while also identifying the relevance of founder features and motivations as potentially important. It is the combination of sectoral origin and founder features that starts to determine likely characteristics. So, while Defourny and Nyseen;'s (2017a) model maybe useful for understanding the institutional influences on SEs and on national populations of SEs, what this thesis evidences is that SE type (based on "principles of interest" and "institutional trajectories") is likely to be less useful for informing the support requirements of different SEs, for informing public policy, or for understanding how the different types interact.

Though informed by Defourny and Nyssens (2017b), the typology developed in this thesis has more in common with Young and Lecy's (2014) 'zoo', though the zoo has a much bigger net for identifying SEs than the vernacular experts. The six major types of zoo species they identify are: for-profit business corporations engaged in CSR and philanthropy; social businesses seeking profit and social mission; social co-operatives; commercial non-profit organisations; public-private partnerships; and:

> *"hybrids ... that internalize the features of other forms of SE by explicitly combining organizational components with commercial versus social goals" (Young and Lecy, 2014, p1322).*

In contrast to Young and Lecy's zoo, the vernacular experts do not include private sector companies delivering on public sector contracts. And they exclude for-profit business corporations. This is interesting and may reflect the VCS bias of the participants and the researcher and local circumstance. The case study data does however produce findings which Young and Lecy identify as important areas of research. For example, the thesis evidences species evolving over time. Having developed the Vernacular SE Typology, below it is assessed on whether it meets the six criteria set out by Young and Lecy (2014) for a framework to advance research on SE. Young and Lecy (2014) present compelling arguments in favour of their inclusive zoo metaphor which include its ability to: identify SE sub-species and facilitate comparative research; to guide SE practice and thereby start to ask what is appropriate/ possible, where and how; study how types relate to each other, for example where SE compete or cooperate and the consequences; inform understanding of SE stability and sustainability; and provide a more comprehensive understanding of how SEs relate to their environment and thereby inform public policy.

Regarding the first criteria, efforts in this study to select SEs as case studies evidence the difficulty in pinning down this fluid concept to a distinct universe of entities. Here the evidence concurs with Defourny and Nyssens' assertion of the "impossibility" of meeting the criteria to 'identify a distinct universe of entities' (Young and Lecy, 2014) for measuration. The typology does however illuminate differences and similarities in resources and conversion factors, and suggest strengths and weaknesses with practical support implications. It also suggests potential strengths and weaknesses of each type and so can be instructive for future SE management and support. The Vernacular SE Typology also provides an overview of the population, and at least points to different galaxies in the universe of SEs. Though in this respect the participant's comment that 'it's like mapping the sky' gives clear warning as to how difficult it would be to be precise in attributing boundaries to these galaxies of SE types, and the crossover of cases across different types as SEs each are started and sustained. Regarding the final two criteria, the results of chapters 5 and 6 indicate that the typology can help determine the evolution of these enterprises and, can help develop policies, because a range of different types is accounted for which incorporates the breadth of social enterprization across economic sectors. Practical implications and policy recommendations are outlined below. It is in respect to these criteria that this vernacular typology demonstrates its strengths (see section 7.8).

7.3 Resources and processes enabling SEs

This discussion theme looks at substantive findings from the SE case studies' phase of the thesis. The results outlined in Chapter 5 highlight the shared resources and social processes, subventions and feedback loops, which enable different SEs' start up and sustainability – even though the SE cases started or transitioned from different origins. However, the diversity of SEs represented make it possible to propose generalizable findings common across different types. It is because of this diversity that commonalities identified across the types are of particular interest.

In line with theorising and findings presented previously in the academic literature, these SE cases benefit from historical institutional enabling and from contemporary enabling institutional arrangements (Teasdale et al., 2012; Sepulveda, 2015; Spear et al., 2017). The Collective SE Capability Frameworks catalogue important components of SEs' institutional and societal contexts specific to each of the cases. Many of these components are evidenced in previous studies, example, a historically embedded third sector (Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2011), third sector governance legislation (Bull et al., 2019), marketization of public service delivery and integration of third sector into that delivery (Seanor et al., 2013), and the importance of collaborations (Steiner and

Teasdale, 2016). This study builds on this foundation and adds to these previous contributions with interaction between individuals' conversion factors and institutional factors, and by distilling these interactions at both start-up and sustaining stages. In the data many features of societal and institutional enabling are taken for granted, what analysis and findings in this study focus on are the specifics of how all the components come together, how resources are converted, not simply that they can be or are, it is how SE is practiced, lived, enacted, and made real. The questions asked of this data are: how do SEs interact with their context, making use of these enabling features and, where do SEs encounter difficulties?

The findings point to the ingredients (resources and endowments) and processes identified as important to starting and sustaining different SEs, and to accessing those ingredients and converting them to SE activity. They highlight the importance of economic and human capital subventions, social connections and social processes – like community making, and enabling features of context. These are key findings, and the multi-level interconnections are novel contributions to theory, and direct results of the grounded approach. Though enabling features of SE ecosystems have previously been identified, their connections with the internal dynamics of the SE have been less well studied. Though the importance of social relations and connections is not novel, this thesis adds weight to the debate that the relationship between the social and economic components of SEs needs to be reframed.

Analysis of the case studies reveals similar resources enable different SEs. They point to the importance of relatively low risk financial capital to cover initial running costs and, of free or subsidised capital investment like subsidised SE premises, land and tools; and to the critical role of relevant human capital, cross sectoral expertise and 'insider knowledge', and/or, volunteered expert labour. Features of human capital found to be important to SEs include: the leadership skills and legitimacy of founder(s) or managers; multi and cross-sectoral expertise in the team – that is, expertise of the public, third and private sectors; and the occupational expertise and shared values within the team.

While it is unsurprising that economic capital and human capital are the cornerstones of these SEs, the nature of the economic capital and human capital, and where and how these are sourced and converted to SE activity are interesting findings. For example, evidence here finds that the low and no risk finance came from family and friends, and from local authority grants, or from flexible social investment often delivered hand in hand with tailored advice and support. And that specific critical economic capital at start-up includes subsidised premises, land, and tools sourced from founder households, local authority asset transfer, and from founder public and third sector organisations which some SEs spun out or off.

What the findings show is SE start-up relies on no/low-risk institutional economic support and on the relationships of family and friendship which pre-exist the enterprise. And sustainability is facilitated by public sector contracts and privately traded income, by grants, and by maintaining and developing the social ties of the constructed SE family and extended SE family - those strong and trusting social bonds. These social ties, in combination with individuals' sense of social responsibility, shared values amongst the group, and ongoing sharing of values and sense of shared SE identity, all repeatedly feature in the SE narratives.

This overview of common resources and processes at multiple levels and stages, across different types of SEs (see Figures 16 and 17) goes some way to answering calls for a broader approach by Saebi et al. (2019). Analysis using the capability frameworks reveal the details of the interconnections between these different enabling resources and processes (see Section 7.4 for detailed discussion of the methodologies and analytical framework). Interconnections identified include, for example, the importance of legitimacy, shared values and shared identity, and of storytelling, and point to some features of human capital and traits of leadership style enacted to access and convert resources like public sector grants, individuals' expert labour, and traded income from private customers from the wider public.

The primary resource provided by shared and sharing values and identity is voluntary expert labour given to the SE by paid founders and staff, and by volunteers. Just how different cases do and do not access voluntary expert labour hours – via sparking intrinsic individual motivation and instilling a sense of identity, community and belonging – is an interesting finding with practical implications going forward. These findings and the findings of the 'Constructed SE Family' point to a different style of leadership required to sustain these small SEs that is reliant on ongoing gifting of expert labour and support. This style is different to leadership based on transactional financial relationship, instead it is founded on reciprocity and a shared identity which values the creation of social and environmental value over the capture of economic value (Santos, 2012).

Visualising how this choice is connected to leadership styles, and to sense of belonging, points to novel support and training opportunities for nascent and active SE founders and managers. By unpacking features of critical social relationships between the important players within the SEs, the resource conversions identified present a more comprehensive and complex picture of the dynamic feedback loops involved in SE founding and ongoing management, involving a version of the heroic social entrepreneur leader who via legitimacy, storytelling, sharing values and social connection energises and motivates groups of people to repeatedly give more than they are paid for, for the aims and purposes of the SE. These add nuances to the ideas of that individual hero, revealing the importance of the group, the constructed SE family, and therefore leadership from that individual hero.

In the next section I discuss these findings and consider if they fit with theories of organisational hybridity, embeddedness and re-embeddedness.

7.4 How apt are some theoretical approaches?

This discussion point considers how apt previous, taken-for-granted ontologies and theoretical approaches are to understanding the processes behind how these SEs are started and sustained. To contextualise this theme it is useful to be reminded that calls within the SE literature for more critical stances to be taken within the study of SEs have intermittently encouraged researchers to reframe their inquiries. For example, Steyaert and Dey (2010) call for SE research to be understood as enactment, as a constitutive act (p 231). They highlight that, because social entrepreneurship – in this thesis 'a SE' – does not exist until it is named as such, it is the responsibility of researchers to be mindful of the assumptions and biases they bring to the process. Thus, social entrepreneurship research should remain critical of inherited assumptions and models and, should be actively open to new ways of 'making' the world. These new ways and understandings cannot unquestioningly follow taken for granted ontologies – ways of seeing the world.

Some UK-based academics have consistently pursued alternative perspectives and taken critical stances: in their writing Ridley-Duff and Bull repeatedly question whether taking a conventional business school perspective is appropriate to understanding SEs; Bull et al. (2010) and Ridley-Duff and Bull (2018) query whether hybridity is the appropriate way to frame for SE, suggesting that it is the economic emphasis which has understood these organisations as hybrid. They instead suggest conceptualising these organisations through an alternative paradigm, using the lens of ethical capital (2010), reciprocity and benevolence (2018). They assert:

> *"Current conceptualisations of social enterprise fail to fully satisfy the spirit of*

the movement which advances a narrative that social enterprises: are more like businesses than voluntary organisations; are more entrepreneurial than public service delivery; use business models but are not just in it for the money. A focus on the economic implies a business model where deep tensions lie. A focus on social capital offers a different frame of reference, yet both these conceptualisations fail to fully identify the phenomenon that is social enterprise." (Bull et al., 2010, p. 250)

Similarly, Kay et al. (2017) propose returning to the approach of Pearce (2003) in seeing SE as an alternative way of working.

"Although still very much a fringe activity in comparison to the capitalist mode of business, social enterprise in one form can be seen to represent a viable, and potentially radical, alternative to mainstream enterprise." (Kay et al.,2017, p. 6)

This research project has sought to remain open to alternative and new perspectives of the 'doing' of SEs via its grounded, collective, participant-led bottom-up methodology. It is via this approach that the wide diversity of SE types is identified and included in the case study phase of data collection.

7.4.1 How do the findings sit with hybridity?

Although much of the SE literature has understood processes of navigating competing commercial and social logics as defining challenges of SEs (Austin et al., 2008), and SE as exemplar hybrid organisations (Doherty et al., 2014), others query whether hybridity is the appropriate way to frame SEs, suggesting alternative approaches for example proposing ethical capital as an apt construct (Roy et al., 2021), and explicitly framing the economic and social components of SE as compatible, integral to each other even (Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2018; Roy and Grant, 2020; Roy et al., 2021). It is notable that all bar one of my case studies do not present managing economic and social goals as a balancing act. Instead, social values and processes seem to guide economic action with individuals making choices to prioritise social value over individual economic return. An important finding is these cases indicate paid employment for SE can require that the enterprise, founders, and staff forego maximising personal financial return. Implicit in founders' and employees' active choices to forego economic capital are choices which value other returns or rewards above or alongside financial returns.

Interestingly, this is less so in the examples of the large charity and its subsidiary SEs (cases 6,7,8 and 9) for which the economic return is central and often referred to as having to take priority. But, for the smaller SE case studies the combination of social and enterprise is taken for granted as an identity in itself, and not as two conflicting components. The economic is the means to the social, but social processes and socially-motivated decisions by individuals to not maximise their own economic return, combine with the traded income to make social value creation possible.

The findings therefore indicate that, rather than hybridity as a source of conflict and tension, SEs may be best understood via the lens of hybridity if that lens is open to the positive, 'bright side', of hybridity (Mongelli et al., 2019). Hybridity understood as a positive and enabling feature:

> *"We believe that this depiction of social enterprises is not exhaustive and that it downplays the opportunities for innovation and change that these organizations can leverage precisely because of their hybrid nature" (p302, Mongelli et al., 2019)*

However, the argument put forward by Mongelli et al. (2019) in the editorial to their special issue appears to be more focused on SE outcomes as evidence of the bright side of hybridity, and to be more market-positive than some SE practitioners in my case studies presented. The results in this thesis are focused on processes of starting and sustaining SEs rather than outcomes. And these processes evidence market trading as only one lever for sustaining SEs. Other shared levers are the constructed SE family, associated acts of reciprocity, and philanthropy, public sector grants, and other gifted economic capital like low-cost land. The findings therefore support Castellas et al.'s (2019) assertions that hybrid organisations require managed, dynamic movement between logics. However, the findings also point to practitioners managing more than the logics of the third sector and the private sector, with the Constructed SE Family findings highlighting a different, more social logic, one beyond economic sectors. Perhaps following the logic of the 'family economy' as Pearce (2003) envisages, or of the 'business household' proposed by Bennett and Phillipson (2004). Battilana and Lee (2014) state that a successful balancing of hybridity of social and economic mission depends on the degree of hybridity within the business model and within the business's management. That if managers are given hybrid responsibilities – where both economic and social missions are internalized and assumed – there is likely less conflict within the organisation than if management of money earning and social value are separate responsibilities. Whilst this argument is supported by many of my small SE cases, it is undermined by the one case at scale, in which it is the manager responsible for social value delivery that presented the most marketized monetary-focused values, and the difficulties shifting staff to more market-driven logic were repeatedly raised.

Castellas et al. (2019) identify four stages of a process of hybrids responding to value pluralism and institutional complexity – stating they separate, negotiate, aggregate, and assess the component features of the different economic, social and environmental values they are seeking to create. However, if as the findings in this study suggest, SEs do not necessarily present as organisations managing conflicting logics it brings into question what is to be gained from understanding SEs as hybrid at all. It would be interesting to see if these stages correlate to the taken for granted processes of smaller SEs, or if these logics are not separable in these SEs.

Instead of hybridity as a lens it may be that SEs should require or inspire that we shift our understanding of economic logic and understand economics as integrated in social relations and human life – as Polanyi (1944) (referenced in Roy and Grant, 2020, Roy et al., 2021) suggests – not as different to society, not as entirely rational and logical. Before returning to this question in 7.4.3 it is worth asking if economic sociology theories of social capital, networks and embeddedness are useful to understanding these more social features of the SEs in this study.

7.4.2 Does Embeddedness fit with these findings?

The finding that personal connections and gifted resources like cash and unpaid expert labour are critical to starting and sustaining SEs could be understood to build on the theories of the importance of founders' social capital, social connections, embeddedness and networks in starting and sustaining enterprises generally (Bourdieu, 1990a,b; Granovetter, 1973, 1985; Putnam, 1993, 2000). However, during the backward and forward processes of iterative analysis, the practitioner-led methodological approach taken in this study appeared to undermine subtly but consistently the transactional, profit-maximising, utilitarian values embedded in Granovetter's theories. And instead, arguments put forward in the SE literature that the motivation of social entrepreneurs is better understood by different paradigms to that which have conventionally been used to understand enterprise and small businesses won over (Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2011). They seemed to make more sense and fit more comfortably with my interpretations of the responses of the participants.

The importance of networks and social capital in economic and civic life has been extensively researched building on seminal contributions from Granovetter (1973, 1984), Bourdieu (1983), and Putnam (2000). Many examples exist in the academic literature assessing the nature and importance of these social components of life to businesses (Lowe et al., 2005; Chell and Baines, 2000; Anderson et al., 2007; Anderson et al., 2010; Jack and Anderson, 2002; Atterton, 2007; Phillipson et al., 2006, Bosworth and Willett, 2011; Newberry et al., 2015). And examples of the importance of households for businesses (Baines and Wheelock, 1998a,b; Oughton and Wheelock, 2003) all evidence different degrees of integration between different social connections, strong and weak ties, within and between, households and networks and small businesses.

Evidence in this thesis initially seemingly supports assertions in these studies, and studies finding SEs are similarly dependent on social connections and networks to access economic resources, knowledge and cooperation via social connection (Littlewoods and Khan, 2018). What is novel from this study are the findings which point to SE practitioners prioritising the social relations and processes over the economic return, seeming to perceive economic return as a by-product, or at least the social processes of generating and maintaining productive social relations as an important a return as economic.

The finding, that individuals forego financial return, is one of several signs in the data which jar with conventional notions of social capital – if understood primarily as a means to economic return. Instead, the SE data presents social connection as a return in itself. Another sign is the reaction of many of the participants when I explicitly asked about networking. They responded as if that term is inappropriate, even objectionable, instead reaffirming that their reciprocal relationships were founded in friendship, and in a mutual wish to generate social value. Another example is how these SEs often embed in their local communities after they had established their business model, and explicitly connect that process of embeddedness with their social objectives and with generating social value, and not with economic return.

This data corelates with theoretical assertions and developments in some of the more 'alternative' and challenging SE literature, for example, as early as 2010, Bull et al. (2010) state:

> *"A focus on the economic implies a business model where deep tensions lie. A focus on social capital offers a different frame of reference, yet both these conceptualisations fail to fully identify the phenomenon that is social enterprise." (p250)*

Bull et al. (2010) go on in their paper to develop the theory of ethical capital. However, whilst ethical capital was considered as an apt code during early attempts to analyse the SE data it did not fit, again being deemed too transactional. In early coding attempts Granovetter's theory of networks and embeddedness were considered as a theoretical framework within which the data could be coded, compared and understood. However, the bottom-up data did not comfortably fit with the theory. In hindsight, the perspective these research findings take us to shifts from more neoclassical 'business studies' perspectives of embeddedness, like that taken by Littlewood and Khan's review of business journals, to a perspective which fits more comfortably with the Polanyian re-embedding of business and economics into society (Roy and Grant, 2020; Roy et al., 2021).

The findings can be read as the 'Constructed SE Family' working in similar ways as the 'business households' conceptualised in Bennett and Phillipson's (2004) paper. With the 'business households' concept constructed as a mechanism for understanding how rural micro- businesses in the north of England survived through the 2001 - 2002 Foot and Mouth crisis. In their conceptualisation the business household can include "long-standing employees and family members living apart from the small firm owner" (p263), in the same way as the Constructed SE Family connects family, friends and volunteers. Just as in the business households the strong social connections of the Constructed SE Family broaden the businesses asset-base, bring in economic, human and social capital, for example providing flexible and often unpaid labour. However, a question remains in my mind about differences between the study of rural businesses in crisis and the SEs in this study. Evidence from the former points to the business household relationships revealing their utility during crisis. For the latter their constructed family appears integral to their ongoing business plan, used persistently for sustainability.

The importance of familial resources at start-up and the constructed SE Families' resources to sustain SE case studies - via gifted subventions of expert labour - concurs with this 'business household' concept. Bennett and Phillipson's evidence of the emotional labour of household members to support business owners also aligns with SE founder reliance on close familial connections, and the connections of long-term friendships. Where the Constructed SE Family evidenced in the SE case studies generally differs is the ongoing reliance on unpaid expert labour of staff and volunteers and, the additional theorizing about the processes by which these relations of reciprocity are maintained. The inclusion of pre-existing, established, shared values amongst the

SE Families, and the importance of ongoing sharing of values as a means of motivating active involvement in the SEs, builds on concepts used to understand embeddedness in the SE literature. For example, the role of legitimacy (Vestrum, 2016) and acts of two way-embeddedness (Vestrum and Rasmussen, 2013); the role of entrepreneurs' social bonds and identification with, and sense of responsibility to, communities of place in depleted communities (McKeever et al., 2015); or to discussions of 'fitting in' and expressing values of social responsibility at some economic cost to craft entrepreneurs (Pret and Carter, 2017). However, the sustained loss of economic benefit to the individuals involved in the Constructed SE Family does not seem to sit with classical economic theories of embeddedness.

This study therefore goes some way to identifying features of the cyclical processes of creating, articulating, strengthening and adapting social connections to convert resources and endowments to SE activity. It contributes to understanding social capital as processual (Chell and Baines, 2000), and social capital as the glue and the lubricant in networks (Jack and Anderson, 2002). However, though these perspectives of social capital could be advanced by the data produced by this study, the interpretation in the findings takes its lead from the perspectives articulated by SE practitioners. From the grounded and pragmatic perspective offered by this study, the interpretation of the data and findings echo a Polaniyian view of embeddedness rather than Granovetter's view. This is led by evidence of the SE practitioners dislike and even rejection of the language of networks and networking. Interpreted as a rejection of the language and values of traditional conceptions of market-led business. This interpretation supports the argument for understanding SE via an entirely different paradigm, as proposed by Roy et al. (2021). In this way the grounded, practitioner-led perspective of this study suggests a more 'dangerous', less constitutive (Dey and Teasdale, 2010), more radical (Dey and Steyaert, 2012) perspective on social connections and embeddedness of many of the SEs.

7.4.3 Do the findings fit with Polanyian theory of economic embeddedness?

In recent years some academics of SE have begun to reassert the relevance of Karl Polanyi's theories of relations between the market and society, proposing that the original theoretical underpinnings of European conceptualisations of SE are more relevant to understanding SEs more generally (Kay et al., 2016; Roy and Grant, 2020; Roy et al., 2021). This study's findings concur, pointing to SEs being a radical enactment of the humane, the social, at everyday micro levels in opposition to state-led globalised forces of neoliberalism and the market economy (Roy and Grant, 2020).

This is a generous claim for a thesis focused on ten SE cases in the northeast of England. However, the grounded, bottom-up, SE practitioner-led processes of data collection and analysis seem to at least support the claim that some SEs represent efforts to re-embed individual economic activity into principles of everyday social activity. Roy and Grant explain that a Polanyian (1944) perspective integrates principles of market, redistribution and reciprocity, a view explicitly stated in some of the SE practitioners' interviews, and implicit in the case study findings:

> *"Polanyi argues that all economic systems have always been organized, at least up until relatively recently in history, on the principle of reciprocity (commonly via household/community/civil society), redistribution (most commonly via the state), or on the principle of exchange (via the market), or some combination of all three." (Roy and Grant, 2020, p. 181)*

In this study participants' taken-for granted combining of grants, low/no risk investment from family, friends and institutions, free or low cost occupational and sectoral expertise provided by unpaid directors, paid staff and volunteers, with traded income from markets, seems to support Polanyi's position that the primacy of economic logic is a 'economistic fallacy' (Roy and Grant, 2020, p180) - that the study of economics equates wholly to the market without consideration of the society. Instead, participants appear to evidence Polanyi's substantivist approach described here:

> *"By positing a substantivist approach to the economy, Polanyi thus presents economic life as a totality of relations and institutions that goes beyond transactions of goods and services." (Roy and Grant, 2020, p181)*

Roy and Grant (2020) argue a Polanyian approach takes embeddedness beyond Granovetter's conceptualisation, re-embedding the market into society, and takes a new perspective on hybridity, emphasising the social dynamics of SEs not just reducing SEs to mechanisms of the market to produce social output. This is not to say that all SEs are run in opposition to the dominant neoliberal ideology, rather that by understanding some SEs on their own terms it becomes clear some are the expressions of individuals' social activity which can be better understood by acknowledging a social logic to their day-to-day choices. A social logic which goes beyond purely rational, logical economics.

7.5 Methodological reflections

This discussion theme considers the contribution of the methodological approaches taken in this study in the two phases of data collection and analysis. It considers what these approaches add to knowledge and how these relate to wider SE literature.

7.5.1 Collaborative and Ethnographic approaches in a Complex System

In the first stage of data collection and analysis a broader and more nuanced understanding of the SE concept and its practice is achieved in large part because of the inductive ethnographic approach taken. By following the concept in the field, observing local VCS support and SE practitioners at work, and by deliberatively seeking interviews with individuals working in and with different economic sectors, divergent opinions and reactions to the concept emerged. Differences which analysis indicates are associated with the interviewee's professional positionality, and the values they associate with, and bring to, the concept. The result is a more sensitive picture of this complex system in one geographical context, one of multiple interconnected levels, and of pockets of different language, values and understanding, each shifting over time.

Supporting this more nuanced understanding, this thesis evidences the consequences of the multifarious origins and cultures of the range of organisations and enterprises contending with the realities of top-down social enterprization and meeting bottom-up perceptions and understandings of the SE concept. In this way it extends the understanding presented in the literature. For example, it goes further than Collavo's (2018) recent study to understand the effects of the controversy around the meaning of SE in the UK. It does so by casting the net wider for participants and data, including those on the fringes of SE support. It reveals a pattern where opinion of SE reflects interviewees' professional responsibilities and, associated economic/societal/political ideology and values. It finds different layers of understanding and of negotiation around the concept – with 'tactical mimicry' explicit and implicit in interviewee responses, co-existing alongside othering, suspicion, and frustration. All consequences of the concept's ambiguity and value-laden nature.

The ethnographic methodologies used throughout this study aimed to ground the findings in lived experience. It reflects a pragmatist philosophical approach – prioritising and integrating participants' beliefs and actions and meaning making and re-making. It is founded in the collaborative relationships between individual participants and myself, in which the participants are the experts in the field, and I the observer, listener, learner – recognising at the same time two-way relationships of meaning making, and my position as academic insider with access to theories and time to reflect.

Primary reasons for this methodological choice are expressed in Mauksch et al.'s (2017) paper 'Ethnographies of social enterprise' which begins stating:

> *"Ethnography … permits researchers to move beyond accounts which frame social enterprise as a pre-ordained, ready-to-use and thus decontextualised business "model", "approach" or "hybrid". Alternating from these typical classifications, we understand social enterprise as a social phenomenon that shapes and is being shaped … we understand social enterprise as performative enactment … Such shift in attention to the ways in which social enterprise is performed as daily routine demands an appropriate set of methods that remain close to the everyday through everyday practice." (p114-5)*

The methodological choices made during this study and the resultant findings go a long way to legitimizing this claim, evidencing the value of the ethnographic approach in illuminating multiple co-existing perspectives and beliefs, different SE journey types, and prioritizing SE practitioner viewpoints and SE's collective dynamics.

The ethnographic approaches taken throughout this study have put meat on the bones of Biggeri et al.'s (2017) propositions. They also help to identify likely challenges and difficulties in implementing such a system within the current rules and norms of public sector contracts and philanthropic funding of social value – funding sources identified as important resourcing for starting and sustaining SEs. The multi-sectoral expertise required is a key finding. This includes expertise like grant writing, insider knowledge of local authority asset transfer and procurement, leadership skills and community development expertise, and business development expertise.

While there is some evidence of Australian SEs negotiating the institutional silos of economic development and community development within local governance arrangements (Barraket and Archer, 2010) this has not been a feature of UK academic enquiry before this study. And these findings point to the need for the different sectoral support bodies to work together and, as Steiner and Teasdale (2019) allude to, to support these enterprises in a more integrated way, not from within their sectoral policy silos. Findings from the lived experiences studied in both phases directly inform the recommendations listed in Tables 25 and 26.

The understanding of SEs revealed and reviewed in this study is critical to appreciating the full and rich picture of SE activity in the ecosystem. Without this perspective, the sampling in stage two would have been limited, and the findings less comprehensive. Appreciation of values and perspectives, and how these affect an individual's identification with the SE concept and language enabled learning in the second phase. For example, the inclusion of Weardale Community Transport and Lionmouth Rural Centre – who do not self-declare or identify with the label of SE; the inclusion of Groundwork NE and Cumbria – who at the time of data collection were earning the majority of their income from grants, not contracts; and, the exclusion of long-established 'community businesses' like rural village halls because of the longevity of their trading model. These SE sampling decisions, were directly informed by lessons of participant observation and by the vernacular expertise of support practitioners' living and working with the complexities of the ecosystem. They are fundamental to the breadth of learning this study delivers.

An important contribution of the study's inductive approach and findings is that it supports the tranche of SE literature which critique wholesale transplanting of theories of business to understanding SE (see discussion point 7.3) (Ridley-Duff, 2007; Dey and Steyaert, 2012; Ridley-Duff, 2011). This has practical implications with evidence of why language and action associated with profit and business can get in the way of supporting individuals and groups involved in – what many would term – 'SE'. Recognising this and reframing language like networking, branding, marketing and, replacing it with language associated with the values of community development for example may be useful.

On a broader level this data adds evidence to the argument, reiterated very recently in the SE academic literature, that an entirely different approach to the place of the economy in relation to society (Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2018; Roy and Grant, 2020; Roy et al., 2021), and that SE could represent a model for how we understand societal embeddedness of business and the economy (Roy et al., 2021). Findings from this study, in particular from the case studies, support this argument – as developed in the previous discussion point.

Having presented a generally positive view of the SEs, it is also important to heed warnings in the literature to not be overly positive of these SEs (Dey and Steyeart, 2012). Specifically, on a system wide and societal level there is a responsibility to also understand the trade-off these individuals make by gifting their time and expertise to the enterprises. This is to understand 'sustainability' of the enterprise as dependent on sacrifices of individuals, and that this is not without cost and risks to those individuals, and ultimately to the SEs and the systems which rely on them. Some of the possible negative consequences include: reputational and emotional risks to individuals running SEs, particularly those running SEs in and for their communities; financial risks and costs to individuals running and working for SEs – without the job security, workers' rights, continuing professional development and public sector pensions previously associated with delivering social value through employment with public bodies. And finally, risks to the enterprises and the system of their reliance on small insecure enterprises which may have problems with succession, securing funding and low/no cost expert labour, and which do not have the insurances provided previously by larger institutions. One implication of these realities is that ongoing community development support, with VCS experience, is needed as part of the ecosystem supporting SEs. This is particularly for those SEs with small VCS origins, but also SEs which could be viewed as more the private sector spin-out/off/subsidiary type who may need support to manage volunteers, and to access and manage grant finding. This is also the case for those SEs who present with an ongoing reliance on these resources.[26]

In this study ethnography and the emergent research design facilitated the SE journey types to emerge as 'whatever it is for the people who enact it' (Mauksch et al., 2017, p123) – including those who do not identify with the language. The sampling for the case studies was then suitably diverse, and so more was brought to view. By spending time with individuals with daily, face to face experience supporting different types of SEs it became clear who had expertise to develop the Vernacular SE Typology.[27]

After the analysis of the support practitioners' typing interviews the concept of 'vernacular expertise' was applied to these individuals' knowledge – the knowledge of SE support practitioners in the field making sense of the concept of SE in context. This concept was borrowed from Lowe

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[26] The discussion around the atomisation of delivery and the individualisation of risk, and evidence that some of these cases do not identify with ambitions associated with conventional business growth supports promotion of what Steiner and Teadale (2018) call "communities of scope", instead of efforts to help SEs scale up.

[27] The methodology chapter describes the use of visual methods to focus and triangulate these interviews. These are one example of efforts taken in this study to address what Steyaert and Dey (2010) judge to be failings in the field of social entrepreneurship study, due to it's safe, and unwritten constitutive nature. Visual methodologies were also used in the data collection for the case studies.

et al.'s (2019), understanding this expertise as vernacular helps explain how and why their knowledge was critical to this study – because of its 'in-between' nature. The SE support practitioners' vernacular expertise offers an important perspective that has not been used the focus of studies prior to this thesis – and clarifies future opportunities for understanding UK SE in different contexts. Their expertise also facilitated the nuanced understanding of tactical mimicry evidencing a pragmatic acceptance of Defourny and Nyssens's (2017a) "impossibility of a unified definition". This finding is founded in the 'bottom-up conceptualizations of SE' their seminal work calls for.

One lesson for future research is - it is not enough to assume or claim to be inclusive in sampling,

7.5.2 Ethnography and prioritising practice

In the case study phase of the study, I approached SE as everyday practice, directly addressing an important critical thread through the SE literature, by prioritising practitioners' perspectives. My approach directly addresses the criticism from Dey and Steyaert (2012):

> *"The views of practicing social entrepreneurs have not received enough attention from the research community … how practitioners' narratives differ from both academic and political discourse, and how these instances of micro-resistance and emancipation open up new paths of understanding." (p90-93)*

The ethnographic approach, employing participant observation and conversational, open interviews, facilitated a focus on those practitioner-led explanations and priorities and on the collective, social and relational features of their daily endeavours. These collective and social components have been revealed through multiple examples of what Newth (2017) calls microtruths. It is via my attention to the 'off the cuff' responses and participant observation of group dynamics and the stresses placed on different themes by participants that these important themes emerged from the data.

Newth (2017) states:

> *"precious little research has empirically explored the micro-level truths of the social entrepreneurship experience in ways which account for the nuanced influence of organizational and institutional contexts.. ethnographic approaches hold the promise of bringing critical perspectives of social entrepreneurship and*

enterprise" (Newth, 2017, p684)

The ethnographic approach involved a shift from focusing on one, individual founder or manager or chief executive, to multiple interviewees and participants. This has provided the opportunity for collective efforts and group dynamics to be seen and understood, making sense of the individuals acts themselves and of their contexts. This perspective has brought into the analysis relationships within SEs which may not have been apparent if conversational, practitioner-led approaches had not been taken. Observations of staff at work, revealed the internal dynamics of these organisations, allowing for new concepts like the Constructed SE Family. It is interesting that the shift to understanding the collective has also restated the importance of the leadership, of the traits and processes which enable the construction and maintenance of the SE Families and Extended SE Families.

7.5.3 What the Collective SE Capability Frameworks add

This final discussion subtheme considers the use of the Collective SE Capability Frameworks in the analysis of the case study data, it focuses on what the Collective SE Capability Frameworks add to the thesis and briefly points to how this analysis has augmented the use of Capability Frameworks.

The practitioner-led conversational interviews and bottom-up emergent approach taken to understanding the case studies meant that a more holistic account of their start-up and management was collected. To analyse this breadth of data, a framework was needed that could integrate the external and internal resourcing of these organisations through time, and that could be adapted to frame the results of the bottom-up analysis - the lists of ingredients identified by the participants. The capability approach is suited to this analysis because:

> *"The capability approach is primarily and mainly a framework of thought, a mode of thinking about normative issues, hence – loosely defined a paradigm" (Robeyns, 2003, p8)*

As Robeyns (2003) goes on to purport the approach is an open one requiring other theories, with 'each application of the capability approach requir[ing] its own list' (p68).

I chose Sen's capability framework as an appropriate tool having seen it used to understand microbusinesses within households and gendered relations, by Oughton and Wheelock (2003)[28]. Their framework required adaptations, to include the contributions of multiple individuals and to conceptualise SEs' journeys through stages of development. And to my knowledge, the use of capability frameworks to frame organisational capability through time is novel. However, it is important to acknowledge that the Frameworks were used to visualize each SE's narrative, to understand how they had already achieved the functioning of starting and sustaining, not to assess personal capabilities:

> *"A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve."*
> *(Sen, 1987, p36)*

Sen's approach has been used in different ways to address different issues as Robeyns (2003) describes the CA as a framework for 'individual advantage and social arrangement' (p8). In this study however, it is used as a framework of organisational advantage and social arrangement. The framework is useful for this analysis because it pares down different elements affecting each SE, in that it identifies key resources, and individual and institutional and societal conversion factors which convert those resources to the functioning SEs observed and reported in this study. The SE frameworks identify ingredients relevant to individuals' choices that, when grouped in collective effort, achieve the SE organisation.

The use of the CA to understand the enablers of an organisation is not without controversy. Previously, scholars debated whether the approach is suited to groups and if collective capabilities can be assessed by this approach (Ibrahim, 2006; Robeyns, 2017). Further, rather than looking at what constrains choice, my SE Frameworks identify what enables choices involved in starting and sustaining a SE. And the SE Frameworks are not used to understand 'capability sets' – in Sen's approach capability sets are the various alternative purposes individuals and households could put their resources and conversion factors to. In this analysis capability sets are not one of the components identified in these SE case study frameworks. Instead, the SE frameworks identify the

[28] The argument about the individualisation of the risks associated with social enterprization, and findings emphasising the social components of starting and sustaining the SE case studies, echo the arguments Oughton and Wheelock (2003) discuss in their paper, in which they purport microbusinesses cannot be understood as separate from their households, and therefore as separate from gender relations

resources and conversion factors that SE practitioners retrospectively identify as having enabled their SEs.

The Capability Frameworks used in this study are based on Robeyns' (2017) analysis of Sen's Capability Approach and the visualisation of the core concepts of the Capability Approach Robeyns presents in her seminal contribution to the CA literature. This presents the arguments and rationale she developed over her years of study with Sen and using his CA. However, the Collective SE Capability Frameworks differ fundamentally from the approach she presents. Rather than identifying individuals' capability sets, as the CA aims to – the different choices an individual has, given her resources and conversion factors – the Collective SE Capability Frameworks have been developed to identify what factors have already enabled each SE. The benefit of the CA is that it identifies the resources and the relationships between factors and how resources were ultimately converted into SE activity. So, the frameworks identify the enabling ingredients and the recipe for the ten SEs in retrospect. These frameworks are maps of each SE's data, visual representations which help to understand the data and to present the findings. They are not identifying constraining factors because they are each telling one story of enablement. The application of Capability Frameworks has meant that the multiple, enabling components of SE, and their interconnections and can be visualised. In particular, the role of values, social connecting and ongoing social connections.

This organisational analysis is a novel addition to the use of the CA, to my knowledge. In this thesis, each SE Framework is identified as a Collective SE Capability Framework. Robeyns' (2017) directly addresses collective capabilities – what they are, and if and how they can be integrated in the CA. Collective capabilities are not without controversy (Robeyns, 2003, 2017; Ibrahim, 2006). Robeyns (2017) questions whether it is necessary to identify collective capabilities given that the CA already factors structural determinants of individuals' capabilities, warning:

> *"we should be clear to keep our concepts distinct and correct when developing a capability theory. The modular account of the capability approach has ample conceptual and theoretical space to account for collective processes … But if we want to account for social processes, we shouldn't just jump to the claim we have found a collective capability. Rather, we should use the quite complex and multi-layered framework ..; and be clear when something is a social structure that is shaping our capabilities, rather than a capability in itself" (Robeyns, 2017,*

pp117-118)

In this study I am not developing a capabilities theory, instead I use the capabilities framework as an analytical tool, a heuristic device to organise the data, thereby to understand the collective effort that generates social enterprise. As such I do not think Robeyns is disagreeing with me, she is asserting a different argument.

In this study the Collective SE Capability Frameworks frame collective endeavours, identifying the influence of social interaction, and ways in which individuals aggregate their conversion factors and interact to achieve a functioning. I am illustrating this process via the frameworks. I am not implying that each individual does not have multiple capabilities, it is just not within the scope of my work to identify these. What I am identifying is how the collective of achieved functionings (all those people working toward the same goal) is achieved.

The approach taken in this study therefore sidesteps Robeyns' argument by not identifying collective capabilities per se. That is the set of functionings an individual could achieve by virtue of her engagement in a collective (Ibrahim, 2006, p398). In this analysis the organisation is the unit of analysis and what is being assessed are the ingredients which have already enabled it to exist. The SE is itself the functioning. The Frameworks could arguably therefore be called SE Functioning Frameworks. They were not in part because I decided Capability Frameworks imply the important recognition that some enterprises will have SE capability while some will not. A 'functioning' in contrast to a 'capability' is less well understood in the vernacular.

Application of CA in this way to these SE organisations addresses the need Saebi et al. (2019) identify, for social entrepreneurship research to connect the multiple levels of the concept (individual, organisational, institutional). Intra and interlevel relationships and resource conversions are made visible. The adaptation of the capability framework to include temporal development of these organisations also facilitates the inclusion of multi-stage analysis in social entrepreneurship research, again called for by Saebi et al. (2019).

Saebi et al. (2019) propose their own framework for integrating the different components of social entrepreneurship. However, what the approaches to data collection and the capability frameworks in this study add to Saebi et al.'s framework are the feedback loops and the two-way social processes – for example how the acts of generating social value feed sense of family and maintain the Constructed SE Family. By doing this I would argue the Collective SE Capability Frameworks reflect more accurately the complexities of these organisations, and the relationships between their internal and external dynamics. They come close to the recipe, identifying processes not just ingredients. This contribution to the literature enables practical recommendations outlined in the next section.

7.6 Practical and Policy Recommendations and Future Research

The following recommendations are the direct result of learning from this study. They are intended to be actionable insights for policy, SE support, and managers of SE. Initially the following section presents a commentary of important recommendations for enabling ecosystems and SEs, before details of actionable recommendations at national, local and organizational levels are presented – alongside the evidence for these, in Tables 25-27. After these recommendations, future implications of some of the learning are outlined, with future research opportunities.

7.6.1 Actionable Recommendations for Enabling Ecosystems and SEs

Facilitating diversity in SE support

This study exposes a complex picture of different social enterprise journeys in one ecosystem, with SE not only emerging from different sectors of the economy, but also SEs transitioning from other organisations and manifestations, and importantly, into and out of SE. It highlights the importance of understanding that there are different types of SE – originating from all economic sectors, SE is one point in an organisation's journey, further, SEs need not self-identify as such. SE support needs to reflect this diversity and variety of identities.

The diversity of organisational cultures and sectoral logics involved in different SE journeys, has implications for SE support. It evidences that diverse support should be available reflecting different sectoral logics. And SE support should be wary of the effects of the language they use, aware that language carries values. Expert support across all the different SE governance structures is required reflecting the values of all types, and VCSE support remains a key component of the ecosystem. In the same way that SE is a hybrid of different motivations and income streams, VCSE support should engage community development expertise and business support expertise, understand the values of both, and understand those in need of support may identify with some values over others. Whilst elements of business expertise are important, human capital developed in the third sector has been evidenced as critical ingredients in many of the cases, this should be valued, understood and supported.

This study supports previous research evidencing the need for local policies and support to be informed and built from concrete understandings of local context. To understand the effects of different language and the need for different forms of support, national and local SE support should make use of the expertise of local 'vernacular' experts used to working with the different cohorts experiencing social enterprization - for example with local volunteers, small and large VCS organisations, staff in and from the public sector, and businesses in the private sector. Each sector will have its own logic and language, research and support can miss important cohorts of a local SE ecosystem by not recognizing the diversity of players in the ecosystem.

Related to this last point, SE support and funding for SE support needs to be honest about the ambiguities of the concept and the impossibilities of measuration. Evidence of suspicion and othering in the currently competitive ecosystem points to a need for national and local SE policy and funding to encourage collaborative working across silos of community development and business support. The evidence also points to a need for increasing awareness of social enterprise as a model for social value delivery, this is important across all economic sectors and should not be assumed.

As the cases evidence SEs mix human capital from different sources, family, friends, volunteers, it is therefore important the ecosystem mobilize and connect local volunteers with SEs, and support SEs to work with volunteers. This support will enrich the ecosystem, the SEs, and the volunteers.

Identification of the various SE subventions – in the form of grants, unpaid expert labour, and volunteer labour – enabling start-up and helping to sustain these enterprises, questions the implicit assumption that SEs can, or should, aim to be financially profitable businesses. SE activity is being subsidized by grants, insecure and unpaid expert labour, often economic and human capital available from early-retired pensioners. Recommendations follow from the evidence that these SEs are not necessarily financially sustainable, like a purely for-profit business. A more holistic account of the economic, social and environmental costs and benefits of these organisations is required, to understand and account for these organisations and their contributions. The evidence in this study points to ongoing support for SEs to access these subventions.

Funding SE

Focusing on funding, the evidence shows low/ no risk funding is critical at the start of SE journeys, with flexible funding arrangements required to facilitate success. Evidence also points to the importance of ongoing social connections between funders and organisations being funded, to inform that flexibility. Supporting SE founders and managers to connect with funders, and funders to effectively connect with founders and managers can only benefit both sides.

Funding the diversity of types of SEs at different stages requires diverse funding options including grants and loans. There is a need for ongoing infrastructure support for VCSEs to understand and make the most of the funding available to them. Evidence shows SEs continue to rely on grant funding to augment their funding mosaic beyond start-up. Given this it seems unrealistic to expect that all streams of every SE's activity will be financially self-sustaining, or that SEs will be entirely reliant on traded income.

Some SEs require high levels of initial financial investment which may not always be possible for SEs to repay – for example, where land or buildings are required. This study demonstrates the importance of security of tenure as an ongoing enabler, especially for land-based rural SEs. This points to opportunities for ongoing public sector asset transfers of property and land to SEs. There is an important role for philanthropy and for public sector to facilitate different types of SEs by facilitating land and asset transfers and underwriting purchases. In different contexts, for different types of SE, there will be different assets required. In some contexts, there will be a surplus of land in others a deficit of affordable property, there is work to understand these variegated contexts and suitably provide for them.

Early retirees with pensions are an enabling component of the current ecosystem. SE managers and staff who previously would have been employed by the public sector with the associated pensions are now not accruing those pensions. This fact has implications for those individuals personally, and brings into question the sustainability of the current model of SEs being reliant on healthy, retired pensioners – as volunteers and, or founders.

Local Ecosystems Nurturing SEs' Human Capital

In addition to the human capital external to the SE organisation, referenced in the previous paragraphs, there are components of human capital required internally which a healthy SE ecosystem should nurture. A key resource in starting and sustaining a SE is occupational expertise, the data indicates further and adult education to be particularly important. Opportunities for ongoing learning, continuous personal and professional development, are critical, to nurture and feed the willingness to learn that was found to be so important to sustaining successful SEs and founders, managers and staff.

Ongoing opportunities for professional development for founder, managers and staff of SEs need to be accessible to organisations who lack time and finance. Previously, for example, initial and ongoing professional development in social care was provided to public sector employees. There is a risk that social enterprization of roles previously the responsibility of the public sector will lead to an erosion of knowledge, skills and ultimately limit development and sustainability of SEs and the services they provide.

The transformational leadership skills demonstrated by SE founder and managers indicates transformational leadership training across the ecosystem and within nascent and existing SEs is important for future start-ups and for sustainability.

The data also indicates enabling future founders and managers to have life experience outside their locality is important to developing their socially entrepreneurial mindset and capability.

Given the importance of cross sectoral expertise, mobilizing and connecting sectors and their human capital is also important. Opportunities to share insider knowledge of local public sector, private sector expertise and voluntary and community sector expertise should be nurtured. Some of this can be done via volunteers however, there may be a need for infrastructure to coordinate sectoral expertise sharing.

Given the public sector dependence of local SEs, the support ecosystem requires insiders to share knowledge, cultures and local ecosystems should be designed and nurtured to facilitate this. Connected to this, the evidence points to the value of local institutional representatives like local councillors and Police and Crime Commissioners, and the importance of flexible, local, easy access small grants as SE seed funding for new piloting new ideas.

Key Lessons for SE Practitioners

The evidence in this thesis underlines the critical importance of disposition and skills of founders and managers of successful SEs. However the lone hero entrepreneur has not been found in these SE case studies. Instead individuals able to generate community and sense of belonging, nurture commitment and relationships have been found to be fundamental to stories of SE success.

Recommendations for SE founders and managers based in their successes are listed here. Build a committed founding team of trusted people with shared values, strong personal connections and shared occupational skills or commitment to the social value to be delivered. Charity trustees and

CIC directors should bring multiple sectoral skills sets and knowledge. Build networks and new connections across sectors and nurture relationships built on shared values and reciprocity. Nurture transformational leadership. Use storytelling to build SE identity internally and externally, to embed relationships and build legitimacy. Use stories, ‘elevator pitching’, for different audiences to access different start-up resources. Build relationships of trust and legitimacy with funders. Build and nurture a SE Family within the organization and an Extended SE Family – of supporters. Learn and practice sharing values for ongoing community building and community maintenance. An example is making use of social media to maintain the Extended SE Family and build legitimacy. Use ongoing monitoring, evaluation and learning within the SE will help to sustain the organisation, external relationships, and ensure efficacy of social value being created. Collaborate with other organisations in the local economy. Seek advice from business support and VCSE infrastructure support and gather expertise in all sectors of the economy – public, private and third sectors.

In Tables 25 and 26, below, national and local policy and support recommendations are listed.

Table 25 National Policy and Support Recommendations: Reasoning, evidence and details

Key Component	Reasoning and evidence	National policy and practical recommendations
Overview	The thesis evidences a complex ecosystem of social value delivery in the region.	Recognise the complexities of the local ecosystem – interrelations between institutions and organisations, co-operation, competition and gaming – design policy to reflect these complexities and build on local strengths.
	This data shows successful SEs, CICs and charities, to be reliant on the values of family, friendship and altruism.	Integrate the ‘human’ and ‘social’ inputs and motivations involved in delivering social value. This is a provocation, an opportunity for broader more fundamental system change in public management and policy.
Supportive Infrastructure	Evidence reported in Chapter 4, for example the response from support staff to the terms ‘community business’ and ‘community enterprise’, demonstrates incongruence between the language of some national initiatives, and local realities and understanding.	Build on local support and expertise to ensure complementarity between design, language and branding of their national support and local realities of VCSE and business culture.
	Evidence in Chapter 4 and 6 finds different contexts affecting different models of SE, their motivations, identification as a SE or not, and their business model (combination of resources).	Understand and design policy to reflect complexities arising from different local contexts, different SE journeys and transitions, and oscillations between trading and grant dependence. Be more explicit about the ensuing complexities and ambiguities of supporting and measuring SE activity and SEs.
	Evidence of suspicion, othering, competition, and potential gaming amongst the different components of local SE support, in Chapter 4, indicates current systems are not collaborative and could be more effective.	Encourage collaborations between different types of SE support within local and regional ecosystems to improve expertise across VCS SE and business support and improve access to quality appropriate support. Integrate more effective recording of impact and social value
	Evidence from all three results chapters demonstrates SEs emerge from all sectors of the economy, with different motivations and with different expertise.	Nurture a diversity of SE support within the ecosystem, to reflect the diversity of organizational paths/ journeys to SE, for example business support, VCS, SE support.
	The results evidence SEs emerging from all sectors of the economy, and that starting and sustaining SEs requires combinations of sectoral expertise from business and the voluntary and community and the public sector.	Encourage and facilitate sharing of sectoral expertise within SEs, for example, via CSR, volunteering, and more connected and collaborative relationships between public, private and third sectors. Collaboration between sectors requires understanding and respect of different sectors’ cultures and systems and strengths, this needs to be nurtured in individuals from different sectors.
	The evidence from the cases points to supportive institutions and funding providing seedbeds for place-based, new SEs and VCS organisations which later become SEs e.g. Weardale Community Transport and Groundwork NE and Cumbria and their subsidiary SEs.	Facilitate local, government-funded institutions to nurture place-based VCSE organisations and partnerships using no/low-risk start-up funding. Encourage local public sector and larger local VCSEs to nurture and subsidise early-stage small SEs, sharing some of the financial risk and nurturing the necessary human capital. Where subsidiary SEs are not

		providing their parent organisations with the return (financial or social) that they require, support SE staff to spin-out.
Finance	Chapter 5 evidences grants enabling SEs to pilot new products/services and to develop their offer. They are important resource, particularly at start-up.	Provide and facilitate access to no/ low risk, flexible and responsive start-up finance for both capital and revenue costs in the form of grants.
	The evidence points to personal savings being a common key resource for start-up, and therefore potentially limiting the pool of founders to those with personal financial assets.	Widening access to finance would enable more founders particularly those potential social entrepreneurs with lived experience but without the necessary finance, connections or confidence. Widen access to SE with finance alongside longer term packages of peer support and SE-specific training.
	Case study evidence in chapter 5 shows SEs benefiting and succeeding when low/no risk finance is flexible and responsive to their different needs and circumstances. For example, grantor flexibility in Case 1 enabled by the relationship between founder and grant provider.	Support responsive finance, and funding arrangements underpinned by relational rather than transactional approaches. Grant providers should support and encourage grantees to build personal relationships of trust and understanding with themselves.
	The evidence shows grants are necessary at start-up and remain an important component of sustaining social value delivery, with SEs oscillating between the majority of their being from trading and from grants.	Grants should be available to SEs at all stages of SE development and should recognise the reality that not all product/services can be financially self-sustaining. Scaling and delivery of new products/services involve new risk and investment which social entrepreneurs receiving limited financial return for their work may not want or feel able to take on. Existing SEs could be encouraged to provide the seedbeds for new ideas and new SEs with finance and support from enabling institutions. Sharing market knowledge and skills to support new SEs could be a role established SEs take on.
	Evidence reported in chapter 2 and 4 of low levels of take-up for social investment in the region indicate different models of investment, and different language and branding is required in different contexts.	Design social investment finance models and/or branding in collaboration with local VCSE infrastructure and organisations. This should build on local understanding of local context recommended below.
Human Capital	The evidence presented in chapter 5 highlights the critical importance of occupational expertise originally funded and provided by local government to start and sustain SEs. This research points to small SEs having difficulty providing and accessing training for staff and volunteers.	Ongoing investment in human capital is required if continued social enterprization, and ongoing regeneration of SEs is to be sustained, specifically investment in human capital to develop the occupational expertise previously provided and funded by local authorities e.g. social care, youth work, mental health and management skills in these sectors.
	Volunteers have been shown to be an important component of resourcing SEs to sustain, the cases evidence volunteering for physical labour and sectoral expertise to be important	Enable and facilitate skilled and unskilled volunteering by providing support for volunteering infrastructure.

	ingredients for SE start-up, transitioning and sustainability (see Table 13).	
	In the case studies evidence suggests an enabling component of founders and managers is life experience beyond the region, nationally and internationally.	Pilot and test if institutional support for individuals to travel beyond the region to experience different parts of the country and the world, and experience different models of social value delivery, encourages more entrepreneurial social value delivery.
Land and Buildings	The case study evidence shows successful SEs were enabled through flexible lease or rent arrangements from private landowners, or through favorable asset transfer arrangements from the public sector.	Support SEs to access land and buildings with access to funds to purchase and rent, and with favorable asset transfer arrangements, and flexible rents and lease agreements. Private landowners should be encouraged to make local land/ buildings available to SEs with long term leases/loans which provide SEs with continuity and support them to access grants and invest in the land or buildings. Land and buildings in public ownership could be made available to SEs at preferential rats or with preferential planning/ land use laws.
	The data indicates co-located SE hubs may be beneficial to encourage and support nascent and start-up SEs.	Evidence is required to understand if SEs would benefit from collocating. Facilitate and evaluate pilot VCSE Hubs to understand if this would benefit the ecosystem.

Table 26: Local Policy and Support Recommendations: Reasoning, evidence and details

Context	Chapter 4 and the case studies presented in Chapter 5, evidence high levels of integration with, and dependence on, the local public sector, and evidence the effects local historical, social and economic context e.g. local austerity-led policies, on individual SE journeys, and on the SE population.	Build a complex systems-led understanding of local context to inform local policy, and national policy implementation locally. Policies should be developed from qualitative understandings of the complexities of local context and inter-relations of context and local SEs, for example effects of local history on entrepreneurial culture and on socially entrepreneurial culture, and effects of layers of institution-led social entreprenization on SE journeys and dependencies. This understanding needs to be developed, discussed and shared within and beyond the local ecosystem to inform local, regional and national policy and support.
	The case studies point to the importance of SEs sharing and learning different sectoral expertise and of individuals sharing public sector and third sector insider knowledge and skills, helping SEs to access resources e.g. knowledge of public sector procurement, asset sharing and transfer, and grant writing.	This complex systems-led approach should include audits and evaluations of local support for VCS, for SEs, for business, and for public sector spin-outs/offs. Local support for SEs should reflect the multiple governance structures and sectoral origin stories (therefore should include support branded for business, VCS, SE and co-operatives) Support needs to be widely advertised and easy to access Policy should be informed by building 'customer journeys' of support – from the perspectives of the different SEs journeys – to understand availability, accessibility and appropriateness of the full range of local SE support. Individuals in the different economic sectors, in particular the public sector, should be encouraged and supported to 'reach out' to share their knowledge, and to build more transparency and accessibility into their systems. Individual public sector workers should be recognized for making systems like procurement more accessible.
	The ecosystem evidenced in Chapter 4 holds tensions of competitiveness, suspicion and othering generated by organizational competition for funding and by difficulties measuring outputs associated with SEs. Yet, the SE journeys and case studies evidence the role of the full range of sectoral support, reflecting SEs' different values and motivations.	Opportunities for collaborations across the ecosystem should be developed, procurement should reward collaborations and cross sectoral learning and expertise sharing, for example between local business support and VCSE support. Opportunities for sharing resources and expertise across the ecosystem should be supported. Collaboration training and awareness should be easily available.
Finance	Chapter 5 evidences small, local, public-sector grants to be important in facilitating pilots for SEs to test different models for delivering social value.	The local public sector – councilors, officers, Police and Crime Commissioners, NHS commissioners etc. should be knowledgeable of the potential role of their funding to pilot new ideas. Funding to test new models of social value delivery should be made available and should include assessments of efficacy. Low/no risk financial support should be made available to those less well

		resourced, to pilot social value delivery.
	The evidence from the SEs cases shows public sector grants and contracts being critical to sustaining and growing social enterprises, and ‘insider knowledge’ being necessary to facilitate access to these.	Local procurement processes should be designed with the complexities of the local ecosystem, the human and social components of the social ecosystem, and the small scale of many SEs in mind. Access to procurement processes should be supported and inclusive, transparency and ease of policies and processes is fundamental, ‘insider knowledge’ should be routinely shared and clearly explained Facilitate knowledge sharing of public sector procurement and embed the skills to attain and administer contracts
Human Capital	The case studies evidenced in Chapter 5 show a reliance on occupational expertise historically accrued and developed in the public sector prior to social enterprizations, and in larger third sector organisations, e.g. social care, and management expertise. It is unclear how small SEs which now deliver these services can invest in developing occupational expertise for CPD or for regenerating the existing skillset amongst new generations of workers – both cost and availability of staff to cover training were cited as issues.	Opportunities for shared and subsidized occupational expertise development and professional development for SE staff should be investigated e.g, procurement could be designed to include commitment to sharing skills and could require the inclusion of costed training and skills development. The potential for SEs to collaborate in providing and financing training opportunities could benefit the sector. Collaborations could make training more accessible, for example with the development of staff banks. Skills needs analyses across the social economy would inform local skills provision and make the sector more sustainable when ongoing investment in human capital is enabled.
	The cases highlight the importance of sets of multiple sectoral expertise in the form of a diverse bank of expertise amongst trustees/directors and staff and volunteers.	Collaborations across sectors and greater visibility of volunteering opportunities at all levels of SE organisations would benefit the local ecosystem. Sectoral skill identified as important include grant writing, business planning, financial management, managing volunteers. Skills share banks and ongoing support for volunteering at all levels in the local ecosystem – from business, higher education, public sector and third sector staff – would aid knowledge and skills sharing
	A key ingredient to starting a SE identified is a family or group of trusting personal connections and shared values.	Training to understand team dynamics and nurture productive working relationships could support more early stage SEs to survive and thrive
	The common SE enablers identified in Chapter 5 (see Figs 16 and 17) include softer skills for example, building a community and a sense of belonging, identifying shared values and sharing values, networking and building relationships, building organizational legitimacy, and storytelling for different purposes – all to build the SE Family, and Extended SE Family, and to facilitate revenue streams from customer and grantors.	Provide values-led, human-centred, relational leadership and management training in the ecosystem, and support access to training. The social inputs required by organisations of all sizes in the local ecosystem require management and this skillset needs to be developed, supported and valued. Funding should be available for VCSEs developing human capital in these forms. Connected to this, the skills required for collaboration across the ecosystem should be nurtured.
	This research finds a high degree of willingness from	Local public sector procurement procedures could support VCSE

	managers and staff of SEs to share their experience and expertise.	infrastructure support and existing SE managers and staff to recognize and share these skills to colleagues starting SEs. Opportunities for celebrating local SE success could also be opportunities for sharing knowledge and skills.
	Founders’ disposition – perseverance, entrepreneurialism and calculated risk acceptance, and willingness to learn are all found to be important components in enabling SEs start and sustain.	An enabling ecosystem should celebrate and nurture these personal attributes, acknowledge and value learning from failure, nurture and support willingness to learn.
Land and Buildings	The evidence shows successful SEs were enabled through flexible lease or rent arrangements from private landowners, or through favorable asset transfer arrangements from the public sector.	Support SE to access land and buildings with access to funds to purchase and rent, and with favorable asset transfer arrangements, and flexible rents and lease agreements. Local availability of land/ buildings.
	The data points to co-located SE hubs being beneficial to encourage and support nascent and start-up SEs.	Local policy mechanisms should enable and evaluate SEs co-locating, and co-working in different forms. Facilitate and evaluate pilot VCSE Hubs to understand if this would benefit the ecosystem.

7.6.2 *Future Implications of Findings*

There are important implications of the findings for future social value provision. Two features of the SE case studies signal implications – first is the reliance on human capital developed in the public sector prior to SE start-up, second is the evidence of self-exploitation amongst SE managers and staff. Both have implications for the future of the SE sector and the social value it delivers if institutions are to rely on SEs.

Reliance by institutions on these small SEs to deliver social value has other implications for social value provision in the longer term. Because founders and managers of these small enterprises may choose to, or have to, close or leave these SEs there ought to be recognition that their learning, their expertise could be lost, and new sets of founders and managers and staff will require occupational and sectoral expertise, insider knowledge.

Related to this is recognition that human capital previously acquired by SE founders and staff in public sector employment ought to be made available - in some way - to future founders, managers and staff. Low cost, accessible occupational training and continuing professional development is and will be required. If this new generation of occupational experts are also expected to run SEs there is an opportunity to integrate business skills and appropriate leadership skills into their learning.

Evidence of self-exploitation amongst SE managers and staff also has ethical and practical implications for SEs, the ecosystem and for the provision of different types of social value more generally. If, for example, SE staff will be expected to give extra labour unpaid. In previous state-led provision of social care, for example, the public sector provided staff with pensions, opportunity for career enhancement and development, and ongoing human capital development. In a resource constrained small SE these benefits and opportunities are less affordable, accessible and practicable.

There is a wider question: if social value provision, social care is a good example, should be allowed by society at large to be provided under these conditions?

Beyond the ethical considerations, other possible implications stem from the realities of self-exploitation. If SE founders, managers and staff do not have pensions like those previously provided by the public sector, this will have financial implications for them, for the local economy, and may have implications for the future versions of the social economy given current reliance on pensioner volunteers.

7.6.3 Limitations of Research

Ethnographic sampling in stage 1 was steered to an extent by the collaborations with local VCS and SE infrastructure support organisations. While business support was represented in the initial interviews, in future studies greater representation from business support in classifying different SEs could add further understanding to the concept.

Some of the findings may be the result of the sample of cases being skewed to SEs that are dependent on public sector contracts and those that have developed from within the voluntary and community sector. The former may be having to work within the constraints of limited public sector funding squeezed as a result of austerity, and the latter may be culturally more used to working with grants, unpaid labour and volunteers. However, these findings are likely to reflect the realities of a significant subset of the SE proportion nationally, and certainly reflect the realities of the SE population locally. Therefore, they have relevance looking forward given likely recourse to further austerity following the pandemic.

7.6.4 Future Research

Comparative Research Across More Ecosystems

Beyond the ethical implications identified previously, the dependence of local SEs on public sector markets raises questions of how to encourage different SE business models in the region that are less reliant on public sector funding. This research would build on work by Mazzei (2017).

There is also a need to compare the thesis's findings to similar research in other SE ecosystems. This requires comparative, bottom-up research on 'how' SEs are started and sustained in different contexts. Research could use the multi-stage, collective capability frameworks but remain open to coding using more pro-market, neoclassical, economistic founded theories. Just as Kay et al.'s (2016) re-imagining paper argues that the UK view of SE has been skewed by a governmental focus on reforming public services it may be that in our post-covid and mid-climate crisis era societies values have shifted and SEs need to be understood differently by academics.

What are Individuals' Capabilities for SE?

The organisational perspective taken in this study has revealed some of the processes by which individuals are motivated to make the decisions to volunteer or work extra unpaid hours, and some features of their lives likely to enable them to contribute. More focused work is required to understand this capability for individuals. Is it, for example, a result of their experience of the UK welfare state, their previous experience of hardship, because they have financial security of one type or the other, pensions, savings, employability, or lack of dependents? Or is it more to do with a mindset, for example an amenability to financial risk? To this end, research which includes individuals no longer working within SE, who had chosen to leave or who had been forced to leave employment for a SE would likely be fertile ground for greater understanding.

Longitudinal studies of SEs, and of the individuals who start and run these organisations would be desirable to understand how these organisations develop and how individuals address issues of their own progression in ecosystems of severely limited resources. While evidence in the literature and in this thesis points to individual social entrepreneurs' antecedents, like their past experiences within the public and third sectors, and life experience outside the SE's locality, it could be informative to understand what these individuals go on to do, and how succession and survival is managed.

Studying social entrepreneurs and SEs together The feedback loops visualised in Figures 16 and 17 support the integrated study of SEs and social entrepreneurs. This is a key implication for the wider field, and indicatse a need to better understand the ongoing management of SEs and the people involved in their running/, which demands a level of hybridity across management skills balancing economic and social demands. For example, balancing at the same time volunteers and employees, motivating employees sufficiently to giving their time unpaid,

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This study aimed to build bottom-up understandings of SEs, to understand the practices of SEs and to inform SE support. The thesis is the result of seven years of part-time study with the research conducted in two stages. The first stage focused on understanding how the concept of a SE is understood locally. The second stage focused on exploring the practices that enable and sustain different SEs. Both stages were made possible by the support and generosity of local experts, for example, managers and staff at Durham Community Action and Social Enterprise Acumen, and the founders, managers, and staff at the different SEs.

At the outset of the PhD, confusion over what is a SE emerged. What evolved from my growing understanding of the confusion around the central concept of the research, was a set of questions, and stages of inductive, qualitative research which has identified some of the manifestations and consequences of the concept's fluidity in the local SE ecosystem. This led me to develop a typology of different SEs, and mid-level theories around the material and social resources and processes with which these SEs are started and sustained.

Data collection began in 2015 with initial meetings with staff at Durham Community Action. So started a sustained period of immersion in the field and the selection and development of ten SE case studies. The ethnographic approaches taken to the topic meant 'following the concept' (Marcus, 1998) and 'seeing the remarkable in the everyday' (Silverman, 2013, p13). Maintaining 'conviction that what is important would emerge' (Holliday, 2007, p6), prioritizing practitioner perspectives (Dey and Steyaert, 2012) and investigating multiple viewpoints to build bottom-up understanding. While employing concepts, theories and tools from the SE literature, and from other fields of study that proved useful and relevant, to make sense of the data.

Iteration between the data and the literature and the reflexive approach, which was made possible because of the extended timeframe, meant that layers of knowledge were built. The approach enabled a greater breadth and depth of learning, though it also required I trust that by following the concept in the field and spending time with local experts, and by asking open questions and letting the data speak for itself, new understandings would develop. In hindsight the most important learning the extended timeframe allowed was the breadth of different social enterprization journeys, which directly fed case study selection and learning across the different types.

The thesis answers two main research questions. The first concerns how 'SE' is used and understood differently by different individuals at different levels of the local ecosystem. Usage depends on the values and experience individuals bring to and ascribe to the concept, and on their understanding of the values, experience and knowledge their audience attributes to and has of SE.

The second question concerns how individuals and groups start and sustain different types of SEs by combining resources from family and friends, and from all sectors of the economy. To start their SEs, founders rely on personal savings and assets, grants, gifted labour and economic capital. Access to land and premises are also critical components. To sustain, SEs rely on public sector contracts and/or private trade, unpaid expert labour, public and third sector grants, and volunteers' labour. Further, critical to accessing these resources and converting them to SE activity are the occupational and multi-sector expertise, and personal traits of founders and managers who lead and motivate fellow founders, directors, staff and volunteers. The capacity of founders and managers to tap into, generate and maintain a shared sense of identity and belonging amongst their constructed SE family and extended SE family is central to success.

In the remainder of this chapter I identify the main conclusions I have arrived at across the two stages and state the contributions this adds to our knowledge, identifying future research opportunities. I then critique the research, highlighting its limitations, and lessons I have learnt.

8.1 Stage 1 Immersion Findings

The key findings from the first stage of this study are the result of strong collaborative relations with experts in the field and the opportunities I took to interview key stakeholders and to conduct participant observations at different meetings in County Durham and across the northeast region. I also spent many entertaining and informative hours in cars on the way to and from meetings, talking with staff from DCA to understand the different social enterprization initiatives and organisations involved in the ecosystem, and how these all related to each other, including historical relations and developments. This collaboration, relationships with other organisations like Social Enterprise Acumen, and the generosity and candidness of interviewees, all helped me to slowly build the picture of the complex ecosystem of initiatives and organisations over time, and their shifting relations.

Data collection, in tandem with my growing understanding of the literature, gave me the evidence, vocabulary, and concepts to make sense of the local picture. Some concepts proved particularly useful. Tactical mimicry (Dey and Teasdale, 2016), disidentification (Dey and Teasdale, 2013), social enterprization (Sepulveda, 2015) and transitioning (Seanor et al, 2013) all fed the analysis process, while the empirical data added nuanced understandings to each of these concepts, as I discuss in the previous chapter. The merging and expansion of these concepts has meant that multi-directional tactical mimicry has been evidenced and different types of social enterprization journeys originating in all sectors of the economy have been identified.

By taking a broad view of SE support this study reveals the complexities of the ecosystem. It does so by considering it from the positions of local public sector employees, from business support, from VCS and community development infrastructure support and self-defined SE support, and by accounting for the relationships between these groups, whilst also taking a more longitudinal view. By doing this it contributes to better understanding of variegated effects of successive waves of social enterprization (Brenner et al., 2010, p182), showing how different groups align with the language of SE, or not. What is revealed is an ecosystem and population that is less integrated with language of SE than the literature generally assumes for the UK, which is generally understood as a relatively advanced SE ecosystem.

While theories of tactical mimicry (Dey and Teasdale, 2016) and dis/identification (Dey and Teasdale 2013) have been integrated into our understanding of UK SEs, evidence of the effects of these in an ecosystem of organisations with historic and ongoing relations is novel. The comment: 'we don't use the term SE, we talk about volunteering' is one which another methodological approach may have overlooked. Yet, it is one which is pertinent to any current and future efforts to support individuals and organisations managing the realities of funding for social value delivery in the locality.

It is attention to this detail which led to an appreciation that alongside bottom-up resistance, there is also pragmatic acceptance from some of those working in between top-down and bottom-up forces. This acceptance of the ambiguity of SE is the result of a pragmatic acceptance of the realities of multiple organisations working with different values and origins, and to different sectoral logics. It is an acceptance that different individuals and groups are encountering multiple social enterprization pressures – because of shifting landscapes of grant funding and the marketization of public services. VCSE support practitioners work with an understanding that social enterprization (Sepulveda, 2015) is being exerted across economic sectors and can take place without requiring practitioners to identify with the language of SE. An organization's SE journey can take them in and out of SE definitions based on a minimum percentage traded income.

Individuals responsible for auditing SE funding are frustrated by suspicions of mimicry. Suspicion and frustration in the ecosystem of SE support is because of the ambiguity of the concept. Particularly, suspicion of mimicry to access SE funding and frustration with the confusion over the different language of local SE initiatives and the mismatch of this with the lack of understanding of the wider public.

Suspicion and othering amongst the organisations and support providers within the ecosystem revealed itself incrementally over multiple conversations and interviews, and this has been an important learning experience for me as a researcher. First a lesson in trusting in ethnography – in the power of waiting and watching, observing, participating and taking notes, and allowing the connections to develop through repeated immersions in the data and the literature. Second a lesson in trusting in the validity of my interpretations when they are based on repeated inferences and signals and off-the-cuff remarks. This data and these findings would not have been revealed through structured interviewing. They add to our knowledge of how components of the SE ecosystem can relate to each other, particularly in a less mature SE ecosystem in which the general public is still not au fait with SE.

By slowly accruing knowledge of the field, staying curious and making connections with literatures from multiple disciplines, I developed an understanding of the local SE ecosystem as a complex system. The picture is one of different components of the ecosystem which have experienced multiple rounds of social enterprization over time and which contains individuals and organisations contending with the ambiguous, value-laden concept in relation to their own values, experience, professional roles and responsibilities, and in relation to each other. And all in a competitive environment of funding. This system is critical to understanding different individuals' and organisations' relationships to the concept and language of SE. These findings and the methodologies can guide and inform future research into other SE ecosystems. There is much to be learnt from comparing different local SE ecosystems, building on this study and on work done by Mazzei (2019) for example.

Evidencing and contextualising the 'pragmatic acceptance' from SE support workers of the ambiguity of the language, adds breadth and depth to the notion and process of tactical mimicry identified by Dey and Teasdale (2016). Reports from interviewees of their concerns that SE support organisations were exhibiting tactical mimicry to capture economic value – institutional resourcing, contracts and grants to support SEs – was balanced in this study by a developing understanding of VCS and SE infrastructure support organisations' understanding of realities of social enterprization in the local context. That is, of organisations at all levels of the ecosystem transitioning toward more social entrepreneurial models, of others oscillating between success in trading and success getting grant funding. And at the same time active rejection of the concept of SE and tensions around the language and assumed norms of SE from within the local VCS. All of which, when partnered with top-down tactical mimicry by institutions, necessitate versions of mid-level tactical mimicry and at times disidentification by infrastructure support organisations (as evidenced by DCA's emphasis on volunteering at the start of the study).

By inclusion of diverse perspectives, data analysis allowed for comparison across different groups and this thesis adds additional layers and depth to our understanding of the concept - presenting multiple and divergent reactions to the concept and its inherent ambiguity, and by presenting evidence of consequences from within the ecosystem. By interviewing people involved in SE support - but for whom it may not be their primary role – it gives insight into the conflicts and challenges and sense making within the SE ecosystem. In hindsight, a great deal of this learning resulted from the very initial guidance I received from Jo Laverick at DCA who guided me toward a diverse set of stakeholders for initial conversations and interviews. Learning from phase one, particularly the realities of transition and of SEs not self-identifying as such, then adds a depth and a richness to the findings and broadening understanding of SE processes in stage two.

8.2 Stage 2 Case Studies Findings

The Vernacular SE Typology of SE journeys was fundamental to the design of the second stage of this study and to generating a more comprehensive picture of how SEs are started and sustained. Once selected, using qualitative case study data, critical resources and processes which enable SEs were identified, and collective SE capability frameworks were then built and compared to understand the multiple levels of collective resourcing required to start and sustain SEs.

When compared, the case studies reveal that common critical resources on different SE journeys are low/no risk economic capital and, reliable, flexible, expertise and labour (i.e low/no cost human capital). Factors affecting how these are accessed include institutional context, individuals' occupational and sectoral expertise, and the social dynamics of the constructed SE Family and extended SE Family. The latter is dependent on individual founders' traits and leadership style. Being able to visualise and compare each SE case study using the Collective SE Capability

Framework proved instrumental to seeing the patterns and differences across the cases, and to evidencing findings.

The creation of an adapted Capability Framework as the conceptual framework for case analysis is a novel contribution to the SE literature. This is another component of the study which was facilitated by the extended timeframe, chosen through a process of trial and error to find what best fitted with and communicated the data. Findings from this stage are important because of the range of types of SEs included and because their stories are told from practitioners' perspectives. Their data, framed using the collective Capability Frameworks through time, help fill the gap in our knowledge that Saebi et al. (2019) highlight. They do this by identifying enabling resources and processes at multiple levels and multiple stages, linking individual, organisational and institutional level data at the start-up stage, and when these SEs had moved on to the stage of sustaining. An important finding was the number of shared common enablers identified in different SE stories given the differences in the SEs selected, including the importance of collectives and expertise in and connections into local public and third sector institutions.

Two forms of collective play key roles in sourcing and converting resources. The first, the role of founders' family and established friendships presents a feature of SE start-up not previously identified in the literature. The second, the constructed SE family and extended family is another key feature which theories of SEs have not previously focused on. Though the role of collectives has been investigated previously, framing these in a multi-level, multi-stage framework has led to new understandings of the internal dynamics of these different SEs, in particular the smaller SEs in the sample, and how these relate to external, contextual factors. In these examples the collective provides unpaid expert labour, the flexible and reliable human capital identified as critical to SE start-up and sustainability. By keeping my methodological eye on the collective dimensions of SEs, and on how theories of the relationships between businesses and households (Oughton and Wheelock, 2003; Bennett and Phillipson, 2004), insights into the processes commonly used to construct and maintain the SE family have been brought into view. Multi-level analysis of the case studies also revealed critical enabling features of local public sector and third sector institutions. The empirical evidence of the importance of expertise in, and connections into, these institutions across the different cases focuses attention on an enabling institutional context. Key findings include the role of local public sector and large VCSE organisations in nurturing and developing SE founders' and staff's occupational expertise and sectoral expertise – with what can viewed as formal and informal apprenticeships; and the importance of institutions providing and funding ongoing learning opportunities for SE practitioners to learn rules and skills of different sectors – for example how to apply for grant funding. Findings also note the pivotal role of connections into the local public sector at the start of SEs, evidenced by the role of local councillors, the Police and Crime Commissioner and of social workers in facilitating access to SE premises, funding SE pilot schemes, and explaining the local procurement portal.

These commonalities across the deliberately very different cases are instructive for SE support locally and, contribute to our knowledge on what features are important in an institutional context that enables SEs. It is important however not to over generalize from this sample in one geographical location, and these findings have to be viewed alongside an understanding of the limitations of the study.

8.3 Final thought

I began this PhD research with an impression of what SEs are, and what was being expected of them. What has become clear from this extended period of immersion in the topic is the malleability and breadth of the concept of 'a SE', and of organisations claiming to be 'SEs', or claimed to be by others. This is ultimately the concept's greatest strength, but it also can and does provide those who engage with it confusion and frustration. What has become evident as a participant observer is the need for honest acceptance of the fluidity of the concept, and the pragmatic understanding that meaning is not made on virgin ground. That is to say, the concept carries bundles of values which are constructed and reconstructed by different individuals and organisations, at different times, and for different purposes. The desire for boundaries, for strict definitions, for measuration, is currently not practicable to satisfy. However, by following the example of the SE support practitioners – accepting its ambiguity, and understanding and working with the different conceptions with pragmatism, and engaging with the practical implications and realities of the concept – it is possible to support different individuals and groups, to understand their experiences of social enterprization, and the assets and needs they bring to their SE journey. And hence, the outcomes of this seven-year study are novel understandings of SE practice, of the range of SEs, and of the critical role of social resources and processes.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Immersion Stage Data Collection events, method, purpose, insights gained

Events attended	Method	Purpose	Examples of Insights Gained	Examples of reflection and utility
Regional SE conferences (Village SOS and Big Social)/ Regional third sector conferences, seminars and networking events Regional and local social finance information events Regional academic and third sector events Enterprise support conference	Participant observation, informal conversation	Understanding sector and context	Impact of reliance on public finance on third sector independence Variety of organisations nominally SEs Marketing image of SE very important Diverse ecosystem of actors nominally in SE support	Ideal SE (self-sustaining trading business), ie trading on equal terms with private sector, often not reality. Reliant on volunteers, Established with grants. Often top down. Need not be participatory. Need not be accountable to beneficiaries.
International Academic conferences/ literature	Critical reflective reading and observation	Gathering and judging concepts, better understanding rural issues	International differences meaning Ideologically and context dependent Fluidity, contested, mimicry Political and ideological vehicle Degrees of SE Business conference did not consider contested concept Social innovation	Iteration to develop conceptual framework of type
Introductory meetings/ conversations (local academics, local SE and Com Dev support)	Unrecorded unstructured interviews (face to face and telephone).	Introductory understanding topic of study and local context, establishing relationships, feedback on research, building network of useful contacts and resources.	Introduction to local government and local policy Awareness of difficulties defining SEs Insight into the use of reserves by local authority to maintain services during austerity.	"Durham different" Apparent acceptance of the fluidity and nominality (laughable) of the term SE juxtaposed by relatively high bar set for what is a SE meaning not many qualify Acceptance of link to local culture of enterprise and business expertise

Appendix 1 cont. Immersion Stage Data Collection events, method, purpose, insights gained

Events attended	Method	Purpose	Examples of Insights Gained	Examples of reflection and utility
Introductory and Overview Interviews (local strategy/ local business support and economic and comm development/ public sector	Audio recorded unstructured interviews focused on research questions, guided by expertise and position of each interviewee	Identify different perspectives on SE as, local SEs, local SE support	The malleability of the concept and realignment of language of different roles and sectoral support interests	Reflecting on this now – silos of community and economic/business development – this is a big issue for CD – issue within council of people not understanding each other and trying to maintain own "Like any other business"
Shadowing and Car journeys	Unstructured conversations with VCSE support practitioners. Recorded in note form in research journal	Build connections and understanding of the geographical, political, institutional, and historical context	Explanations of how different organisations relate to each other and have done over time. Anecdotes, examples, of support needs and experiences working with volunteers in the community. Greater understanding of the social risks and challenges for volunteers.	"Mapping the Sky" Different types of support relelvent to different people – coffee or tea shops Community Development principles important – understanding of community asset based perspectives and volunteering (hand holding) Frustrations, local politics and interorganisational relations
Shadowing Staff Away Days x2	Participant observation with DCA staff on 2 staff away days visiting SEs in neighbouring county of Northumberland	To understand enablers of other SEs in different local context, to observe reactions of DCA staff	Lessons of external support – political and economic, not self-starter, not individual social entrepreneurs but often development professionals with com dev expertise seizing opportunities facilitated by local political will and finance	Multi-level enablers from local development agency to local landowner class to local community members Importance of inspiration and aspiration of development workers Frustration with DCC and current financial realities of local authority austerity
SEA & DCA Network Meetings	Part Obs, conversations with attendees and organisers	Develop an understanding of different perspectives of support practitioners, entrepreneurs, local VCS staff and volunteers	Multiple reactions to my research topic "O no" "Really" "It's just a con" "What is a SE?" Different contexts of these meetings – cricket club, offices	Differences in approaches Horses for courses Variety of organisations called SEs Importance of belonging and sense of mission – motivation Commonality of issues and fact don't seem served by usual business support Variety, possibility and limitations of voluntary committees

Appendix 1 cont. Immersion Stage Data Collection events, method, purpose, insights gained

Events attended	Method	Purpose	Examples of Insights Gained	Examples of reflection and utility
Typing interviews x2	Audio recorded in-depth semi-structured interviews supplemented by visual methods	To identify and visualise types of local SEs based on their origin and specific examples	The breadth of different organisations included under the SE umbrella, the historical transitions of many SEs and the interrelations with the local public sector	Type based on origin made complete sense to them Processes of enterprization Frustration from one interview with the lack of 'more business' SEs
Community Business research Worked with DCA and Yorkshire Community First on yearlong Power to Change research project	Reflexive memoing of collaborative work with VCSE support practitioners from a third neighbouring LA area	To build and maintain relations with research collaborators. Reciprocity. To build and deepen my understanding, and capitalise on long car journeys to ask questions	Lack of understanding of ambiguity of the term 'SE'; discussion of trading and if 'a few cakes and coffees counted' Issue of naming community buildings v village halls Meaning of community business – expectation of bounded definition from P2C	After initial frustrations participants quickly adapted to and accepted the CB terminology and ambiguity with pragmatic and accepting approaches to vague definitions
Durham Community Enterprise bid Worked with DCA to support main tender and project evaluation tender	Reflexive memoing of collaborative work	Reciprocity To build and deepen my understanding of the topic, the local context, and interorganisational relations.	Experience of different organisations bidding for EU money via the local authority to deliver support to "community enterprises"	Tactical mimicry from local authority combining 'community' and 'enterprise' without strict boundaries of enterprises or organisations this should and shouldn't include. Tactical mimicry at level of VCSE support organisations
Mapping interviews and data collection	Audio recorded structured interviews with SE support interrogating DCA and SEA SE databases	To try to unpick professionals' personal definitions of SE and social entrepreneurs	Inconsistency of defining processes. The breadth of different individuals/organisations/issues these support practitioners work with e.g. professional footballers, community fraud issues, governance issues, asset transfer	"I would" define them as SE "but they wouldn't" "they are on a journey" Lists of organisations considered to be SEs or to be run by social entrepreneurs and their features

Appendix 2: Information sheet and Consent form

Researcher, Katie Aitken-McDermott

This research is part of my PhD project, it is the result of my interest in rural issues, communities, and social enterprise. I have lived and worked in the North East for over twenty years. I am now a student working with the Centre for Rural Economy (CRE) at Newcastle University.

The research is in collaboration with Durham Community Action (DCA), is supervised by Prof Jeremy Phillipson (CRE) and Prof Matthew Gorton of NU Business School, it is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

What am I asking?

How do individuals and groups establish and run different types of organisations and enterprises to deliver social value?

Why research this?

This research will provide new information about how social value is being delivered generally, and specifically about the processes of delivering social value in County Durham. The results of the research will form a PhD thesis, and be used in academic publications and presentations/reports for external bodies. This research project will build a picture to better understand the local context and to understand the issues and processes of establishment, survival, and growth of organisations and enterprises in depth. The aim is to inform policies and future work to support individuals, groups and communities.

What is involved?

During this stage of data collection I am collecting information from eight to ten case studies. This involves interviewing founders and/or managers, trustees and/or volunteers, from each case study. Through the interviews I will be identifying partner organisations who could also be invited to take part in short interviews. The selection of interviewees will be based on the nature of the organisation and its own individual story.

What will happen to the information you provide?

My field notes and any recordings are for my own reference. Some recordings will be transcribed by Clear Links – specialists providing academic support. These transcribers work to rules of confidentiality. Recordings are deleted once they have been transcribed. My field notes and recordings are not shared with DCA or any other organisation. Once interview recordings have been transcribed pseudonyms are used to replace names. I am ethically obliged to safeguard the interests of the research participants. Once the project has been completed in September 2021 my funders (ESRC) require computer-readable data be made available for other researchers, this data is required to be anonymised, pseudonyms are maintained.

If the participant agrees information gathered during the research, including identifiable data and direct quotations, might be used in the thesis/reports. We can discuss your wishes in detail (please also see consent form). If you have any concerns before or after interviews you can speak to me, or my lead supervisor – contact details below.

What happens next?

Attached is a consent sheet to fill in – you can keep a copy for your records.

Who to contact for further information?

You can contact me with any questions or information:

Katie Aitken-McDermott, k.m.aitken-mcdermott@ncl.ac.uk 07801 730 559

If you have a query- or wish to make a complaint - you can contact my academic supervisor: Prof. Jeremy Phillipson, jeremy.phillipson@ncl.ac.uk 0191 208 8940

Appendix 2 continued:

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet.	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and without penalty.	☐
5.	The arrangements regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.)	☐
6.	I have given my consent for data to be collected and recorded in the following ways: Written notes Audio recordings Photographs	☐ ☐ ☐
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me	☐
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve its confidentiality and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐
9.	Select one of the following: I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised ☐ I do not want my name used I do not want the name of my organisation used	☐ ☐ ☐
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Researcher:

Name of Researcher	Signature	Date

Appendix 3 Interview Protocol: Questions Founder/Staff/Management

1. Introduction and thank you

2. Information and Consent

I will start with some introductory questions about the organisation, your involvement and your background. So,

What is your background
(job/ expertise, local/incomer, stage of life, motivation) Capitals, networks, embeddedness, insider/outsider, legitimacy-

Can you tell me a little bit about this business/ organisation
when it started,
what It's purpose and aims were,
how it was started?
who are the key people involved in running it
is it different or new to the area?
Vernacular SE Type? New/Transition? Mission/Aims? Innovative? That's great

Has this been useful, how and why?

Can you explain your involvement
Founder/manager/trustee
Entrepreneurial orientation (Vestrum et al., 2016; Stryjan in Steyeart and Hjorth, 2006;)
How you became involved?
Did you start the venture
Are you running it differently than it was run before
Are the aims/purpose different

Great, I'm interested in understanding the different resources that were needed to start this business and where these came from (practical resources and social resources).

So to begin can you identify the resources you had when you started this organisations journey (can we identify social and practical resources)
for example did you have expertise in running a business, experience in the field, access to funding or premises, did you have community support, volunteers, gifted time/expertise Capitals (human, social, cultural,financial, natural)

How did you collect/gather/ get to use these resources - going through one by one
Social capital/ trust
local norms and practices
different networks

Do you have a community of supporters/volunteers/family within the project and the (local/project) community you can rely on
Community defining, crafted, modifying (Stryjan chapt)

How do you think you gained that support, at the beginning?
Legitimacy, manipulation
Do you think your background was useful?
Are there networks/ groups you do not like to engage with?
Why do you think that is the case? Habitus

Are there individuals/groups/organisations - internally and externally who bring certain resources or legitimacy you could not do without? How do you reciprocate?
Resource dependency

How do you manage and maintain that community? (How do you keep that community support? Can you give me examples of the things you have done?

Is that done differently for this community than for another - are there unspoken rules
Embeddedness, norms/values/practices

Do you have an extended network of support external to the project which have helped
Vestrum 2016

Do you have an ethos or a way of working you try to cultivate or work by
Ethical capital, legitimacy
Is this different for different audiences?
Are you comfortable working with these different groups?
- Has that changed since you started? Habitus

Do you think it is you or the mission they support?

How do you maintain that support?

What are your plans and hopes for the future of the business/organisation?
What risks have you taken for this venture?
What do you do differently here? Why does it work? Entrepreneurial orientation (risk, growth) - social risk

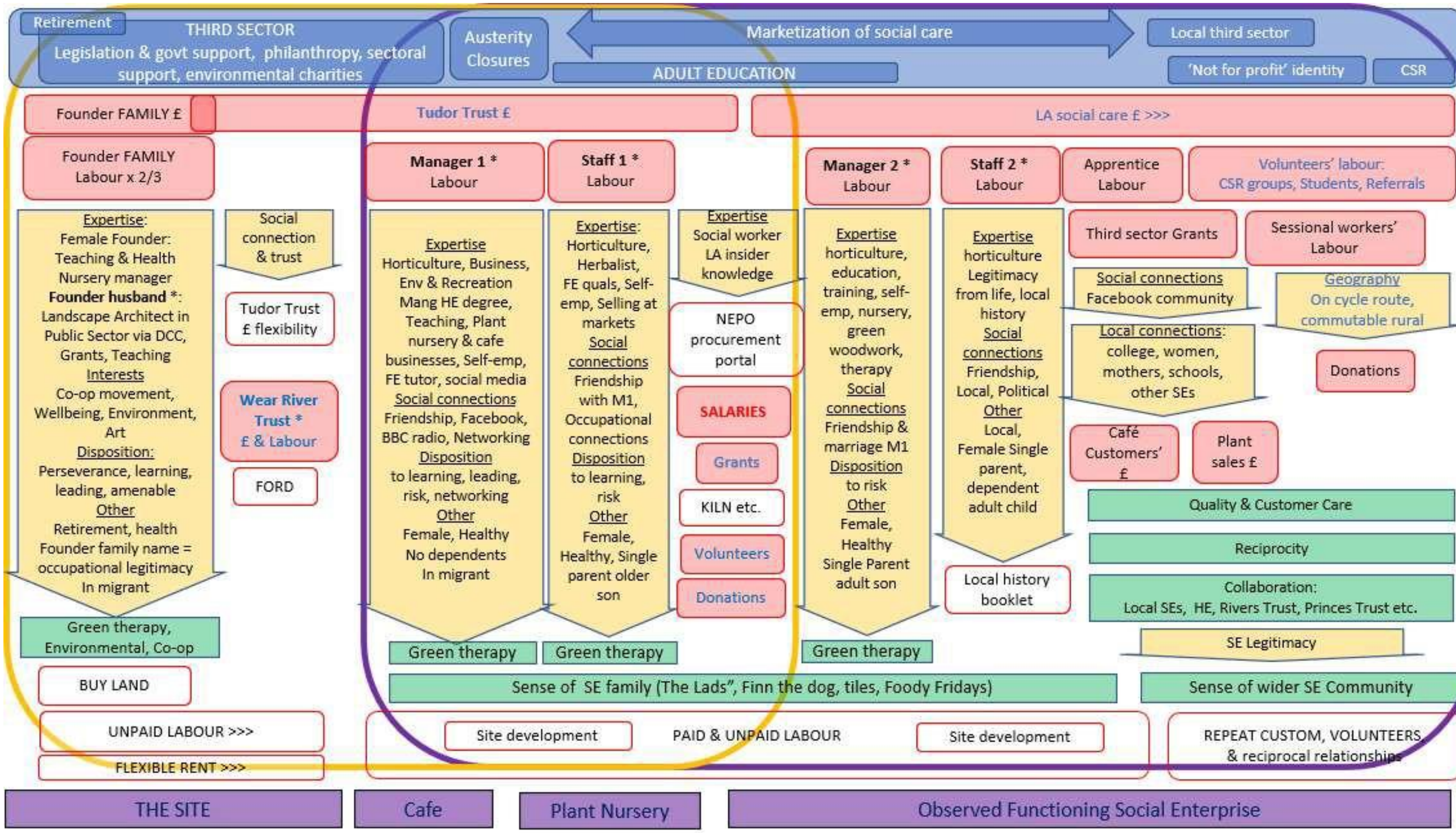
What are you doing to make it sustainable?

What do you personally get out of doing this?

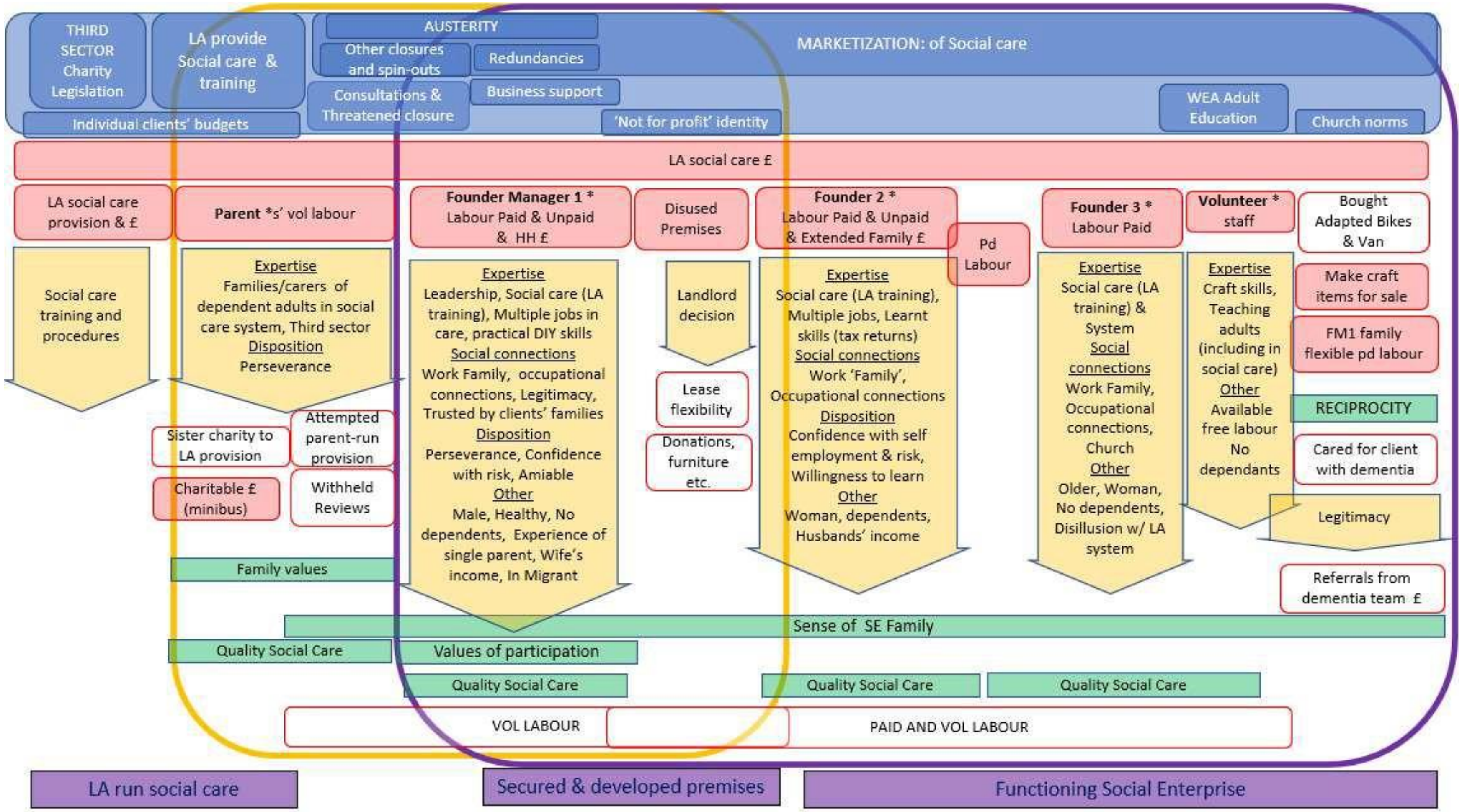
Finally can I ask can we look at the list of people involved and could I ask you to ad to it anyone else that has been instrumental

Lastly, is there anything I have not asked about your experiences that you would like to tell me?

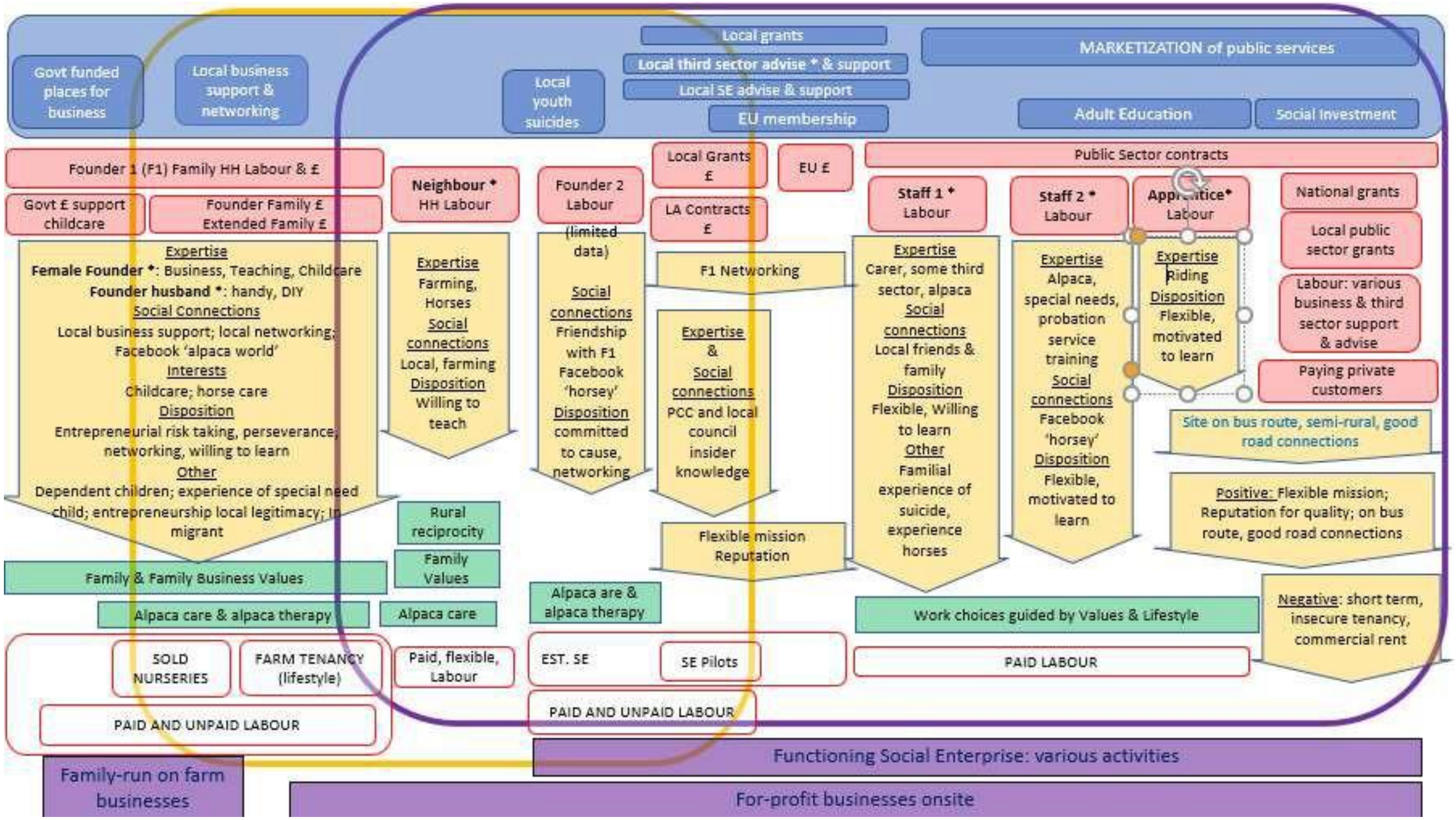
Appendix 4: Case 1 Collective Capability Framework



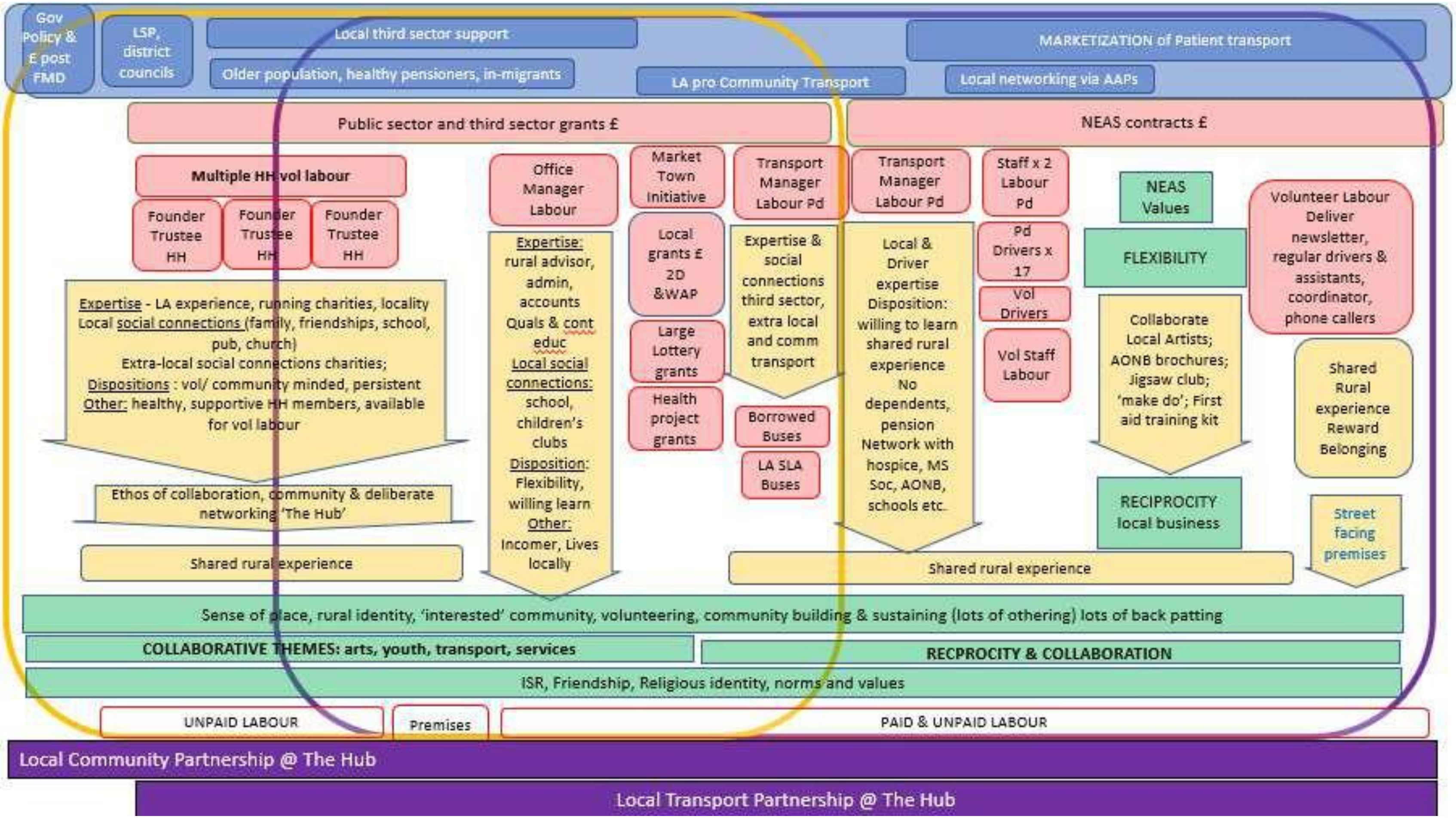
Appendix 5: Case 2 Collective Capability Framework



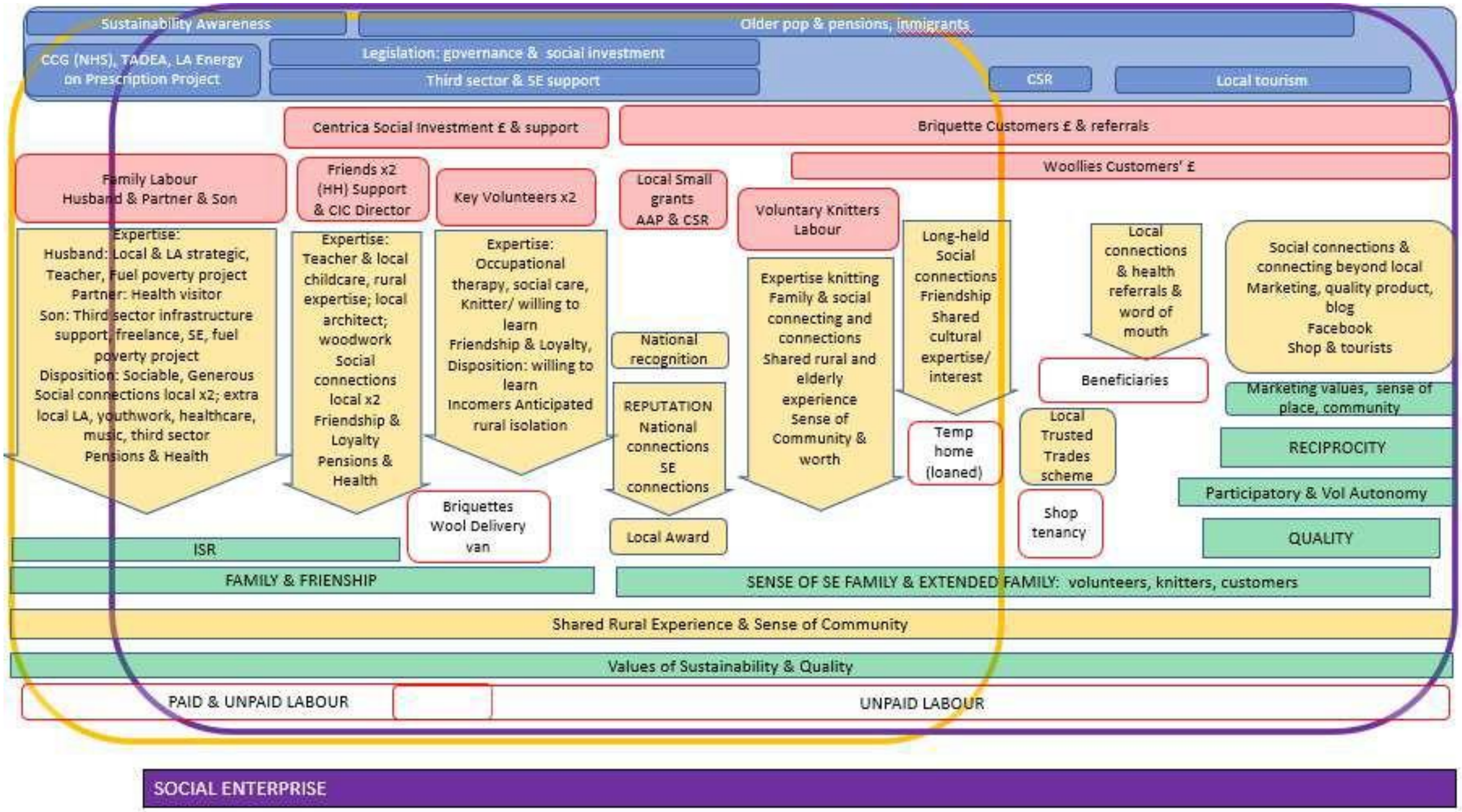
Appendix 6: Case 3 Collective Capability Framework



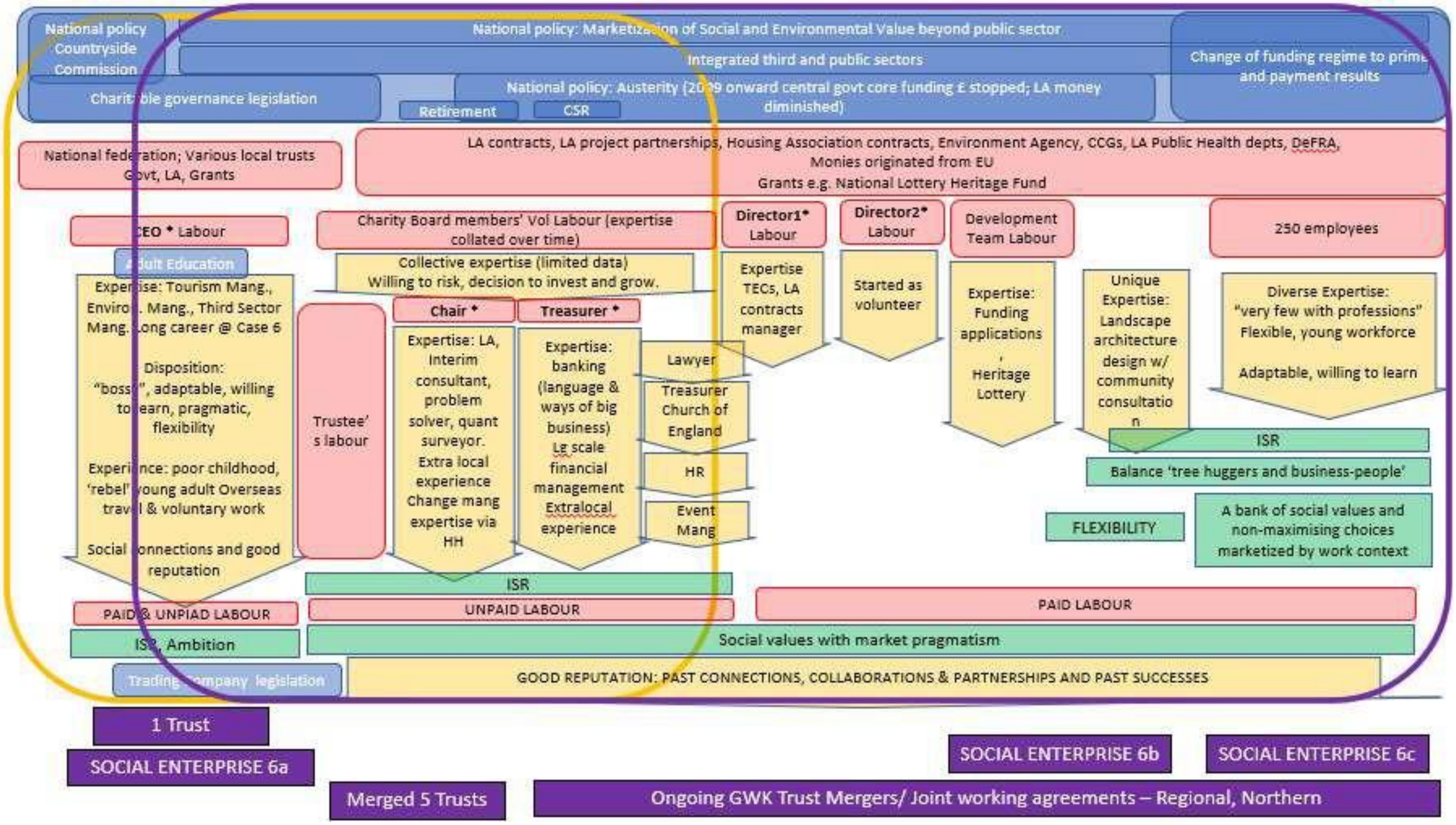
Appendix 7: Case 4 Collective Capability Framework



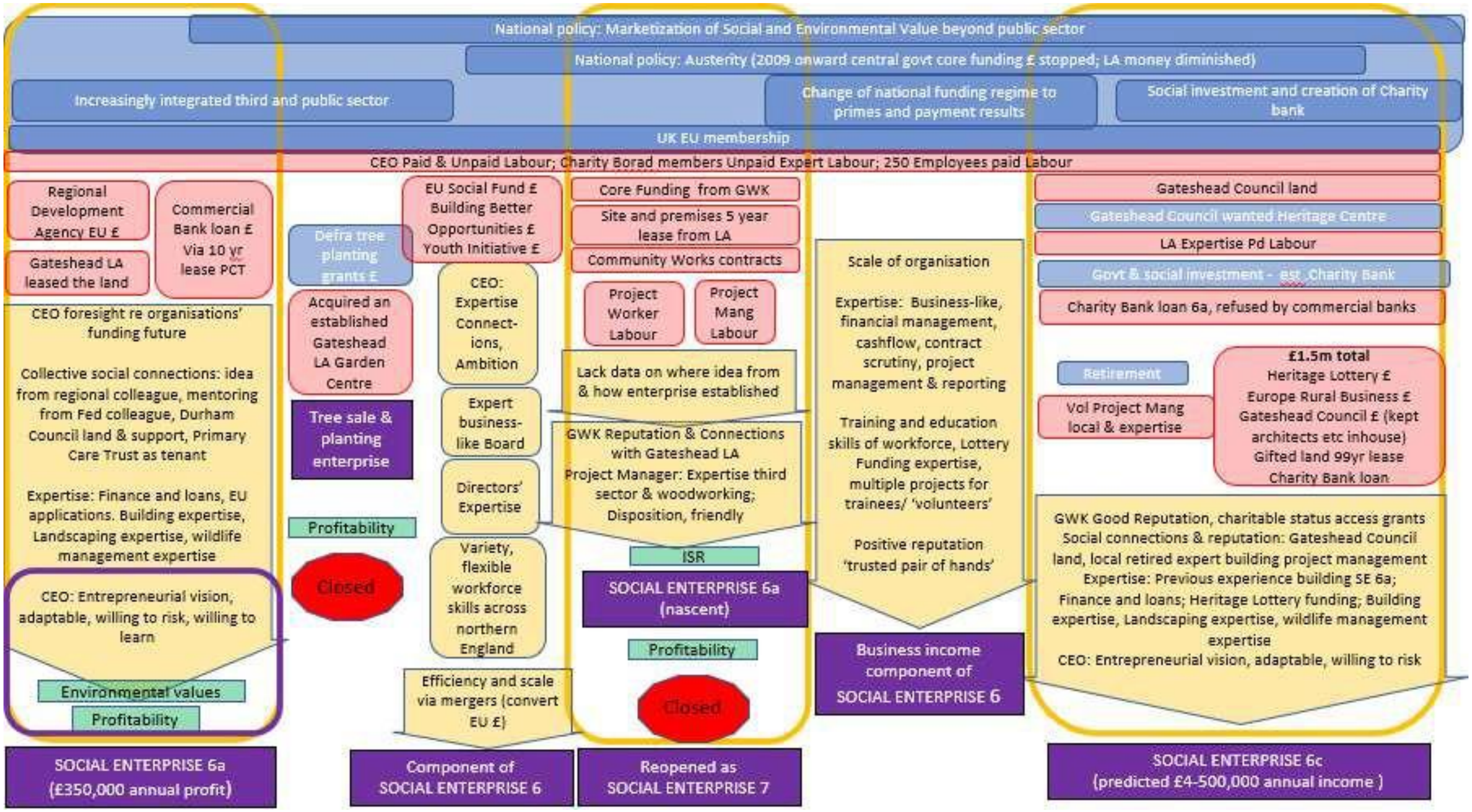
Appendix 8: Case 5 Collective Capability Framework



Appendix 9: Case 6 Collective Capability Framework



Appendix 10: Cases 6, 7, 8, 9 Collective Capability Frameworks



Appendix 11: Case 10 Collective Capability Framework